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CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

COMPARED IN

THEIR PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCY,

&c.

Part the First.

It has been ingenuously confessed, not only by all the Ancients, but likewise by Modern Divines, (among whom let it suffice to have praised THOMAS as one witness,) that the Free Will of man is incompetent to the performance of any good thing, except so far as it is moved and aided by God. Nor is there so much impiety as certain persons think in those assertions about Free Will which some of the Fathers and of the Moderns have made,—provided their expressions be received in a right manner, and in such a sense as it was the wish of the writers themselves that they should be received. BUCER.

In his lapsed and sinful state, man is not capable, of and by himself, either to think, to will, or to do that which is really good; but it is necessary for him to be regenerated and renewed in his intellect, affections or will, and in all his powers, by God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, that he may be qualified rightly to understand, esteem, consider, will, and perform, whatever is truly good.—I ascribe to Divine Grace THE COMMENCEMENT, THE CONTINUANCE, AND THE CONSUMMATION OF ALL GOOD; and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a man, though already regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, *without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating Grace.*

ARMINIUS.

THE Bishops of Ely and Lichfield, [Andrews and Overal,] were always accustomed to say, "that, as long as men maintained the true doctrine of *the Antece-*"*dent Will* [of God] or of *Conditional Decrees*, there could not be much danger "in disputing about Predestination and Free Will." The correctness of this sentiment appears to me more and more evident. GROTIUS.

THE sum of that which I contend for is briefly this: That the God of Heaven hath not APPOINTED any creature to do wickedly, but hateth sin with an unfeigned and perfect hatred, and doth not give a necessity to all events, but to those alone which are agreeable to his holiness and are the objects of his absolute unconditional decrees: That God's DECREE OF REPROBATION was eternally respective, and respective of sins as well actual as original: That God's DECREE OF ELECTION was eternally respective of our being in Christ, and of our abiding in Him unto the end: That God's execution of his Decrees are in a just conformity to his Decrees: That Jesus Christ is a GENERAL but a CONDITIONAL SAVIOUR,—a Saviour to all who do the duties by him required, to none without it: That they who stand may fall for ever, and must therefore very watchfully take heed lest they fall, ever "giving all diligence to make their calling and election sure." DR. THOMAS PIERCE.

CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM

COMPARED IN

THEIR PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCY:

OR

THE DOCTRINES

OF GENERAL REDEMPTION,

AS HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
AND BY THE EARLY DUTCH ARMINIANS,
EXHIBITED IN THEIR SCRIPTURAL EVIDENCE,
AND IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS
LIBERTIES OF MANKIND.

BY JAMES NICHOLS.

[Vol. I. pt. 1.]

Melanchthonis ac Johannis *Arndi* discipulos ferme videas bonos ac lenes: Contra, *Calvini* asperos, et tales qualem in maximam partem humani generis Deum esse sibi imaginantur. Tantum refert quo utaris Doctore! GROTIUS.

If it must be *Arminianism* to teach, that "the Ecclesiastical Power is subjected to the Civil Magistrate, who, in all causes over all persons, is acknowledged by us supreme under Christ," we must be content to lie down under that envy, and not excuse or renounce that piece of *loyal Arminianism.* HENRY HAMMOND, D. D.

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LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN.

1824.

James Nichols, Printer, 22, Warwick-Square, London.

INTRODUCTION.

I. BRIEF VIEW OF ARMINIANISM.

"Do THE ELECT *believe?*" Or, "*Are* BELIEVERS *the true Elect?*" These are the two questions, which, long before Arminius was known, were proposed to all Predestinarian adversaries, by the learned and amiable Lutheran Professor HEMMINGIUS, who justly asserts, that in the manner in which these simple but opposing Queries are solved, consists *the real difference between the favourers of* PARTICULAR *and* GENERAL *Redemption.* He says, "those persons who maintain the former position, hold sentiments agreeable to the doctrine of the Manichees and Stoics; and those who maintain the latter point, are in obvious agreement with Moses and the Prophets, with Christ and his Apostles."

If, according to the spirit of the First Question, men regard themselves as BELIEVERS *because they have been elected,* the consequences which they deduce from such a fatal doctrine are very obvious: Not only is their eternal felicity thus inevitably secured, without any personal exertion on their part, but the means of this spiritual security are also permanently fixed; and "the righteousness divine" with which a renewed man becomes invested, is, through an abuse of the doctrine of IMPUTATION, rendered inefficacious by being viewed as a *relative* and not a *real* qualification. In this manner the whole of the Five Points and their concomitants are represented *absolutely* and *unconditionally;* and being thus independent of all personal considerations, they produce none of that salutary influence upon the conduct of individuals which the various scriptural promises and threatenings are intended to inculcate.

On the contrary, when, in the spirit of the Second Question, men regard themselves as THE ELECT OF GOD, *because they believe and obey his commandments,* the consequences which they deduce from such a doctrine are equally apparent: Not only are their present religious enjoyments and their eternal felicity thus rendered certain, and yet contingent upon the continued exercise of their faith, and upon their acts of evangelical obedience,—but "the righteousness divine," with which, as renewed persons, they are endowed, is viewed as a real qualification, a fructifying principle; and "the Grace of God" which they receive, is one of those "talents" concerning which their Blessed Lord commands, "Occupy (or *trade*) till I come." In this manner, all the Five Points and their appurtenances are exhibited *conditionally;* and, being made to

depend upon the proper and diligent use of the "gracious gifts bestowed," they produce a most salutary influence upon the conduct of individuals, and give practical effect to the exhortations, promises, and threatenings, which the Holy Scriptures contain.

The First of these opinions therefore ascribes the appointment of man's eternal destiny to the mere arbitrary pleasure and to the absolute and unalterable decree of the Almighty: while the Second attributes it, quite as strongly, to the Divine pleasure in the first instance; but it is to that WILL SUPREME, as expressed in God's word, which gives countenance to no other *election* than that of *faith and perseverance foreseen.*

Those benevolent men who plead for the perfectly *innocuous nature of mental error,* would acknowledge the erroneousness of this principle, were they to peruse the strange and unscriptural assertions made by many of the early Calvinists, who were the cotemporaries of Arminius. The bare repetition of them has a desecrating effect; and I consequently abstain from producing any examples of them, since the reader will find a few, in the succeeding pages, and in Bishop WOMACK'S *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked.* From the year in which Calvin first published his refinements on St. Augustine's doctrine of *grace,* and sophistically changed some of the plain doctrines of the Gospel into the fate of Heathenism, the evil of this substitution gradually increased; and some of the finest metaphysical wits that the world ever saw, had still further refined upon Calvin's scheme, till the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as expounded by them, exhibited a tissue of such monstrous and absurd propositions as were never devised by any christian divines, or published to the world even by any philosophers,*—with the exception, perhaps, of the Mahommedan commen-

* Certain of the greatest among the Heathen Philosophers tried to vindicate the character of their Supreme Deity, from the charge of impelling men to sin, and afterwards punishing them for their offences. The following account of some of their attempts is exceedingly instructive, and shews, contrary to certain modern assertions, that the Fatalism of the Heathens and that of the Calvinists are more nearly allied, and defended by arguments which bear a greater resemblance to each other, than many persons not extensively versed in their writings have supposed:

"The complaint of the Gods in Homer (Odyss. *a*,) will best shut up this: 'O 'how unjustly mortal men accuse and charge the Gods, saying, that their evils 'are from them, when the truth is, that they by their own wretchless [reckless] 'courses bring mischiefs upon themselves, above what their fate or decree of the 'Gods can be deemed to have brought upon them.' And accordingly it is one of the excellent lessons of the Pythagoreans, in their *Golden Verses,* 'This thou 'must know, the evils that men fall under, are brought upon them by their own 'choices.'—On which even Chrysippus, the Stoic and great assertor of Fate, hath thus commented: 'Evils or mischiefs come to every man from himself; it 'being certain, that by their own incitation they both sin and suffer, and that 'according to their own mind and purpose.' This being so far distant from the doctrine of Fatality, it may well be wondered how Chrysippus, (who asserted THAT under the name of *the chain* and *the decree,*) could believe himself, or reconcile this comment and that verse with his great principles. And indeed Cicero

tators on the Koran. Yet a doctrine of Election, contrary to that of Calvin, and consonant to the scriptures of truth, was maintained nearly from the commencement of the Reformation, by the immense body of the Lutheran Church, and by the Church of England. The resistance which several of the Protestant Martyrs in Queen Mary's days, Professor Baro, the judicious Hooker, and others of our

hath passed a right sentence of it, 'Chrysippus contending and labouring how to 'reconcile these two propositions, *that all things are done by Fate*, and yet *that 'something is in our own power*, is entangled, and cannot extricate himself.'— 'This master of the Stoics was pressed,' saith Gellius. 'with these inconvenient con- 'sequences of his doctrine of Decrees, that then the sins of men were not to be 'charged on their wills, but to be imputed to a necessity and pressing which 'arose from Fate, and that it must be unjust to make laws for the punishing of 'offenders:' To which he had nothing to say but this, 'that though, if you 'look upon the First Cause, all is thus fatally decreed and chained, yet the dispo- 'sitions of each man's mind are only so far subject to Fate, as is agreeable to 'their own properties and qualities: As,' saith he, 'when a man tumbles a 'cylinder or roller down a hill, it is certain that the man is the violent enforcer 'of the first motion of it; but when it is once a tumbling, the quality and pro- 'priety of the thing itself continues and consummates it.' "—HAMMOND *on Fundamentals.*

This is exactly the shallow reasoning of Zanchius, and others of the early defenders of Calvin's system. See a note in page 18. The learned and amiable Doctor then makes several remarks on *the cylinder* of Chrysippus, and concludes them thus:

"Neither is the cylinder charged with sin, whether by God or men; nor any punitive law enacted, by either, against its rolling down the hill; nor, indeed, are such charges, or such laws, ever brought in or enacted against any actions of any other creature, plant, or beast, till you ascend to man, who is supposed to have a will, and not to be under such inevitable fatal laws, but to be, as that excellent man Pomponius Atticus was wont to say, 'the forger of his own fate, the framer of his own fortune;' which yet should be as improper to be applied to or affirmed of a man, as of any other creature, if all his actions were as irreversibly predetermined as the descent of *heavy* bodies, or the ascending of *light*, that is, if Chrysippus' cylinder and the motion thereof were a commodious instance or resemblance of this matter. But the truth is, the man was acute and dextrous, and could say as much for the reconciling of contradictions as another.

"Though this last age hath considered the question very diligently, and had the advantages of the writings of the former ages to assist them, yet he that shall impartially make the comparison will find, that the ancient philosophers have written more subtilely in this matter, and are more worth our reading, than any of our modern schools: And when the master of them, Chrysippus, was so unable to speak intelligible sense, or extricate himself in this business, it will be less matter of wonder to us, that they who have espoused this prolepsis should endeavour, as unprosperously as Chrysippus is judged by Cicero to have done, to extricate themselves out of a labyrinth not of *fewer* but of *more* difficulties; God having most clearly revealed to Christians, that as He *rewardeth every man according to his works*, so He *requireth of him according to what he hath* in his power to do, and *not according to what he hath not.* He that shall survey HIEROCLES on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, AMMONIUS on Aristotle's Περι Ερμηνειας in shewing the nature of *contingent* and *necessary* propositions, the Christian Philosopher BOETIUS (lib. 2) *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and APHRODISIEUS concerning *the Chain and Decree*, where he confutes, as absurd, this comparison of the Cylinder, will, I believe, be convinced of the truth of what I say."

English Worthies, offered to the progress of Calvin's doctrines and platform prior to the appearance of Arminius, is matter of history.

It must ever be regretted as an unfortunate circumstance, that there was not then another great denomination of Protestants on the Continent beside that of Calvin, with which those persons might coalesce who could not digest the Lutheran doctrine of the *Real Presence*, and other niceties in the Augsburgh Confession. The doctrines connected with GENERAL REDEMPTION suffered greatly, from being recommended solely by this respectable body of christians, some of whose tenets were exceedingly obnoxious to such moderate men as wished to be at the greatest possible distance from Popery. This fact, if examined in its different bearings, will account satisfactorily for the rapid spread of Calvin's doctrines and the Presbyterian discipline, in various countries of Europe, between the years 1540 and 1600.

Happily, however, for the honour of Protestantism, God Almighty raised up for the defence of the Truth among the Dutch Presbyterians, a man of consummate talents, deep piety, and eminent modesty. On beholding the devastations committed on the purity of the Gospel by the Supralapsarians, whose opinions at that period were exceedingly prevalent in Holland, in christian meekness he enquired of the leaders of Calvinism, with whom he had been a mighty favourite: " Since you perceive the pernicious purposes to which your high Predestinarian opinions are applied, and the baneful effects which they produce on the practice of professing christians, why do you not adopt that hallowing view of Predestination which has the Christian Fathers of the three First Centuries for its patrons, and which is still professed by nearly three-fourths of the Protestants in Europe? If you will make such a mystery as PREDESTINATION the chief part of your discourses, why do you not imitate the Ancients,* and the majority of the Moderns, in deriving it from the DIVINE FORESIGHT *of Faith and Perseverance?* The Gospel says, *God so loved the world, that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should have everlasting life:* But your novel doctrine declares, ' God so loved those whom He had absolutely elected to eternal

* This is acknowledged by SCULTETUS in his *Marrow of the Fathers*, by VOSSIUS in his *History of Pelagianism*, and in particular by PETER DU MOULIN in his *Novelty of the Papacy*, which he wrote against Cardinal Perron, and in which he says: " All the Fathers before St. Augustine, and Augustine himself at first, believed, *that God predestinated men to salvation according to his own Prescience, that this and that person would perform good works and exercise faith.*" " And," say the Remonstrant Synod of Utrecht, " though St. Augustine, and certain others after him somewhat changed their sentiments in the matter of Predestination, yet they always acknowledged, *that Christ died for all men, that the free-will of man* [*was concerned*] *in his conversion, and that it was possible for men to decline from the faith.*"—But this higher kind of Predestination, the last which St. Augustine espoused, was not sufficiently high for Calvin and other modern Fatalists.—On this topic, see two subsequent notes, pp. viii, and 428.

life, as to give his Son to them alone, and by an irresistible force to produce within them faith on him,'" &c.

Though this was no more than what had been frequently said by others who maintained General Redemption, yet no one can imagine the uproar and confusion that the repetition of it excited amongst the querulous race of high Predestinarians in Holland and in the different states and kingdoms in which Calvinism flourished, as soon as it was delivered by an eminent man of their own profession. The calmness and moderation of Arminius communicated an importance to all the arguments which he produced; and the fine character of him which Bishop Womack has drawn in a succeeding page (91), will be acknowledged by all competent judges to be exceedingly appropriate. When the more prudent and judicious in the enemy's camp saw their idol, *Unconditional Predestination*, fall down before the ark of God's truth, they severally gathered a few of the scattered fragments together, and with them each attempted to form another less objectionable image according to his own fancy. Before that event the Calvinists were divided only into two great parties, SUPRA and SUB-LAPSARIANS, who were very loving and agreeable towards each other. But as soon as their favourite system was overturned, scarcely one Predestinarian divine of eminence could be found throughout Europe who adhered strictly to the old doctrines; each of them attempted to amend that which he deemed the most reprehensible, and to communicate, to its "more uncomely parts," a plausible if not a consistent appearance. Thus, among these great enemies to the diffusive Benevolence of Heaven, a discord arose, which has not subsided to this day, and which has been the means of bringing many of them within the hallowing precincts of scriptural Arminianism, before they were aware of being near its abhorred approaches.

Those who are acquainted with the secret history of the Synod of Dort, know, that palpable and obvious as were the political designs of the Princes and Potentates who appeared by their proxies on that occasion, there were certain purposes which had long been in the contemplation of the chief divines of Calvin's party, and which they hoped to effect in that convention. While many of the hot and short-sighted members of the Assembly indulged in the charming idea, that the condemnation and banishment of the Arminians would be the best method of restoring peace to the great body of Calvinists, the aim of their chiefs, whose views, if not more liberal, were undoubtedly more extensive, was, the devising of a grand formulary of Calvinism, so comprehensive in its nature as to compose within itself their various differences. But in the latter intention they completely failed. Certain Canons or Articles were indeed signed by all the members of the Synod; but their signatures to that document could be obtained, only on the condition, *that to those Canons*

should be appended the large exposition of the sense in which they severally subscribed those Formularies of Calvinistic concord. Thus "the Acts of the Synod" contain the widely different meanings given to those Articles by the foreign Divines of Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Wedderau, Geneva, Bremen, and Embden,*—and by the Dutch Divines from the Provinces and

* From this exact enumeration of the several petty principalities and small towns, that deputed Calvinistic representatives to the Dutch Synod, the reader will perceive the narrow constitution of that notorious Assembly. The only Protestant *kingdom* in Europe that sent deputies to it, was Great Britain: The rest of the members of the Synod, with the exception of the Dutch Divines and those from Geneva and Switzerland, were the delegates of a few inconsiderable States in Germany; in which extensive empire, the Lutherans constituted above three-fourths of the Protestant population, but deputed no Divines to Dort. It was therefore a good specimen of the bold and towering spirit of Calvinistic self-election, when this small number of Divines issued their Canons, which they hoped to employ as fetters for binding the opinions of all the Reformed in Europe, and which some of their admirers tell us, have never been equalled since the days of the Apostles,—"except," say the English Calvinists, "by the decisions of the Westminster *Assembly of Divines!*"

The same vain-glorious practices, which are, indeed, natural results of those Predestinarian principles that foster human pride, were displayed in England at the commencement of our Civil Wars, in 1640, when the "Solemn League and Covenant" was invented, by which all men were required to swear that they would "endeavour a reformation of religion, in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, according to the word of God, and the examples of *the best Reformed Churches.*" Dr. Hooper has given us a just description of what the Calvinists meant by this phrase:

"Good men, who know the grounds and reasons of our reformation, were at a loss, what the late design might mean of '*bringing our Church nearer to the* PROTESTANTS ABROAD,' to *those of our brethren of Calvin's way*, we suppose, they intended. We hope the intention was not to insinuate an unjust reproach, as if we had not the amity or affection for them which we ought, did not rejoice in their edification, or compassionate their affliction; but only this, to alter our constitution into a nearer resemblance with theirs. But if any of ours desired this for amendment, as a farther reformation and greater perfection, it was because they were not pleased to consider their own frame well: Nor could any honest man of our Church, and who understood her right, have ever consented. And if the design was only political, (though the policy appears not,) yet why might it not be as fit for those Protestants to come nearer to us? But, not to stand on such terms, how could we have gone nigher to the Calvinists, without departing from the Lutheran? Our Church is already in the middle, and reaching out her hands on either side; settled there long ago, by weighty reason, and upon mature deliberation: For, although the word PROTESTANT has been here at home appropriated to a party, and the REFORMED CHURCH abroad has been still understood only for those of one way [the Calvinists]; yet every one knows, that the Lutheran is the first Reformed, and that the term PROTESTANT is only proper to them, and particularly to those only of the German nation. This then is the first fallacy endeavoured to be put upon the people,—'that those to whom some of our Dissenters pretend a nearer approach, are *the 'only Reformed and Protestants in the world:*' As if the Lutheran were not to be understood by his own name. The other is this, 'that the Calvinist is so 'great, that the other deserves not to be mentioned:' Whereas the other [the Lutherans] have still been the far greater number, and the much more considerable. Our trade, indeed, makes us look into Holland, (where, though, the

Dependencies of Guelderland and Zutphen, South Holland, North Holland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friezland, Overyssel, Groningen, the Ommelands, and Drent, and by the Walloon Churches. The explanatory and often opposite significations, given by *each of these parties*, occupy a far larger space in the Acts than the Canons themselves, and contain curious apologies for every contradictory grade of Calvinism.* The failure of their grand scheme of Pre-

true Calvinist makes not above a third of the people !,) and our fashions, into France, (and would to God, their numbers increased there !,) we speak much of Switzerland and the Lower Palatinate: But we forget to take notice of the large countries that are entirely of the other profession; as Denmark, Sweden, the dominions of the Elector of Saxony and Brandenburgh, of the great House of Lunenburg, and the many Imperial Cities. So, that the design, mentioned before, 'of coming nearer to the Reformation abroad,' was nothing else but this;—to persuade us to go farther from the universal church primitive, from the major part of the moderns Reformed, from our innocent agreement with general Christianity, and from those of ourselves who are much edified by our present constitution; to come nearer to those abroad, who, to speak in the fairest language, are not better constituted than ourselves; and to comply with those at home who are, certainly, neither the greater nor the best part of us; to give way to the falsest and most destructive prejudice, opposite to all catholic agreement; and to countenance and encourage a most causeless and seditious separation."

* I have briefly described "the discord which arose among these great enemies to the diffusive benevolence of Heaven;" and the following quotation, from the able reply which Grotius made to RIVET'S *Apology*, will further illustrate this Calvinistic disagreement, and the spirit which animated the Dutch members of the Synod of Dort and their immediate successors. At the commencement he alludes to the collection of blasphemous and indiscreet expressions which the Remonstrants produced from the writings of some of the most eminent Calvinists, both Dutchmen and foreigners.

"Those noxious dogmas," says Grotius, "which the Romonstrants objected against the men who called themselves THE REFORMED, these nominal Reformed have not yet been able to remove from themselves, and never will be able. For they were not mere *inferences*, but the very expressions, not only of one or two individuals, but of many persons of great eminence,—who pointed out to the [members of the] Synod of Dort the way into which they entered,—who constituted no inconsiderable portion of that Synod,—and who gave such interpretations of [the decisions of] that Synod as accorded exactly with the meaning of Bogerman's spirit. I will not use the authority of the men [the Remonstrants] who made those collections [of injudicious expressions]: For they are poor, destitute, and were, not long ago, driven into banishment by these very Synodists. Let the passages which they quoted be inspected, and it will appear that they are exact—nothing is added, nothing subtracted. But Richelieu has adduced a smaller number of passages [from the writings of the Calvinists] of the same import: When he first wrote them, he was only a Bishop; when he caused them to be republished, he had been invested with a Cardinal's purple, and was at the helm of the government. The well-known prudence of the Cardinal does not allow us to suppose, that he would utter any thing without consideration; and the great benefits, which he has bestowed on the pastors of Charenton and their associates, will not permit us to view him as under the influence of hatred.

"But these are not the only persons who urge such objections against Rivet and his colleagues: The same objections are made by the greater portion of the Roman Catholics, the Greek Church, and of the Protestants,—not only by those of the latter denomination who adhere to the Augsburgh Confession in Sweden, Denmark, and the largest regions of Germany, but by those likewise who occupy

destinarian concord was rendered still more apparent, after the termination of the Synod, when hot disputes arose among the Calvinists in several countries about *the kind of Predestination* sanctioned by the Synod,—some of them asserting it to have been SUPRA and others SUB-LAPSARIANISM.

By the perusal of the following extract, relative only to a single subject of their disagreement, the reader will form some tolerable judgment concerning the dreadful schism which Arminius made in the Calvinistic phalanx:

"'That the decrees of Election and Reprobation levied by our brethren, are shadows of *mountains* not *men*, human and not divine conceptions, those endless digladiations and irreconcilable divisions amongst themselves, about *assigning or stating the object of these decrees*, are an abundant confirmation unto us.—Some of them hold, 'that men, simply and indefinitely considered, are the 'object of these decrees.'—Others contend, 'that men, considered 'as yet to be created or made, are this object.'—A third sort

the chief stations in the Church of England, or who, I ought rather to say, *have occupied* those stations.—But the men, who, by such a general concurrence of Christians, are accused of these great evils, act a most iniquitous part: For they neither condemn those sentiments which are produced from the writings of the chief men of their party, through a fear of deserting their leaders; nor do they venture to defend those sentiments, lest their ulcers should become apparent to all persons. They wish to have no perception of their diseases, and yet they do not try to lay aside the use of those soothing medicines which physicians call ANODYNES.

"Does any one wish to know, to which of the parties in this controversy the charge of NOVELTY attaches? Let him set aside St. Augustine, and the few writers who imitate his sayings; let him separate them on this account—because their words admit of an ambiguous interpretation. Let him consult Augustine's Christian predecessors in Asia, Africa, Greece, and throughout the whole of Western Christendom,—writers, who have been most conspicuous for exemplary living and sound judgment, who have perused and examined the Holy Scriptures with diligence, have expressed the doctrines in their manners, and some of whom have sealed their testimony with their blood. What peril is there in [the Arminians] following such numerous and great guides as these? It is the belief of those who co-incide in opinion with Rivet, and this belief they constantly inculcate, *that every believer ought to be assured of his final salvation or of his present predestination.* This doctrine is their principal consolation, both in life and in death; it is likewise the foundation of the whole of their instruction. These are not crude declarations of ours, but they are crude articles of their belief. 'Predestination,' in the sense in which St. Augustine understood it, 'remains a 'secret in the bosom of the Almighty: There are no certain marks of it in this 'world, unless God be pleased to reveal it to some person,—which He is not accus-'tomed to do.' Those indications of it which have been fabricated, are the dreams of those who wish to have it so. The Spirit of adoption is a seal only to *present experience*, and not necessarily [as the Calvinists maintain,] of that which is *future*: For it is possible to quench the Spirit. 'But,' says Rivet, 'we do 'not assert that sins are forgiven before they are committed.' What then does he assert? Does he not say, 'that the pardon of sins was absolutely and from all 'eternity decreed by God?' And what real difference is there between these two assertions, especially when it is the wish of the Calvinists to inculcate, on all those who have believed in Christ, *the necessity of being personally assured of this decree!*"—Then follows the paragraph about Moses Amyraut, which I have quoted in a subsequent page, 750.

stands up against both the former with this notion, 'that men, 'considered as already created and made, are this object.'—A fourth disparageth the conjectures of the three former, with this conceit, 'that men, considered as fallen, are the said object.'—Another findeth a defect in the singleness or simplicity of all the former opinions, and compoundeth this in opposition to them, 'that men, considered both as to be created and as being created, 'and as fallen, together, are the proper object of those trouble-'some decrees.'—A sixth sort formeth us yet another object, and this is, 'men considered as salvable, or capable of being saved.'—A seventh, not liking the faint complexions of all the former opinions, delivereth us this, as strong and healthful; *viz,* 'that men, 'considered as damnable or capable of damnation, are this object.'—Others yet again, super-fancying all the former, conceit 'men, 'considered as creable, or possible to be created, to be the object 'so highly contested about.'—A ninth party gives the pre-eminence to *their* sense, *who* disciple the world with this doctrine, 'that men considered as *labiles*, or capable of falling, are the ob-'ject of those men-confounding and God-abasing decrees.'—A tenth squadron, coming up in the rear of all the former, supposeth that they all left the Truth behind them, and that themselves have gathered it up, in this notion, *viz.* 'that men, considered as 'repairable or capable of restauration, are the object of that Pre-'destination which men have laboured to build up, and yet could 'never agree about the materials.'—And whether all the scattered and conflicting opinions about *the object of our Brethren's decrees of Election and Reprobation,* be bound up in this bundle, or no, we cannot say; we are rather negatively inclined. However, by those uncouth distractions and interferings in opinion amongst them, *where, or how, to bottom their said pretended decrees,* we are jealous with a very great jealousy, that neither they, nor any others, are able to find so much as an inch of *firm ground* whereon to build them."—GOODWIN'S *Agreement and Distance of Brethren.*

Such were the manifold disputes among the Calvinists, concerning one of the most simple matters in their heterogeneous scheme, and one about which they ought to have been at agreement before they attempted to raise upon it their *fatal* superstructure. The contrast, in this respect, between them and the Arminians, is very remarkable: For, how much soever the latter differ among themselves in the more or less gracious quality of the materials of which their SUPERSTRUCTURE is formed, (and the difference is to this day great both among the Dutch and English Arminians,) all of them agree in laying the FOUNDATION of the Divine Decrees, concerning man's salvation, in FAITH AND PERSEVERANCE FORESEEN. In reference to this topic, the celebrated Limborch observes, in his *Historical Relation of the Origin and Progress of the Controversies about Predestination in the United Provinces:* "But, that the Calvinists [after the Synod], might be

able to deck out in fair colours the charge of SOCINIANISM, and that they might defend their own schism and the persecution which they instituted against the Remonstrants, under the specious pretext of 'the latent Socinianism among them which would insensibly 'betray itself,' they contrived to frame a distinction between *the early Remonstrants* who dissented from them solely in the Five Points, and *the latter* whom they stigmatized as Socinians. Others of their writers, (Spanheim, &c.) not content with this two-fold distinction, have invented FOUR classes of Remonstrants, that merge at length into the two already described. But in vain do the Calvinists endeavour to find some refuge for themselves under this distinction: For it is a circumstance well known to every one, that the Remonstrants were condemned at the Synod of Dort *solely on account of the Five Articles about Predestination.* The Acts and Canons of that assembly proclaim the same fact. On account of *those Five Points alone,* the Remonstrant pastors were discharged from the ministry and banished, and their churches were harassed with a most grievous persecution of ten years' continuance. By the judgment of the Provincial Synods, fraternal communion was refused to those who professed that benevolent sentiment. If therefore the latter Remonstrants had adopted Socinianism, that can neither be an argument in excuse for the schism, which had some time previously been introduced *only through the dissension about Predestination,* nor of the atrocious persecution with which that schism was connected."

But though Arminius dissented from his Calvinistic brethren in the manner of stating the order and subject of God's decrees, he was too good a divine to reject the rest of the scriptural doctrines which they maintained. In all his labours his paramount desire was, according to his own words, "to perceive his countrymen employing a nicer accuracy of distinction." (P. 478.) He knew that, in a revelation from Heaven,—how great soever may be the condescension of the Deity in humbling Himself to creatures of the earth, and in accommodating his expressions to the finite capacities of mankind,—some matters must appear *mysterious:* "*Secret things belong unto the* LORD OUR GOD; *but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children,*" &c. Among those grand verities which have been REVEALED, these two hold a distinguished place: (1.) "It is GOD WHO WORKETH IN YOU both to *will* and to *do* of his good pleasure." (Philip. ii. 13.)—(2.) In the same passage, the believers at Philippi are thus exhorted, on the ground of their *constant obedience,* "Work OUT your own salvation with fear and trembling."* St. Peter also exhorts those who had

* "The concurrence of God and man," says Archbishop Bramhall, "in producing the act of our believing or conversion to God, is so evident in Holy Scripture, that it is vanity and lost labour to oppose it. If God did not concur, the Scripture would not say, '*It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed.*' If man did not concur, the Scripture would not say, '*Work out your own*

obtained like precious faith with himself, through the righteousness of God and their Saviour Jesus Christ, "*Give diligence* to make your calling and election SURE: For, *if ye do these things*, ye shall never fall: For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Arminius has been accused, by those who knew little either about him or his doctrines, "of having arrogantly tried to reconcile these two apparently opposite propositions; and, when he was not able to effect a satisfactory reconciliation," it is said, "he then attempted to elevate the doctrine contained in the second proposition at the expence of the other." All this is pure fiction: For Arminius acknowledged both of them to be REVEALED scriptural truths; but THE MODE in which *the irresistible power of God* can exert itself in the work of human

salvation with fear and trembling.' If our repentance were God's work alone, God would not say to man, '*Turn ye unto me with all your heart;*' and if repentance were man's work alone, we had no need to pray, '*Turn us, O Lord, and we shall be turned.*' We are commanded to repent and to believe: In vain are commandments given to them who cannot at all concur to the acting of that which is commanded. Faith and repentance are proposed unto us, as conditions to obtain blessedness and avoid destruction. '*If thou shalt confess with thy mouth, and believe with thy heart, thou shalt be saved.*' And '*Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*' To propose impossible conditions, which they, to whom they are proposed, have no power either to accept or refuse, is a mere mockery. Our unbelief and impenitence is imputed to us as our own fault, '*Because of unbelief thou wert broken off;*' and '*After thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up unto thyself wrath.*' Their unbelief and impenitence were not their own faults, if they neither had power to concur with the grace of God to the production of faith and repentance; nor yet to refuse the grace of God. The Holy Scripture doth teach us, that God doth help us in doing works of piety: '*The Lord is my Helper,*' and '*The Spirit helpeth our infirmities.*' If we did not co-operate at all, God could not be said to help us. There is, therefore, there must be, co-operation. Neither doth this concurrence or co-operation of man, at all, entrench upon the power or honour of God, because this very liberty to co-operate is his gift, and this manner of acting his own institution."

This extract from the Irish Prelate is given by the Bishop of Winchester, in his Lordship's able "REFUTATION OF CALVINISM." In the late Rev. THOMAS SCOTT'S *Remarks*, it is said, "This quotation is not materially different from the sentiments of modern Calvinists. None of us [Calvinists] imagine, that 'our repentance is God's work alone,' and he admits, that if it 'were our 'work alone, we need not pray, *Turn thou us, O Lord, and we shall be turned.*' None of us suppose, that God has, 'proposed impossible conditions, which they, 'to whom they are proposed, have no power to accept or refuse.' We have, by nature, both power and inclination to refuse; and nothing is wanting but a willing mind, in order to accept of them: But Bishop Bramhall would admit, that whatever *power* we have, we have not that *willing mind*, except by the grace of God. 'The liberty to co-operate is His gift;' but the inclination to comply with his proposal, is His also. How far the word *co-operate* is proper, may be questioned: But, as the matter is here stated, I feel no great repugnancy to it; especially as explained in the concluding part of the quotation."

The man, who could make these large admissions in sincerity, must have been at that time an Arminian, how pertinaciously soever he might on other occasions contend for some of the peculiarities of Calvin's scheme, of which nevertheless he does not seem to have had a clear conception.

salvation, without destroying *the free agency of man,* he viewed as one of those SECRET THINGS which belong unto the Lord." The clumsy manner in which the Calvinists solve this difficulty, resembles the act of Alexander the Great when he cut the Gordian knot: They resolve all the deeds of moral agents into *the Absolute Will and Irresistible Power of God,* and by tearing away one of these relative propositions from its fellow, they make the first of them the foundation of their system, while the numerous exhortations, promises and threatenings of the scriptures become with them objects of inferior consideration. Arminius did not, in this, follow their example: In modestly advocating *the freedom of the will,* he spoke more cautiously about it than even Melancthon* had done, and always described it as utterly incompetent to effect any good unless when assisted by the *exciting, preceding,* and *accompanying* Grace of God. Though he could not perfectly reconcile the two propositions which are quoted at the commencement of this paragraph, yet he conceived them to be equally binding on the belief and practice of christians, and consequently subjects on which reason, enlightened by revelation and aided by the Spirit of God, might appropriately exercise itself. In the ample notes to the first volume of his WORKS, I have felt much pleasure in elucidating the moderation and sobriety which Arminius displayed in all his theological researches, of which the following extract, from a letter quoted in that volume, page 682, presents a good specimen: " In justification we are not taught *from whence faith arises.* Let it suffice, that it is there proved, *Believers,*

* In the sixteen particulars concerning Arminius, which Dr. Thomas PIERCE has given, in his *Divine Philanthropy Defended,* the following forms the twelfth :—

" For myself I do declare, that I was then in the opinions I now am in when I had not read one page of Arminius's works: Nor do I agree with him any farther, than he agrees with Scripture, Antiquity, the Church of England, and Melancthon after the time of his conversion from the errors of Luther, and Mr. Calvin. This Melanchthon at first had been as it were the scholar of Luther, and drew from him his first errors: But, being a pious, learned, and unpassionate man, (pursuing truth, not faction,) he saw his error, and forsook it, embracing those opinions concerning *the liberty of the will, the cause of sin, the universality of grace,* and *the respectiveness of God's decrees,* which I asserted in those notes against which Mr. B. now declaims. This Melanchthon was and is still the DARLING, (more than any one man) of *the Reformed part of the Christian world;* so much the rather, because besides his vast learning, unbiassed judgment, and transcendent piety, he was almost proverbial for MODERATION. For this was he chosen to write the Augustan Confession: For this he was much considered by them that composed our Book of Articles, and our other Book of Homilies which shews us what is the doctrine of *the true Church of England:* For this he was imitated and admired by the glorious martyrs of our religion in the days of Queen Mary: For this he was esteemed far above Mr. Calvin by Jacobus ARMINIUS, the famous Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, who, however a Presbyterian as to matter of discipline, did yet so very far excel the other divines of that sect, *in exactness of learning as well as life,* that we may say he became *Melanchthon's convert.*"

and they alone, are justified without the works of the law. I have endeavoured to distinguish, or rather to disjoin, this decree by which God resolves *to justify and adopt believers*, from that by which He determines *to bestow faith on these or those* [*particular individuals*]: This distinction I have attempted to make, from the nature and necessity of the things themselves; expressly with this design—that people may learn that our controversy does not relate to *every kind of Predestination*, but to that only which is included in the last-named decree.—A consideration of the only order which God has established, will require us to teach, *that God justifies none except those who believe*, though in that action He perform the condition required by himself, which condition could not have been performed except through that [irresistible] action. Add to this, that, beside his own omnipotent and internal action, God is both able and willing to employ the following argument: 'God justifies no persons except such as believe: Believe there-'fore, that thou mayest be justified.' With respect, then, to this argument, FAITH will arise from *suasion;* but with respect to the omnipotent and internal act of God, FAITH will arise from *an irresistible efficacy.*—Should any one object, 'That it is impossible 'for faith to spring at the same time from a SUASION *which may be* 'resisted, and from AN EFFICACY *which is irresistible;*' I have nothing to offer that will be any great contradiction to this remark. But I have another observation to make, that is somewhat different; it is this, 'In his omnipotent act God employs [or uses] 'this argument; and by this argument, when rightly understood, 'he efficaciously produces faith.' If it were otherwise, the operation would be expended on a *stone* or a *lifeless body*, and not upon the INTELLECT of a MAN."*

In another part of the letter, he says, "I do not deny, that faith is communicated to us through the Spirit of Christ, whom he has obtained from the Father, and of whom He is constituted the Donor and Dispenser by the Father. But we must observe, that the Spirit, considered absolutely *as the Author of faith*, precedes even the union of Christ with us: This conclusion may easily be drawn from the circumstance—that our union with Christ is perfected by the Spirit and faith.——There is nothing in that reasoning by Calvin of which I cannot heartily approve, if all things in it be rightly understood. For I confess, that the grace by which the Holy Spirit is bestowed, is not common to all men. I also acknowledge, that God's gratuitous [free] election may be said to be 'the fountain of faith;' but it is an election *to bestow faith* and *not to communicate salvation*. For *a believer* is elected to a participation of SALVATION, but *a sinner* is elected to FAITH. Let this passage also be taken into consideration, (2 Thess. ii. 13.) 'Because God hath ELECTED you to *salvation*

* See exactly a similar mode of reasoning, in the succeeding extract from Dr. Coplestone, (p. xv.) and from Arminius himself at the close of this volume, page 827.

through sanctification of the Spirit and *belief* of the truth,' &c.; and this two-fold election will be apparent. Or at least, it will seem impossible to say, that 'election to *salvation* is an election to *faith*;' because the former is produced 'through *faith* [or belief] and sanctification of the Spirit.'"

I might quote parallel passages from several of the old evangelical Arminians of the Church of England, but I prefer a large extract, illustrative of the topics which engaged the attention of Arminius, from a highly accomplished modern author, whose chaste and scriptural views of Revealed Truth will recommend themselves to the approbation of every christian, and who has expressed his "dissatisfaction" with some of "the attempts made to refute the Calvinistic opinions,"—attempts which seemed to him "often to retain as much error on their own side as they exposed on the opposite, and to deprive Christianity of much of that SPIRITUAL AND VITAL FORCE which is its main characteristic and essential property." I allude to Doctor Edward COPLESTON, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, who thus expresses himself in his dispassionate "Enquiry into the Doctrines of NECESSITY and PREDESTINATION:"

"The next difficulty which I suppose may be objected to the opinions we maintain, is, that they are inconsistent with the language habitually employed by religious men to denote their sense of the supernatural agency exerted in the world. It is an undeniable fact, that in all ages and under all forms of religion, (setting aside for the present the doctrines of Revelation,) serious and good men have regarded the events of this life as subject to the controul of Divine Providence—that they have talked of the folly and conceit of mankind in supposing that *their* wisdom, *their* foresight, *their* power and contrivance, brought about the great or good things which happen—and though the men who make these reflections have had their hopes and fears, and taken their full share in planning and executing measures with a view to such events, yet after the event is passed, or even before it comes, in their graver and more contemplative hours they admit that it is God's will alone to which the whole is owing—and that all things have conspired to the furtherance of some great plan of his, which has either served to promote the happiness of men, or to illustrate his own transcendent excellence.

"'Where then,' it may be said, 'is the consistency of all this? 'Either they do not, while they are acting, think as they do when 'truth forces these reflections from them; or, if they do, it is a 'proof that men may believe in a Superior Power bearing onward 'with a steady and irresistible course, and yet act in concurrence 'with that Power, just as if the issue depended on themselves.' Now as to the first of these suppositions, it may be admitted without scruple, that men do, while they are engaged in action, think more of their immediate business, than of the share the

Power above them takes in the same process—and that in calmer and more leisurely hours, the impression of that Supreme Influence returns upon the mind with increased force, as some sound which in the stillness of the night fills the air, yet is lost or unperceived amidst the several discords and noises of a busy day. But the position can never be conceded, that the belief of this controlling power is contradictory to the belief of the freedom of human actions. For in the first place it does not follow, that because we believe this power to be exercised, therefore it is exercised to the exclusion of all other influence. And again, it may be, (to speak in a manner adapted to human conception and human experience,) it may be kept in reserve to act upon occasions; it may form the *plan* and the *outline*, and delegate the subordinate parts to minor agents; it may, for the purpose of exercising the fidelity and zeal of those agents, one while keep itself out of sight; or at another, to animate their exertions, let them perceive its presence; or, to check their folly and presumption, make them feel their dependence, and frustrate their endeavours—it may, supposing these agents to have a will of their own, incline that will to act conformably to their duty, by making that duty appear easy and agreeable, by removing obstacles and terrors, and placing attractive objects in their way; or if the will be stubborn, it may make it feel the ill consequences of that stubbornness, and it may contrive that its perverseness shall defeat its own purpose, and forward some other purpose which is kind and beneficial: it may make the misconduct of one, instrumental to his own correction, or to the improvement and fidelity of the the rest, by shewing, in ordinary cases of disobedience, the evil he brings upon himself—or, in cases of extreme depravity, the utter abandonment and ruin to which the delinquent is left.

"Does any part of such a scheme either detract from the notion of a Supreme Intelligence planning, governing, guiding, and accomplishing the whole? or can such a conception, in the mind of man, of the scheme of Divine Providence tend to relax his energy, to discourage his industry, to impair the distinctions of right and wrong, or weaken the principle of duty and obedience?

"The only argument brought against it is borrowed from the difficulty of accounting for *evil* as mixed with God's creation, and of conceiving free-will in His creatures. But *difficulties* can never be listened to against the evidence of facts. The fact of the existence of evil no one denies—and the existence of free-will is by the concurrent unreflecting testimony of all mankind admitted to be a fact, opposed only by the metaphysical objections of a few. That all mankind act, speak, and think, as if the will were free, is admitted by these few themselves. And I trust it may be regarded as proved, that to think otherwise would deprive us of all motives to action, and all sense of right and wrong. It is only because they cannot conceive *how* these two things can co-exist,

that they call upon us to surrender our consciousness, our activity, and our moral principles.

" Precisely analogous to God's dealings in dispensing the good things of life, and to that method by which a sense of our dependence on him for the enjoyment of these blessings is kept alive in us, is the communication also of that unseen influence upon the mind which good and pious men desire, and the belief of which even under the guidance of the light of nature was very general. ' That every good and every perfect gift is from above,' is a sentiment not *introduced* but *adopted* by an Apostle of Christ. It occasionally breaks through the gloom of the philosophy and the religion of the heathen world: and the sublimer strains of their poetry speak the same language. ' That God favours those ' who yield to his influence—but that he rejects and abandons or ' drives on headlong to their ruin men who resist his will'—are frequent exclamations of those who contemplate with an awful wonder his moral government of the universe. ' That these wicked ' and rebellious men, when they fancy they are pursuing their own ' schemes, are baffled and foiled, and made subservient to those ' very purposes which they endeavour to defeat*—that they are ' raised aloft in order to render their fall more exemplary—that ' they are flattered for a time with the apparent success of their ' iniquity, in order that the punishment when it comes may be ' more heavy and more instructive'—these are reflections which cannot be new to any who are conversant with the ancient heathen writers; and they accord also with those occasional impressions which the passing events of life or the records of history make upon all serious minds.

" It is not till they involve themselves in metaphysical perplexities, that men regard these things as incompatible with the acknowledged attributes of God, or with the free-will of man. But when once they begin to enquire, ' whether the world might ' not have been constructed otherwise, whether evil might not have ' been dispensed with, whether what God foreknew can be said to ' proceed from the free-will of man, and whether He must not be ' understood as having pre-ordained every occurrence however ' minute or however iniquitous which takes place in the world,'† it is no wonder that their enquiries should be lost in endless mazes, or in a denial of something which it is as necessary to admit as any other proposition which they think proper to retain.

* See the arguments of Arminius, p. 327.

† Of the unguarded assertions respecting the agency of Divine Providence, which are sometimes made even by wise and good men, the following brief extracts from Dr. Chalmers's sermon on *Predestination*, will afford a fair example: " God is as much master of the human heart, as he is of the elements. Every step of every individual character receives as determinate a character from the hand of God as every mile of a planet's orbit, or every gust of wind, or every wave of the sea, or every particle of flying dust, or every rivulet of flowing water.

"If, however, these difficulties are traced up to some fundamental positions, that are not *contradictory*, but whose existence is only *inconceivable* to our faculties,—if each of these positions must be separately admitted, although their union is mysterious and unaccountable,—it is not *adding* to the difficulty, it is a natural and probable conclusion, 'that many *consequences* from each of 'those fundamental positions separately taken should be deducible, 'which are no more reconcilable with each other in our appre-'hensions, than the original truths are from which they are derived.' To dwell upon these subordinate truths, these consequences of the original positions, to set them in array against each other, to represent him who holds the one side as necessarily contradicting the other, and to demand an explicit disavowal of every tenet connected with the one, before we will acknowledge that a man really believes the other, is the sure way to perpetuate strife, and to defeat the practical good which may be derived from both opinions. If that God made every thing, knowing beforehand all that would come to pass and all that men would do, be an undeniable truth—if nevertheless He deals with man as if he were free to act, and rewards and punishes him according to this trial—and we cannot *comprehend how* both these things should be true together,—we yet can *believe* them both *to be* true, and so believing, we may well conclude that many of our occasional reasonings concerning these things must be infected with the same apparent incongruity that strikes us in the enunciation of those first principles. We ought not to wonder at these difficulties; we ought rather to expect them. Strife must be endless, if we are not to rest till they are all explained and harmonized: and error, not truth, will prevail, if either position be so established as to exclude the other. Let us however carefully bear in mind that these are not *contradictions* but *apparent incongruities*—and the same answer which we give to those who press us with the *main* difficulty, must in all reason be allowed to cover these also.

"The book of God's *word* speaks a plainer language, but not a contradictory language to the book of God's *works*. He has bountifully bestowed upon us in this life, chequered as it is, gifts and blessings to animate our hopes and to reward our obedience: but He bids us receive them as flowing from his free grace—as no

"This power of God knows no exceptions; it is absolute and unlimited: And while it embraces the vast, it carries its resistless influence to all the minute and unnoticed diversities of existence: It reigns and operates through all the secrecies of the inner man: It gives birth to every purpose: It gives impulse to every desire: It gives shape and colour to every conception: It wields an entire ascendancy over every attribute of the mind; and the will, and the fancy, and the understanding, with all the countless variety of their hidden and fugitive operations, are submitted to it: It gives movement and direction through every one point in the line of our pilgrimage. At no one moment of time does it abandon us: It follows us to the hour of death, and it carries us to our place and our everlasting destiny in the region beyond it."—Such assertions as these require no comment!

man's right, though they be every man's hope—as objects of prayer to Him, no less than of exertion in themselves—and He would have us still awfully regard Him as knowing from all eternity whatever has been, is, or will be.

"In the dispensation, therefore, of those greater gifts and better promises which his *written word* has made known to mankind, we cannot but expect, that the same assertion of universal sovereignty, of absolute knowledge, and unbounded power, extending to all that we now do or shall do hereafter, would frequently be made. It is the seal of revelation set to one of the earliest conclusions of human reason. But we must also expect, that as in the *natural world* the trial of our virtue is apparently the main object, and the dispensations of providence seem to be especially designed to make us feel how much depends upon ourselves in this state of earthly discipline, so the trial of our faith should be set forth *in Scripture* as one grand purpose of our present being—that the more God has done for us, the more we should be called upon to do for ourselves—that if to secure His temporal blessings, virtue and prudence and industry are demanded on our part, still more to render ourselves capable of this glorious reward, we should be exhorted to lay aside every sin, and to labour in every branch of duty with redoubled diligence—that if, in the course of human affairs, men are wont to be disheartened by adversity and by the success of wicked men, insomuch that their belief in an over-ruling Providence is apt to be shaken or impaired, so in those severer trials which assail a Christian, still stronger and more distinct assurances of support should be given, still plainer declarations that God's purpose cannot ultimately be foiled by any powers of darkness—that He will not forsake his elect—but that He will comfort and cheer them through all the perils and hardships of their earthly pilgrimage. Lastly, if the *general laws of the creation* be not so propounded to us here, as to encourage negligence or presumption, but to awaken a lively sense of our dependence upon God, and of the necessity of prayer to Him for the continuance of his blessings—so we might well expect that the course of a Christian would in his *written word* be represented as anxious though full of hope—as liable to be stopped or turned aside or even frustrated by temptation—as needing a perpetual renewal of God's assisting grace, and a careful improvement of all those means of grace, which, if they shall appear to have been bestowed upon us in vain, will certainly be regarded as aggravating the guilt of sin, and will increase our condemnation."

In this Introduction it is unnecessary to exhibit even the outlines of Arminianism, since they form a great part of the subject of this volume, and may be studied to better advantage in the admirable WORKS of Arminius which have been lately translated into English. But as these highly benevolent principles have

been frequently (and I may add *purposely*) misrepresented, I subjoin a brief exposition of them from the pen of a Calvinist, who, notwithstanding the prejudices of his party, has produced one of the most impartial, correct, moderate, and comprehensive accounts of the scriptural system of Arminius, that have been published in the English language, and one that contains a manly refutation of the errors with which that system has been falsely charged:

"Arminianism, strictly speaking, is that system of religious doctrine which was taught by Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden. If therefore we would learn precisely what Arminianism is, we must have recourse to those writings in which that divine himself has stated and expounded his peculiar tenets. This, however, will by no means give us an accurate idea of that which, since his time, has been usually denominated Arminianism. On examination, it will be found, that in many important particulars, those who have called themselves Arminians, or have been accounted such by others, differ as widely from the nominal head and founder of their sect, as he himself did from Calvin and other doctors of Geneva. There are, indeed, certain points, with regard to which he has been strictly and uniformly followed by almost all his pretended adherents;* but there are others of equal or of greater importance, dogmatically insisted on by them, to which he unquestionably never gave his sanction, and even appears to have been decidedly hostile. Such a distinction, obvious as it must be to every attentive reader, has yet been generally so far overlooked, that the memory of Arminius is frequently loaded with imputations the most unreasonable and unjust. He is accused by the ignorant and the prejudiced, of introducing corruptions into the Christian church, which he probably never thought of, and which certainly have no place in his works. And all the odium which his followers have from time to time incurred by their varied and increasing heterodoxy, has been absurdly reflected upon him, as if he could be responsible for every error that may be sent abroad under the sanction of his name. Whatever be the number or the species of these errors, and in whatever way they may be associated with his principles, it is fair to the character of Arminius, and useful to the interests of religious truth, to revert to his own writings as the only source from which we ought to derive information concerning the Arminian scheme. And by doing so it may be discovered, that genuine unadulterated Arminianism is not that great and dangerous heresy which among a certain class of Christians it is too often represented to be; and that though it

* That in which Arminius has been "uniformly followed" by his adherents, is the foundation of his system—the Divine Foresight of Faith and Perseverance in those who are finally saved.

may still be thought less scriptural and less logical than Calvinism,* yet it does not deserve to be reprobated as wholly inimical to the grace and glory of the gospel.

"Having made these preliminary remarks, we shall now endeavour to give a short and correct view of Arminianism in the proper sense of that term. Arminianism is to be considered as a separation from Calvinism, with regard to the doctrines of unconditional election, particular redemption, and other points necessarily resulting from these.† The Calvinists held, that God had elected a certain portion of the human race to eternal life, passing by the rest, or rather dooming them to everlasting destruction; that God's election proceeded upon no prescience of the moral principles and character of those whom he had thus predestinated, but originated solely in the motions of his free and sovereign mercy; that Christ died for the elect only, and therefore, that the merits of his death can avail for the salvation of none but them; and that they are constrained by the irresistible power‡ of

* "Less *scriptural*" than Calvinism it cannot be, even according to this writer's own showing in the preceding paragraphs. As to Arminianism being "less *logical*," I wish the test of this fact might be made by a comparison between Dr. COPLESTONE'S account of the agency of Divine Providence, which I have just quoted, and that lately given by Dr. CHALMERS in his sermon on Predestination, from which I have already given an extract, (pages 16 and 17,) and in which he advances sentiments as *unscriptural* and *illogical* as those which I have produced from Archer, page 438. Till I saw that sermon, the shocking and incautious expressions in which filled me with horror, I had always supposed that the active and benevolent Dr. Chalmers was the author of the very able article ARMINIANISM, in Dr. BREWSTER'S *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*.

But if by "Logical" the author means "Metaphysical," (a very common mistake in these days,) the point will be readily conceded; and of that field of speculative divinity, the Calvinists will be left in undisturbed possession, provided they will receive, in the spirit of meekness, the observations made by Bishop Womack in a succeeding page. (196.)

† The difference between Arminianism and Calvinism, even on the Five Points, is far less than many persons imagine. In no work have I seen this trifling difference so clearly and ably stated, as in GOODWIN'S *Agreement and Distance of Brethren*, which I have quoted in other parts of this Introduction, and which it is my intention soon to republish for the benefit of the present generation.

‡ In the year 1623, the famous James CAPELLUS, at that time Professor of Divinity at Sedan, published two Theological Theses, the first of which was *On the Controversies that agitate the United Provinces*, and in which, among other charges against the Arminians, he adduces the following: "But the "Arminians detract greatly from the Power of God, since they represent the "numerous attempts and the mighty struggles of Divine Omnipotence as capable "of being always overcome by man, and assert, that they are, in fact, every day "successfully resisted."

The reply which the eloquent Episcopius returned to this false representation, is worthy of attentive consideration: "These expressions are unappropriate; because nothing can be detracted from Divine Power, where that Divine Power is not exerted. In the conversion of man, Capellus supposes God to employ 'his '*ordinary power*, which at all times, and by its own force, produces its effect.'— Those persons against whom he disputes, deny this assertion by the subjoined argument: 'Wherever that power is employed, *which, at all times, and by its*

divine grace to accept of him as their Saviour.—To this doctrine, that of Arminius and his legitimate followers stands opposed: They do not deny an election; but they deny that it is absolute and unconditional. They argue, that an election of this kind is inconsistent with the character of God, that it destroys the liberty of the human will, that it contradicts the language of scripture, and that it tends to encourage a careless and licentious practice in those by whom it is believed. They maintain, that God has elected those only who, according *not to his decree*, but *to his foreknowledge* and in the exercise of their natural powers of self-determination, acting under the influence of his grace, would possess that faith and holiness to which salvation is annexed in the gospel scheme. And those who are *not* elected are allowed to perish, not because they were not elected, but merely and solely in consequence of their infidelity and disobedience; on account, indeed, of which infidelity and disobedience being foreseen by God, their election did not take place. They hold, that Christ died for *all* men, in the literal and unrestricted sense of that phrase; that his atonement is able, both from its own merit, and from the intention of him who appointed it, to expiate the guilt of every individual; that every individual is invited to partake of the benefits which it has procured;* that the grace of God is offered to make the will

'*own force, produces its effect*, there is no place left either for precepts, promises, 'or threatenings, and therefore none either for obedience or disobedience, for 'reward or punishment. It is the will of Him who commands any thing, that 'his commands should be performed by him to whom he issues those commands: 'But when he performs that thing himself, it is not his will that it should be 'performed by another; otherwise, he would, at the same time, be both *willing* 'and *unwilling* for it to be performed by another.—But wherever no place is left 'to precepts, there is none left to obedience or disobedience, and consequently 'none to promises or threatenings, to rewards or punishments.'—Now, when Arminius says, [in the words of Capellus,] 'that it is in the power of man successfully to resist or overcome the numerous attempts and the mighty struggles 'of Divine Power,' he does not represent man as capable of placing *a still greater power* in opposition to Divine Omnipotence: For what man, except an atheist, would make such an affirmation? But he only wishes to convey the idea, that it is possible for man to place his disobedience and contumacy in opposition to the Divine influences, commands, exhortations, supplications, protestations, instigations, and inspirations,—all of which undoubtedly are *numerous attempts and mighty struggles*: So that, when God wills and demands obedience from man, it is possible for man to be unwilling to obey, and thus to render himself guilty and liable to punishment. In this act [of opposition to God's will] no power, properly so called, is posited, that can, in the least degree, derogate from the power of God. For simple disobedience is only a free willingness or unwillingness, by which man is said metaphorically to overcome God, because to the Divine Will he opposes a contrary will, and thus withdraws himself from obedience to God." &c.

* One of the most forcible of the numerous passages of Scripture, which clearly express the intentional freeness and universality of God's invitation to his lost and offending creatures, is that solemn ministerial commission which Christ gave to his eleven Apostles, and through them to his chosen messengers in all succeeding ages: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He "that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall

comply with this invitation, but that this grace may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the sinner's perversity. Whether true believers necessarily persevered, or whether they might fall from

" be damned." Christian ministers are commanded to propose the Gospel in its glorious plenitude, and with the meekness and perseverance of Christ himself, " to every creature," as an appointed merciful test of that creature's obedience or disobedience to the Heavenly Calling: And that this test is not a mockery with respect even to those who finally neglect or despise the Divine Invitation, is clearly proved, both by the tender expostulations of Christ with those who rejected his proffered benefits, and by many equally striking passages in the Old and New Testaments. (See pages 127, 128.) To this use of the Gospel, as a DIVINELY-APPOINTED TEST to all moral agents, to whom " its sound is gone forth," St. Paul adverts, when he informs the Romans, (xvi, 26,) that the Gospel is now, " according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations *for the obedience of faith.*" He speaks in a similar strain at the commencement of the same epistle, (i, 5,) " By the Son of God we have received grace and apostleship, *for obedience to the faith* among all nations," &c. He immediately subjoins the purpose for which this grace and faith are bestowed: " Among whom are ye also *the called of Jesus Christ*,—beloved of God, called to be saints." When attention is paid to this calling, God " giveth more grace:" His promise is, " *To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.*" After this manner " his Divine Power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him *that hath called us to glory and virtue*: Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the Divine Nature," &c. (2 Pet. i, 4.)

But on this subject, the following remarks, from John GOODWIN'S *Agreement and Distance of Brethren*, are exceedingly appropriate: " We are not able to conceive how the Gospel can with simplicity, truth, and clearness of sense and notion, be preached unto every creature under heaven, in this or any like tenor of words, *If thou believest, thou shalt be saved*, unless it be granted and supposed, that Christ died for all and every man, or in case it should be said to any man for whom Christ did not die, *If thou believest, thou shalt be saved:* Such a saying cannot be justified, nor avouched for truth; because where a commodity is not, it cannot be had upon any condition or terms whatsoever. Now certain it is, that there is no salvation in Christ for any man, but only for those for whom he died. Therefore, to encourage such a man to believe, for whom Christ died not, by saying unto him, that, in case he believes, he shall be saved,—is but to feed him with ashes, or to make him glad with lies. For how should such a man be saved, yea, though he should believe, for whom there was no salvation purchased by Christ; especially considering that his believing in Christ would not invest Christ with any more salvation, than was in him before, and, consequently, whether he believed or no? The Synod of Dort itself, in some of its members, saw and acknowledged the convincing force of this argument; though their heart, it seemeth, served them not to displease their company for the truth's sake.—We judge, that our brethren's doctrine, asserting 'that Christ died only for those few who will, in conclusion, 'be actually saved,' will not abide the touch of that golden touch-stone of doctrines, the description of the Gospel, delivered by the Apostle, 1 Tim. vi, 3, ['*the doctrine which is according to godliness.*'] If a minister of the Gospel should go and preach this doctrine to a numerous auditory of souls, 'that God 'hath given his Son Jesus Christ to die for the salvation only of a small handful 'of men and women in the world (comparatively,) and that none of them who 'were now before him had any certainty, that they or any of them were of this 'number; yea, and that the best amongst men had very little ground to hope or 'think, that he should be one of these few, and that the rest of mankind, let them 'do the best that they are able, shall, notwithstanding, be certainly damned;' (for all this is nothing but the evident and express import of our brethren's doctrine:)

their faith, and forfeit their state of grace, was a question which Arminius left unresolved,* but which was soon determined by his followers in this additional proposition, that saints may fall from the state of grace in which they are placed by the operation of the Holy Spirit. This, indeed, seems to follow as a corollary, from what Arminius maintained respecting the natural freedom and corruption of the will, and the resistibility of divine grace.

" In this way, the Arminians suppose that they get free of all the absurdities and dangerous consequences which they allege to be involved in the Calvinistic scheme; and, at the same time, detract nothing from the freeness and sovereignty of divine grace that can be reasonably considered as essential to them.† Whether

must not such a message as this, being believed, directly cause a fearful despondency of heart and soul, a general hanging down of hands amongst them, a quenching of all desires, and consequently of all endeavours, either to apply themselves to the means of believing, or to the exercising of themselves unto godliness in one kind or other? Or doth such a doctrine as this any ways agree with that declaration which the Angel made concerning the Gospel unto the shepherds; '*Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, that shall be to all people.*'—We judge that Christ died for all those who stand bound to believe, or to depend on him for salvation. Because God is never found to encourage, exhort, or call men unto, but constantly to dissuade and take men off from, vain dependencies, and from trusting in those, whether persons or things, which are not able or like to help them. Instances hereof, we are able, if need were, to produce very many. Now that all men without exception, considered as men, stand bound to believe, or to depend on Christ for salvation, is to us out of question. Therefore, we cannot but judge that he died for all men.—That doctrine which directly tends to separate and divide between the creature and the Creator, blessed for ever, or to create and raise jealousies and hard thoughts in the former against the latter, cannot be evangelical, nor consonant to the *Truth, which is according to godliness*: But such we judge our brethren's doctrine clearly to be, which denieth Christ's dying for all men without exception."

* That Arminius did not leave this question " unresolved," will be seen in a succeeding page, (156,) and is further confirmed by a note in his Works, vol. i, p. 601. The reason why he did not express his thoughts so fully on this Point, as on the other Four in the Calvinistic controversy, will be found in his reluctance to deliver any decisive opinion on subjects which he had not fully investigated. There are difficulties in it, which are not apparent at first sight to a cursory observer; and if Arminius had entirely co-incided with the moderate Calvinists on this point, he would only have imitated some of the staunchest of the early English Arminians, who believed in *the Final Perseverance of the Saints* in the sense which the Calvinists attach to this phrase. In this, however, as well as in other articles of his creed, he gave sufficient proof of the venerable guides whom he followed, on all topics about which he felt the least hesitation: These were the Ancient Fathers of the Church, whose " concurrent testimony" or " general consent," in the purest ages of Christianity, was, to him and to all our great Protestant Reformers, a safe but not an infallible rule for the interpretation of the doctrines of Scripture. Had he not been cut off at an immature age, he would have favoured the world with his chaste and scriptural views of this interesting subject.

† The admission in this paragraph, which truth has extorted, is exceedingly important. The Arminians undoubtedly " succeed in their views to all the extent" which they desire, when " they get free of all the absurdities and dangerous con-

they succeed in these views to all the extent they imagine, may be justly disputed. But they certainly take away something of that harsh and forbidding aspect, with which Calvinism, in its broad undisguised form, seems to cloud the religion of mercy and benevolence.

" It may now be proper to mention some tenets with regard to which Arminianism has been much misrepresented. If a man hold that good works are necessary to justification;* if he main-

sequences which they allege to be involved in the Calvinistic scheme,"—the sole object contemplated by Arminius when he opposed the desecrating dogmas of the Genevan Reformer and of his more incautious successors. That some who call themselves ARMINIANS are *Armiviores Arminio*, is as true, in fact, as that there are some among their opponents who are more Calvinistic than Calvin himself: Men of this class may perhaps be too sanguine in " imagining," that Arminianism solves ALL the difficulties of Divine Revelation or Providence,—a result to which, it has already been shewn, (page xi,) it makes no pretensions.

It has been granted in a preceding paragraph, (page xx,) " that Arminianism does not deserve to be reprobated as wholly inimical to the grace and glory of the Gospel." In the notes to *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, pp. 593—636,) I have adduced copious proofs of the fact, that Arminianism ascribes far greater efficiency and strength to Divine Grace, from its commencement to its consummation, than Calvinism does; and that the latter scheme, though in general very scriptural in its description of the immediate visible effects of Grace in Conversion, " allows this holy principle to be afterwards so inoperative in *the elect*, as to suffer them *to serve the law of God* only with one part, ' with that which is regenerate,' and *to serve the law of sin* with the other part, ' with that which remaineth of corruption.' This doctrine beats down the legitimate aspirings of Divine Grace after a holy conformity to God, and to controvert and explain away the positive commands of God our Saviour concerning personal sanctity."

" The Arminians suppose," therefore, with great justice, in the words of this liberal Encyclopædist, " that they detract nothing from the *freeness* and *sovereignty* of Divine Grace that can be reasonably considered as essential to *them*:" And it is no slight additional praise, if, in the words of the same author, " they take away something of that harsh and forbidding aspect with which Calvinism seems to cloud the religion of mercy and benevolence."

* The following quotation from Dr. COPLESTONE'S *Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, exhibits in a favourable view the tenets of the early Arminians on this point:

" Man cannot bear to be told that his nature is a corrupt, a fallen, and a sinful nature: That the carnal, or in other words, the natural mind is at emnity with God: That if he seeks to be reconciled with God, he must seek it alone through the merits of a Redeemer. To Him, not to his own doings, however diligently he may labour in the regulation of his own mind, or in the service of his fellow-creatures, to his Saviour he must refer the whole merit and the whole efficacy of his salvation. That Saviour hath said, ' that he came to seek and save them that were lost.' And every man who would be his disciple, let him be the wisest and most virtuous of men, must believe that he himself was one of those lost creatures whom Christ came to save. He must not only acknowledge with his lips, but in his heart he must feel, that in the sight of God his best deeds are nothing worth—that however they may tend, as they certainly will tend, to make him happier upon earth, they have no power whatever to raise him to heaven.

" Nay, more than this, if he trust to himself, if he indulge himself in setting a value before God upon any thing that he does, these very deeds will be the instrumental cause of his ruin: They will lead him *from* that gate through which

tain that faith includes good works in its own nature; if he reject the doctrine of original sin; if he deny that divine grace

alone he can enter, and will carry him farther and farther in a wrong direction. His good works will never bring him to Christ, but if he lay hold on Christ in sincerity of faith, He will easily and quickly bring him to good works. He is the way, the truth and the life. He is emphatically called the door of the kingdom of heaven. No man cometh to the Father but by Him. If then there be in any man's breast a secret longing after self-righteousness—if there be a disposition, however faint, to justify himself by his own performance—any lurking conceit that he, being so much better than others, stands less in need of that atoning merit than the worst of his fellow-creatures, let not such an one think that he will receive any thing from the Lord. He may, perhaps, upon examination find, that he has exercised himself in doing what he thinks his duty—that he has abstained from excess—that he has dealt justly, and worked diligently for the good of mankind—that he has even practised many of those virtues which are most truly Christian—that he has been kind, patient, humble, charitable, meek, forgiving—yet if his heart be a stranger to God, giving its affections not to things above, but to things on the earth, if he suffer it to plead any one of these services as entitled to reward from God, or as fit even to bear his inspection, he is still in his sins—he will be left to wander on according to his own wayward fancies, and will never find the gate of salvation.

"In thus turning from the lying vanities of self-righteousness to the true and living God, he must not flatter himself that the change is his own work. He must not take credit to himself for the victory, but must give God the praise for having called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. 'No man cometh 'to me,' said our Lord, 'except my Father draw him.' To God then be our thanks and praise rendered, as the giver not only of our natural, but of our spiritual life. He is, as our Church often confesses, the Author of all godliness. 'Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.—It is God that worketh in 'us both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' His grace brought us to the knowledge of the truth, and unless we resist or neglect his gracious influence, in spite of all the powers of darkness, his grace will preserve us in it.

"Here then we may seem to have arrived at a point where the difficulties of the Christian pilgrimage are to end. And here, if we accept the Calvinistic doctrine of indefectible grace and final perseverance, they *do* end. But how contrary is this not only to the natural light of reason which God has implanted in us, but to the whole tenor and complexion of the Christian doctrines as revealed by our Lord and as inculcated by the Apostles?

"Does not our blessed Lord himself, in his character of Son of Man, express all that feeling of uncertainty about the faith of his followers, which is so natural to the human heart, and so descriptive of the contingency of what is to come? 'Simon, Simon, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou 'art converted, strengthen thy brethren.'

"Or again, if we pursue the whole train of St. Paul's reasoning, or of any one of the Apostles, shall we not find the same anxiety for the future, both in the case of themselves individually, and of those whom they address, which indicates the still undetermined nature of their spiritual condition? 'Be not high-minded, 'but fear.—Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.—If he draw 'back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.—If ye live after the flesh, ye shall 'die.—I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any 'means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.'

"It is, in this point of view, that the Calvinistic doctrine appears to be most dangerous, and most at variance with the example of Apostolical teaching. They continually represent election in Christ as a reason why the true Christian *is* zealous of good works. Undoubtedly it is a reason, and a powerful one—but the Apostles

is requisite for the whole work of sanctification; if he speak of human virtue as meritorious in the sight of God;* it is very gene-

take pains to represent it as a reason not why he *is* so, but why he *ought to be*. 'Put on therefore,' says St. Paul to the Colossians, 'put on as the elect of God, 'holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, 'long-suffering.'"

* To these monstrous doctrines, with which Arminianism has been often branded, the writer might have added, "the great antipathy, evinced by many members of "the Church of England, against the bare mention of the abiding and comfortable "influence of the Holy Spirit, though such scriptural *indwelling* and *consolation* "are recognized in every portion of the public formularies of the Church, and "especially in her Seventeeth Article."—According to the doctrine of that Article, "the godly consideration of *Predestination* and *Election in Christ* is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons," Arminians as well as Calvinists, "and such as feel in themselves the working of the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things: as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God," &c.

When I peruse the theological tirades uttered by several modern writers against *this immediate Divine Influence on the hearts of men*, both in the work of Conversion and in that of Sanctification,—an influence which is one of the numerous scriptural "promises" that are "YEA and AMEN in Christ Jesus," and which is amply recognized in the public formularies of every Protestant Church in Europe, but which is stigmatized by these imprudent and unskilful divines as "Enthusiasm,"—when I peruse their curious productions, I am sometimes tempted to think, that were St. Paul deputed to put to them the question which he once addressed to the early disciples at Ephesus, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?," (if the mere *historical faith in the general truth of the Scriptures* of these moderns may be dignified with the appellation of "Christian belief,") the blessed Apostle would receive nearly a similar answer to that which the Ephesians delivered, "We have not so much as heard [except from a few misguided enthusiasts,] whether there be any Holy Ghost!" In one sense at least, the reply would be appropriate; for such men ingenuously acknowledge, that they have never had any personal experience of the hallowing impulses of the Holy Spirit,—without which, nothing human is holy, nothing is strong,—and without which, Christianity itself, as explained by these frozen moralizers, would be only a skeleton of doctrines very little superior to the abstract theories of moral virtue invented by Plato, Seneca, or Epictetus. But, on this subject, one of the inspired interpreters of the will of God has well remarked, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him. Neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

Few men have marked with greater abhorrence, than I have done in various parts of this volume, the perversion of this Divine Influence, when it is no longer applied to the spiritual interests of the man and his actual progress in personal holiness, but is extended to matters beyond himself, and erroneously confounded with the sanguine wishes and the inward persuasion of his own spirit respecting a change in Church or State, or other subjects equally alien to the sanctifying purposes, for the accomplishment of which the aids of the Holy Spirit have been promised. But though I have strongly reprehended such perversions of the doctrine of DIVINE GUIDANCE AND COMFORT, yet it is no test of "true philosophy," (a distinction to which these objectors aspire,) to repudiate a revealed verity, because it is liable to be abused either by the weak or the wicked. There is not a blessing, of this or any other class, which Heaven in its illimitable bounty has bestowed on man, that might not be rejected with as great a sem-

rally concluded, that he is an Arminian. But the truth is, that a man of such sentiments is more properly a disciple of the Pelagian and Socinian schools. To such sentiments pure Arminianism is as diametrically opposite as Calvinism itself is. The genuine Arminians admit the corruption of human nature in its full extent. They admit, that we are justified by faith only. They admit, that our justification originates solely in the grace of God. They admit, that the procuring and meritorious cause of our justification is the righteousness of Christ. *Propter quam*, says Arminius, *Deus credentibus peccatum condonet eosque pro justis reputat non aliter atque si legem perfecte implevissent.* They admit in this way, that justification implies not merely forgiveness of sin, but acceptance to everlasting happiness. *Junctam habet adoptionem in filios, et collationem juris in hereditatem vitæ eternæ.* They admit, in fine, that the work of sanctification, from its very commencement to its perfection in glory,* is carried on by the oper-

blance of reason.—Indeed, after a careful examination of the testimony both of living witnesses and of books, I find this doctrine, when applied in the manner which the Scriptures direct to *the furtherance of personal holiness*, is, of all others, the least capable of being rendered pernicious: It becomes hurtful, chiefly when it is made to testify positively concerning an individual's absolute election to life eternal, and his assured final perseverance. Such persons soon make the discovery that they are spiritual; and since their eternal interests are thus permanently secured, they require none of that fine exhortation, (2 Pet. i, 5,) "Beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge, &c.: For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." The same Apostle immediately exhorts them "to make their calling and election SURE," but appends to it a condition respecting their *final perseverance* which cannot be relished by Calvinists, "If ye do these things, ye shall never fall."

* The Arminians ascribe far greater efficacy to the grace of God, in the work of sanctification, than the Calvinists. While the latter confine the experience of mature Christians to that expression of a man under the law, *O wretched man that I am!*, and while they account it the height of presumption for any one to talk about *going on to perfection*, (though exhorted so to do by an Apostle, Heb. vi, 1, in addition to the higher authority of Christ himself, Matt. v, 48,) the Arminians think they cannot put too much honour on Divine Grace, or fall into error by trying to fulfil all the evangelical commands of their "Father who is in heaven."

When, contrary to the explicit declarations of nearly the whole of the New Testament, the modern Predestinarians fixed upon certain phrases in the seventh chapter to the Romans as the low standard of Christian experience, they discarded the authority of their former favourite, St. Augustine, and brought his unfledged system into contempt. That good old Father has, on this subject, some strong passages, which will not be relished by the modern school of Fatalists. On the 56th Psalm he says, "God would never command us to do that thing, if He "judged it impossible to be done of man: If thou, therefore, considering thine "infirmity, faintest under the precept, be comforted by example; for He that "gave us his *example* is at hand, that He may also afford us his *aid*."—In his 191st *Discourse on Time*, he likewise says: "I execrate the blasphemy of those men who assert, *that any thing is impossible to be done which God commands man to do.* Each of God's commands can be fulfilled, not merely by a single individual, but by all men in general."—Few sentences contain so much sound divinity in few

ation of the Holy Spirit, which is the gift of God by Jesus Christ. So sound, indeed, are the Arminians with respect to the

words, as the following, which Prosper has given us from St. Augustine: "The "Law is given, that Grace may be sought; Grace is given, that the Law may "be fulfilled."—One of the numerous paradoxes in the history of these opinions, is, that the very men who admire St. Augustine for the species of particular Predestination which he taught towards the close of life, reprehend their Arminian brethren, and stigmatize them as "Pelagians," for adopting the sentiments of this great antagonist of Pelagius on the subject of Christian Perfection. On this point, Episcopius has written an able dissertation, in the 17th chapter of his *Apology for the Remonstrants' Confession*, and proves by unanswerable arguments, "that man can perform the commands of God by the aid of Grace Divine." See also the use which Arminius has made of St. Augustine's authority. (Vol. i, p. 614.)—King James, who was a better Divine than Politician, had this Father's avowed opinions in view when he delivered the following just sentiment on the Lord's Prayer: "It is blasphemy to say, *that any of Christ's precepts are impos-* "*sible:* For that were to give Him the lie who told us out of his own mouth, "that *his yoke is easy and his burden light:* And Christ's intimate disciple saith, "that *his commandments are not grievous.* (1 John v, 3.)"

In the answer, given by Episcopius to the 19th of the 64 Questions which his Theological Students addressed to him while he was Professor at Amsterdam, he has explained the meaning of this passage, *Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect;* (Matt. v, 48.) and at the conclusion of his explanation, he resolves two other questions, the first of which is the following: "Is it possible for man, when assisted by Divine Grace, to perform all the commands of God, even according to a perfect method of performance? That is, using now the word LOVE (dilectio) in a general sense for an observance of the Divine commands, is it possible for a man to evince as much love, as he ought to do according to the requisitions of the Gospel, or according to the covenant of Grace?"—"About the affirmative of this matter," Episcopius says, "I entertain no doubt. My reasons are: (1.) God requires no other love than that which may be exercised by *the whole mind, and soul, and strength.* God, therefore, demands nothing which is above or beyond *the strength of man* to perform.—(2.) God promises, that He will circumcise the heart of his people, *that they may love him with all their heart and with all their soul.* (Deut. xxx, 6)—(3.) God himself bears testimony, that there have been those who have, all the days of their lives, observed all his commandments with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their strength; and this have they done in the sight of God, as we may perceive by what is said concerning Asa, in 1 Kings xv, 14:—concerning all the people, in 2 Chron. xv, 12;—concerning David, in 1 Kings xi, 34; xiv, 8; & xv, 11;—concerning Josiah, in 2 Kings xxii, 2, *because he returned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses.* (2 Kings xxiii, 25.) We find all these things ascribed, by God, under the old covenant, to the individuals already enumerated: What man, therefore, can doubt concerning the same excellences finding a place under the new covenant?" He then proceeds to discuss "the vulgar distinction between *a perfection of parts* and *a perfection of degrees;* and observes at the close, "No mortal can rise to the *degree* of the Divine Perfection, which is incapable of increase. It is the nature of love not to rest or stand still, but always to be desirous of making progress; and this love never thinks about what is finished, but always about that which is to come."

The second Question is proposed in these terms: "Is a most intense perfection of this kind absolutely necessary to salvation?" To this Episcopius replies: "We are not here treating about *legal perfection*, which embraces all and every kind of unsinning obedience in the highest degree, which also is perpetual, and which excludes through life every imperfection, infirmity, and inadvertence; for

doctrine of justification, (a doctrine so important and essential in the opinion of Luther, that he scrupled not to call it *Articulus ecclesiæ stantis vel cadentis*,) that those who look into the writings of Arminius, may be disposed to suspect him of having even exceeded Calvin in orthodoxy.* It is certain, at least, that he declares his willingness to subscribe to every thing that Calvin has written on that leading subject of Christianity, in the third book of his Institutes. And with this declaration, the tenor of his writings invariably corresponds."†—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia.*

we believe this perfection to be morally impossible. But *evangelical perfection* comprises two things: (1.) A perfection proportioned to the powers (or strength) of each individual. (2.) A desire of always making advances towards what is better, and of increasing that strength still more and more. This perfection varies in the ratio of those who are commencing, of those who are proficients, and of those who are perfect, in the knowledge of Divine Truth and Charity as commanded. On this account, one perfection is more intense than another, or the perfection of some persons is more intense than that of others. The same perfection neither is nor can be in all and in each, nor can it belong to all and each: Yet the most intense perfection of all and of each is necessary to salvation, according to the unequal powers (or strength). This intense perfection we have placed in the circumstance of *the inequality of their powers*, that no one may omit or commit any thing which he knows he ought, and has it in his power, not to omit or commit,—that is, that he may not sin against his own conscience, of whatever kind his conscience may be Thus, the desire of making constant advances towards what is better, is common to all; and, therefore, this ought to be equal and alike in all and in each, according to their several powers. It is also absolutely necessary to salvation, and ought to precede even penitence itself, or to follow all penitence; both of which may be proved by numerous scriptural testimonies, which it is no part of our present design to produce."

* Of the superior orthodoxy of Arminius in the sense of the Church of England and of the Ancient Fathers, the reader will find cogent proofs in a succeeding page. (274.)

† To this extract succeeds the paragraph quoted by me in page 801. I add as a curious piece of church-history, the same writer's account of the manner in which Arminianism has infused itself into Scotland:

"From England, Arminianism travelled into Scotland, where, however, it made no great impression for a long series of years, having to contend with a strong and rooted attachment to the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, and being generally united with episcopacy, of which the Scottish nation has been always and utterly abhorrent. Since the middle of the last century it has been rapidly gaining ground, particularly among that class of the higher ranks in which there is still left a serious and practical belief of the truth of Christianity. Of the Clergy, a few venture to preach it openly in some of its most corrupted forms. There are a great many, too, who so far acquiesce in it, as never to meddle with the doctrines of Election and Reprobation in their public or private ministrations; some from a decided disbelief of them, and others from a mere conviction of their inexpediency. Such of them as carefully avoid, or openly oppose it, (and these form a body respectable both for number and for character,) are certainly best entitled to the praise of honesty, the Confession of Faith which they subscribe being rigidly Calvinistic, and each of them being required at his ordination to renounce the Arminian heresy. A great proportion of the common people are still so fond of the dogma of Absolute Predestination, which they too often abuse, that they look on those who deny it with anger, or with pity; and seem to have the same sentiments, with regard to Arminianism, which were declared by Mr. Rouse, in the English

In the celebrated "Address to the Christian Reader," which Professor Poelenburgh prefixed to the second volume of *the Theological Works* of Episcopius, the following judicious and discriminating observations occur: "Besides, I am accustomed to admire the consummate equity and moderation of our men [the Arminians], in forming their sentiments about those matters which are at this day subjects of controversy among Christians. For, while some parties seem generally to diverge to certain extremes, or are hurried down precipices, our people, with prudent moderation, have held the way in which nothing might be found that savoured of asperity, that conveyed an unusual sound to Christian ears, or that might seem offensively to oppose the general taste either of divines or of other believers, whether they lived in former ages, or are our cotemporaries.

"(1.) Disputes are maintained concerning THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF GOD, and it has been asked, *Does Divine Prescience comprehend, among other things, future contingencies?* On this point many persons have proceeded so far as daringly to decide even on the mode of God's foreknowledge, and have said, 'God 'foreknows things contingent, because He has already pre-deter-'mined all things from all eternity by an immutable decree:' According to this mode, then, it follows as a necessary consequence, that God has before determined that even sins should be committed.—Others, in their desire to avoid this rock, have fallen upon one equally erroneous, and, that God may not be represented by them as *the author of sin*, have entirely divested Him of this foreknowledge of things contingent: In this manner, therefore, in the estimation of almost all Christians, these persons detract greatly from the Divine Perfections.—What then is the opinion of our Remonstrants on this point? They neither deny the Divine Foreknowledge, nor yet do they derive it from an eternal decree, lest they should deprive God of that which is his, or lest they should ascribe to Him any thing incongruous: But occupying a middle way, and that a very safe one, they acknowledge foreknowledge in God; and yet they account the mode, by which God comprehends those future things, to be altogether incomprehensible and beyond human investigation.

"(2.) Discussions have likewise arisen concerning CHRIST'S

parliament, when he said, that 'it makes the grace of God lackey after the will 'of man; that it was no better than the Trojan horse; that an Arminian is the 'spawn of a Papist; and that he is ready to turn into one of those frogs that rose 'out of the bottomless pit.' It must be acknowledged, however, and we state it from personal observation, that this sort of bigotry, for which our native land has been long remarkable, is gradually yielding its place to more liberal sentiments; and that the time seems to be fast approaching, when a man may be, without incurring any reproach, either a Calvinist or an Arminian, if he be only sincere in his belief, and conscientious in his regard to the ordinances and duties of Christianity."—*Edinburgh Encyclopedia.*

SATISFACTION FOR OUR SINS; on which point some persons have asserted, that Christ has so satisfied, as to render our repentance unnecessary for obtaining pardon, although the Scriptures eloquently admonish us in the following words: 'Repent, therefore, 'and be converted, *that your sins may be blotted out*,' &c.—On the contrary, other persons, when they perceive this doctrine to be destructive of the very sinews of repentance, have entirely discarded all satisfaction, nay they have banished from Theology the very term, as the hiding-place of a most grievous error.—What is the course which the Remonstrants pursue? They neither reject the word 'SATISFACTION,' because it is capable of being employed in a correct sense; nor do they urge the use of it as necessary, because it is not to be found in any part of Scripture. But the matter itself they explain thus: Christ abundantly satisfied that love which God bore towards justice, so as not only to render it POSSIBLE for Him, without any obstacle, to remit to us the punishment due to us for our sins, but likewise to render Him in the fullest sense WILLING,—but yet on this condition, 'that we cannot 'obtain this remission of sins which has been obtained for us and 'proposed to us, unless we betake ourselves by repentance and 'faith to an observance of the Divine commands.'

"(3.) While some persons affirm GRACE to be *irresistible*, and others that *there is none*, the Remonstrants, placing themselves on safer ground, neither deny grace, lest they should be injurious towards God,—nor describe it as irresistible, lest they should destroy every command to obedience: But they acknowledge it as a gift conferred most freely upon us by God,* which yet may

* The late Rev. Thomas Scott, having presented to the readers of his *Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism*, a lame translation of a passage from Grotius, which the Bishop of Winchester had quoted, appends to it the following animadversion: "In respect of GROTIUS, I would, once for all, say, that I consider "him as one of the most able and plausible, yet most decided, enemies of genuine "Christianity, that modern times have produced."—In Mr. Scott's vocabulary, "genuine Christianity" and "Calvinism" are terms synonimous, though with the latter system, which he warmly defended, it will afterwards be shewn, he had a very confused and imperfect acquaintance, especially with that modification of it which the Synod of Dort promulged. That he should account the learned and pious Grotius "a most able and decided enemy" to CALVINISM, will not appear wonderful when the reader is told, that the passage, upon which Mr. Scott animadverts, commences thus: "Incautious expressions produce dangerous consequences. After hearing or reading such words as these, *We are justified by faith alone without any works*, many persons continue in a course of sinning, and do not amend their lives, yet they promise themselves salvation," &c.

For the very same reason, the celebrated BUCER and MELANCTHON might, with equal injustice, be traduced, as two of the most plausible, yet decided, enemies of "*genuine* Christianity," if the followers of Calvin be allowed with their characteristic arrogance to apply exclusively to their own system this sacred title. For those two great men,—who, by their piety, prudence, and talents, contributed more than any of their cotemporaries to the success of the Reformation,—made dreadful havoc of some of Calvin's dogmas, as is apparent by the following extract from GROTII *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiastica*: "The honour and glory of all the

be used by man either in a good or in an evil manner, and, on account of this use or abuse of it, he may either be rewarded or punished according to his deserts.

righteousness which is found in Christians, return to God and Christ: For faith is the gift of God, through Christ; not of works, but of Him that calleth. And this is the seed of righteousness; but, in all seeds, their fruits are likewise reckoned. The facility with which this reconciliation is effected [between faith and its fruits], when metaphysical trifling and a mind averse to peace are discarded, is shewn by BUCER on the Second Psalm, not in the edition of Stephens, (which, like most of the books published at Geneva, is evidently corrupt and vitiated,) but in that printed at Strasburgh: 'I cannot do otherwise than wish that certain persons were 'possessed of a sounder judgment, who have created much confusion among many 'people in these days by this paradox, *We are saved by faith alone;* when, at 'the same time, they have perceived this expression is wrested, as if they defined '*righteousness* solely by a mental estimation, and excluded good works. What 'charity is that which would disdain to apply a remedy to this evil? This might 'be done by declaring, *We are justified by a faith which is actually formed* '[within us]; or, *Through faith, we obtain a will for the performance of good* '*works, and also righteousness itself;* or, *Faith is the foundation and root of a* '*just life*, as St. Augustine has expressed himself. These truths ought to give no 'offence to any person.'—The Preface, which the same BUCER prefixed to his *Commentaries on the Four Evangelists*, is worthy of a perusal, although it is purposely omitted in the Genevan edition by Stephens. Melancthon likewise often complains, in his letters to Joachim Camerarius, 'that no objections were made 'against him, except *that he* [Melancthon] *was a little too diffuse in his praise* '*of* GOOD WORKS; and yet, that he uttered nothing which equalled the horrid 'sayings of others, but, on the contrary, such as were both true and useful.'

"To come to a man's *assurance of his future condition*,—St. Augustine, and others of the Fathers, deliver this doctrine, 'we may be assured of the REWARD 'which awaits us if we persevere; and this is a faith which is infallible. But we 'are not assured of our PERSEVERANCE itself: Yet the greater degree of proficiency which any man makes in piety, excites within him stronger hopes, though 'not to the entire exclusion of fears.' But St. Augustine's words will not admit of such a reconciliation, as Rivet desires to produce; and that Father's meaning is rendered very manifest in several parts of his writings. In his 107th letter, addressed to Vitalis, he says: 'No man is certain [assured] of his predestination, 'unless a Divine Revelation on this point be made to a particular person. Regeneration, and faith united with charity, are not sure marks of predestination; 'because many of those who have possessed this faith and charity, and have been 'regenerated, not only fall away, but perish eternally. Some persons who have 'received the grace of Faith and Holiness, are delivered up to live here till they 'fall.'—In his treatise *on the Benefit of Perseverance*, St. Augustine says, 'Some 'regenerate persons persevere till their departure out of this life; others are detained 'in the present world till they fall.—To certain persons, whom God has regenerated 'in Christ, and on whom he has bestowed faith, hope, and love, He does give perseverance.—Therefore, no man can be in a state of security, except when he has 'finished his course in the present life, which is a state of earthly trial.'—But, as Melancthon writes to Joachim Camerarius, it is no subject of wonder, 'that certain 'paradoxes have been fabricated in the Portico of ZENO, [the name by which he 'generally designated CALVIN,] of which St. AUGUSTINE is not properly the 'author.'"

These extracts from the Fourth Article in *the Wishes for the Peace of the Church*, (which was one of the last works written by Grotius,) when connected with the fine commencement of that Article, descriptive of the peace and joy enjoyed by those whose sins are forgiven, will exhibit the evangelical views which that great man entertained, and which are partially elucidated in other parts of

"(4.) Besides, while some persons wish unduly to extol the MERITS OF GOOD WORKS, as if of themselves such worthiness belonged to them, as renders it impossible for eternal life to be justly denied to those who perform them; and while, on the contrary, others depress them so much as to suppose, that they have nothing in them to obtain from God a life of eternal blessedness: The Remonstrants do not deny it to be impossible for good works to obtain life eternal, but they affirm that this is the act of the grace of God, or rather, that life eternal is a consequence of good works through the gracious promise of God. For this reason, the scriptures declare, in more passages than one, (Heb. vi, 10; 2 Thess. i, 4—11.) that immortality is bestowed upon us through justice.

"(5.) When a similar discussion arose respecting THE PERSEVERANCE OF FAITH, some men affirmed, 'that we have no assurance of it in this life,' and others described it as 'an absolute certainty bestowed on every man who is a believer.' But the Remonstrants, assenting neither to the former nor to the latter, prudently judged it possible for every believer to determine with

this volume. It would not be difficult to produce passages, from other parts of his Works, as highly evangelical as any of those which his accusers have composed in their happiest moments. But the real grievance lies in this—Grotius refers every doctrine to practical purposes. In this extract, he does not discard the doctrine of ASSURANCE, but adapts it to a believer's PRESENT EXPERIENCE, and his actual condition at every moment of his Christian career. This Apostolical mode of applying the gracious attestations of the Holy Spirit has always been a high offence to the Calvinists, who complain, that, instead of remaining *perpetually alike*, spiritual consolations are thus rendered *variable* and dependent upon a Christian's humble and faithful walk with God. See page 139.

I adduce GROTIUS in this note, because he has been industriously, yet most unjustly, maligned by some of my countrymen, who were not Arminians, as "a man inimical to the grace of God." This reproach was first taken up against him, and has since been repeated, chiefly on account of some opinions contained in his *Annotations on the Epistles*, which were published in a very imperfect state about five years after his decease. After all the quibbling exceptions which the principal republican Calvinists (in 1654) made against the following account by Dr. Hammond, it remains historically true, and is, on every point, unimpeachable: "For the passages in his *Posthuma*, those especially on the Epistles, it is evident that they had never been formed by him or fitted for the public, but were put together by somebody else, after his death. Finding many things in his *Adversaria* thrown into paper books as he had at any time occasion, either from his reading of Scripture or others' writings, (it being ordinary for every man to note, not only what he approves, but what he dislikes, and what he thinks matter of farther consideration,) somebody else hath, as he thought fit, made a body of Annotations, and published them under his name."

From those posthumous passages alone, has each succeeding calumniator gleaned the frail proofs of the heterodoxy of Grotius, many of which receive the most satisfactory refutation in the two last of his accredited publications, which are peculiarly interesting to Britons, because they were written chiefly for the noble and disinterested purpose of inspiring pacific and loyal principles into the minds of the belligerent Calvinists in England and Scotland. See the succeeding pages 270—293, and 630.

certainty about himself,* that he is in a state of salvation, and also that he will remain in that state, since the grace of God will

* The evangelical sentiments on this subject, which Arminius entertained, are briefly recorded in a succeeding page, (143,) and the Tenets of his immediate followers may be seen in pages 138—150. They accommodated the strong testimony of the Spirit of God, which is implied in *the assurance of salvation*, to holy and practical purposes. "We acknowledge," say the Remonstrants, "that true believers, as such, are certain and fully persuaded concerning their "salvation; and that this certainty is unchangeable and invariable, as long as "true believers have a diligent regard to their duty."

The following extract from a letter which Episcopius addressed to Taurinus in 1642, contains the opinions of that great man, on other points connected with Assurance:

"1. No one doubts the possibility of a man being certain [assured] in this life of the remission of his sins, which had been committed prior to his conversion, although they may have been of the most grievous description.

"2. It is usual to dispute the possibility of a man, in this life, being assured, at least *with the same degree of certainty*, of the remission of those sins, even of the most grievous of them, which have been committed since his conversion: And perhaps it is better for this question to remain a matter of controversy, than to be confidently decided; though I have never yet been able to perceive any reason sufficiently weighty, to induce me to deny the possibility of this certainty. But, however this may be decided, a Christian cannot lawfully doubt that it is possible for him to be assured of the remission of his lighter offences, of those which Tertullian calls 'sins of daily occurrence.'

"3. It is possible for a man to obtain this assurance, (1.) from the certain knowledge of the Divine rule, or of that will according to which God declares himself to be willing to pardon sins; (2.) and from the consciousness of his own spirit well-approved before God, and of his actions which are regulated according to this rule. For '*if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of Him, because we keep his commandments and do those things that are pleasing to his sight.*' (1 John iii, 22.)

"4. But the man who is assured with this certainty, is bound, notwithstanding, to pray all the days of his life, '*Forgive me my trespasses!*' by having respect to the trespasses which he committed before he became a believer and was converted; because God will not forgive them, unless the pardon of them be asked of Him to the very close of life. With regard to trespasses which are called 'offences' and 'slighter lapses of daily occurrence,' a believer is bound to pray every day for the pardon of them, if he have committed them, or if he perceive that they have been committed; though they are so frequent, various, and secret, that the man himself frequently either does not observe that he commits such trespasses, or does not remember that he has committed them, or neglects them after being committed: So that it is much the safer course to pray, with David: '*Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults.*' (Psalm xix, 12.) Or to declare, with St. Paul: '*For I am conscious to myself of no one thing; yet am I not hereby justified: But He that judgeth me, is the Lord.*' (1 Cor. iv, 4.)

"5. No ABSOLUTE certainty [such as the Calvinists assert] concerning *the remission of sins* has place in this life, but only a CONDITIONAL certainty which is two-fold.—FIRST. If I am such a character as, according to the Divine Command, I ought to be.—THEN. If I continue to be such a character, and therefore if I likewise daily pray to God for the forgiveness of all my trespasses, both those of a grievous kind perpetrated before my conversion, and those which are lighter offences and imprudently committed in my daily life or conversation. For the perpetration of grievous sins, which may daily occur in my life, cannot

never abandon him if he never desert it, which he hopes in God he will never do. Thus a middle course is excellently steered

possibly consist with a certainty and confidence of remission, although I may, every day and still more frequently, pray, *Forgive me my trespasses!*"

It was the CONDITIONALITY, to which Episcopius here alludes, that gave the greatest umbrage to the Calvinists. In another place I have given a short history of the variations in the Protestant and scriptural doctrine of *the Witness of the Spirit*, or *the Assurance of Salvation*. I am aware that many respectable divines, in our days, cannot endure the idea of the Holy Spirit having any share in the grace of Assurance, which they almost uniformly confound with the Unconditional Assurance of the Calvinists: They readily grant, that a Christian may and ought to enjoy the testimony of his own spirit concerning his uprightness and sincerity. I should be gratified to see some attempt made, by such divines, to reconcile these two passages of Scripture, '*The conscience* [of the Gentiles] *also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another.*' (Rom. ii, 15.) '*Our rejoicing is this,—the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.*' (2 Cor. i, 12.) The first of them refers to the Heathens, who are deprived of the light of Gospel; and I should be pleased to know in what respect the testimony of a christian's conscience excels that of a heathen's, if the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit be withheld from the former, which is the hypothesis of the divines to whom I have alluded.

In their earnest endeavours to avoid Fanaticism, these divines have adopted one of the chief principles of the Mystics. The latter argue, that, as God is a Being without passions or parts, every believer will display a greater degree of placidity or quietism the nearer approaches he makes towards Divine perfection; that virtue, being its own reward, must be loved for its own sake alone; and that, on this account, the passions, those gross instruments, ought to remain perfectly quiescent and not disturb the current of this disinterested love Divine. This is not the religion which the Bible teaches: Christianity is eminently a religion of motives,—of powerful motives addressed most skilfully by God himself to every passion in the human heart, as well as to the understanding. But these divines wish to make mankind believe, that spiritual influences and the grace of God exercise themselves solely in enlightening the intellect, without refining, elevating, or warming the affections, and diverting them into a purer channel: On this subject their Creed is well expressed by the Deistical poet:

> What conscience dictates *to be done*,
> Or warns me NOT TO DO,
> THIS teach me more than hell to shun,
> *That*, more than heav'n pursue.

This ill-defined faculty called "conscience," is, in their system, to achieve every thing,—to subdue all tumultuous passions, and to impel men to the performance of their duties,—without the direct and immediate aid of the Holy Spirit. Yet God, in his infinite wisdom, has been pleased to propound in various forms, "the avoiding of hell," and "the wish to gain heaven," as two grand motives addressed to the affections. Present peace, hope, joy and comfort, are also represented in Scripture as the immediate effects of the Holy Ghost: Therefore to ask and to expect his blessed influences on the human heart, cannot be unscriptural or displeasing to God, who has promised to bestow his Holy Spirit on those who ask him.

Perhaps the plain language of that famous old Puritan, Dr. RICHARD SIBBES, may afford some light on this subject: "After this, it pleaseth Christ by his Spirit to open *a door of hope*, to give some hints of mercy, to let in some beams

between Scylla and Charybdis, so as to threaten no harm or peril to pious souls, on the one hand by a listless security, or on the other by a headlong despair.

of love, and, withal, to raise up the soul, by a spirit of faith, to close with particular mercy opened and offered by the Spirit, whereby the soul sealeth to the truth of the promise: '*He that believeth, hath set to his seal that God is true.*' (John iii, 33.) God stoops to have his truth, power and goodness, ratified and confirmed by us; when we believe the promise of God in Christ, though it be by the help of the Spirit, we seal God's truth. And then God honoureth that sealing of ours by the sealing of his Spirit. '*After you believed, you were sealed,*' saith the Apostle; that is, the gracious love of Christ was further confirmed to them. He that believes in God, by believing, seals *that God is true*; and God honours that seal again, by sealing it to the day of redemption. *He that believeth, hath the witness in himself*, that grace promised belongeth to him; for he carries in his heart the counterpane of the promises. The Spirit not only revealeth Christ and the promises *in general*, but, in attending upon the ordinances, by a heavenly light the Spirit discovers to us our interest in particular, and saith to the soul, *God is thy salvation*, and enableth the soul to say, *I am God's. I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine. Christ loved me, and gave himself for me.* Whence came this voice of St. Paul? It was the still voice of the Spirit of God, that, together with the general truth in the Gospel, discovered in particular Christ's love to him. It is not a *general* faith that will bring to heaven, but there is a *special* work of the Spirit, in the use of means, discovering and sealing the good-will of God to us, that He intends good unto us; and thereupon our hearts are persuaded to believe in God, and to love God as OUR GOD, and Christ as OUR CHRIST. Holy and good men, by this work of the Spirit, are distinguished—from *civil men*, by the work of holiness, which mere civil men have not at all, but despise;—from seeming good men, by the depth of that work, &c. A christian is God's, in a more peculiar manner than others: There is not only a witness of the Spirit *that God is his*, but the Spirit works in him an assent to take God again. There is a mutual appropriation. Where the Spirit seals, God appropriates. *God chooseth the righteous man to himself;* and we may know this appropriation by appropriating God again: *Whom have I in Heaven but Thee? And what have I in earth in comparison of thee?* There is no action that God works upon the soul, but there is a reflect action by the Spirit to God again. It is the office of the Spirit, as to work Faith and other Graces, so to reveal them to us. Every grace of God is a light of itself, coming from the Father of lights: And it is the property of light, not only to discover other things but itself too; and it is the office of the Spirit to give further light to this light, by shining upon his own grace in us. An excellent place for this is 1 Cor. ii, 12: '*We have received the Spirit that is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God.*' In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every thing be confirmed: One witness is THE SPIRIT OF MAN, *which knows the things that are in man:* The other witness is THE SPIRIT OF GOD, *witnessing to our spirits that we are the children of God.* Here is light added to light, witness added to witness, the greater witness of THE SPIRIT to the less of our spirits: The Apostle joins them both together, (Rom. ix, 1.) '*My conscience bears me witness through the Holy Ghost.*' "

This passage from Dr. Sibbes contains much sound Theology, in which both the Arminians and the Calvinists of the old school could heartily agree; and it will serve to shew some modern divines, that the very testimony of a man's own spirit, which they are accustomed injuriously to oppose to that of God's Spirit, is wrought in the heart by the Blessed Comforter himself.

In SIBBES's "Fountain Sealed" are many other excellent sentiments, to

"(6.) Lastly. What shall I say in conclusion about the congregations of the Lutherans and Anabaptists? These people

which every Arminian, who knows the nature of the scriptural system he has espoused, can readily subscribe. To the commencement of the subjoined paragraph no evangelical Arminian will object, because it is cautiously expressed: "There is a distinction between men in God's eternal purpose; but that concerns not us to meddle with further, than to know it in general. God knoweth who are His, and who are not His: But in time the Holy Spirit distinguisheth, and ranks men as they were distinguished before all worlds, and as they shall be at the day of judgment. The beginning of that distinction which shall be afterwards, is in this life: A seal maketh the impression of an image. The prince's image useth to be in his seal: So is God's image in his, which destroyeth the old image and print that was in us before.—The work of sanctifying grace upon the heart is a seal. Whom the Spirit sanctifieth, He saveth. The Lord knoweth who are his: But how shall we know it? By this seal, *Let every one that nameth the name of* THE LORD, *depart from iniquity*, not only in heart and affection, but in conversation; and that shall be a seal of his Sonship to him. None are children of God by adoption, but those that are children also by regeneration: None are heirs of heaven, but they are newborn to it. This seal of sanctification leaves upon the soul the likeness of Jesus Christ, even *grace for grace*.—This love the Spirit teaches the heart; and love teaches us not only our duty, but to do it in a loving and acceptable manner. It carries out the whole stream of the soul with it; and rules all, whilst it rules, and will not suffer the soul to divert to by-things, much less to contrary. The graces that are conversant about that condition of which the Spirit assureth us, as Faith and Hope, are purging and purifying graces, working a suitableness in the soul to the things believed and hoped for: And the excellency of the things believed and hoped for, hath such an effect upon the soul, that it will not suffer the soul to defile itself. Our hopes on high will lead us to ways on high; therefore whilst these graces are exercised about these objects, the soul cannot but be in a pleasing frame."

An Arminian ought to object to some of the following sentences, because it must be his wish to see the humble relentings, and the subsequent reconciliation, of a contrite spirit, described with greater accuracy: "But oft it falls out, that our own spirits, though sanctified, cannot stand against a subtle temptation strongly enforced: God therefore super-adds his own Spirit. Guilt often prevails over the testimony of blood; that of water, by reason of stirring corruptions, runneth troubled: Therefore the third, the immediate testimony of THE SPIRIT, is necessary to witness the Father's love to us, to us in particular, saying, '*I am thy salvation: Thy sins are pardoned!*' And this testimony the Word echoeth unto, and the heart is stirred up and comforted with joy unexpressible: So that both our spirits and consciences, and the Spirit of Christ, JOINING IN ONE, strongly witness our condition in grace *that we are the sons of God*."

It is also on such points of Assurance as the following, that an Arminian is at issue with a Calvinist. "Sometimes after this sealing," says Dr. Sibbes, "there may be interrupting of comfortable communion, so far as to question our condition. Yet this calling into question comes not from the Spirit, which, where it once witnesseth for us, never witnesseth against us: But it is a fruit of the flesh not fully subdued; it is a sin itself, and usually a fruit of some former sin."—Now, an Arminian believes, that, if this "interrupting of comfortable communion" proceeds from a sinful act, on the part of a believer, by such an act he has unchristianized himself. What then is the work of the Holy Spirit? Having "once witnessed for" the man, will He "never witness against him?" Just the contrary: For Christ says, "When the Comforter is come, He will reprove [or *convince*] the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." The

have divided and are now dividing the Church into parties, on account of the right understanding or practice of one ceremony or another. Though at the same time they contribute nothing by such efforts towards the promotion of solid piety, either by instilling it with more efficacy, or by establishing it with greater firmness; on the contrary, they injure religion the more by their too pertinacious contests about their own opinions. Though the observance of ceremonies must, as far as possible, be accurately retained, because they have been prescribed by God; yet they are the *shadows* and *representations* of the inward probity of the soul, rather than the effecters of it by their own nature, or, as the

man, who by his own sinful act has disinfranchised himself, must therefore always experience this "reproving" or convincing influence before he can hope to find the Holy Spirit approach him as THE COMFORTER. An Arminian also trembles at that fearful declaration of the Lord of Hosts: "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." From the solemn exhortations, in the New Testament, *neither to grieve nor to quench the Spirit*, he acknowledges the solemn import of this passage: "Now the just shall live by faith: But if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." (Heb. x, 38.) On those who believe in the possibility of a man "drawing back" from the good and right ways of the Lord, such texts must have a proper deterring effect; but they are lost on others, who consider a falling away from grace to be impossible. But the language which the Doctor here employs, is only another version of the soothing Calvinistic axiom, "*Once* in grace, *always* in grace!"

For the same reason, the phraseology of the following sentence is exceedingly reprehensible: "Sometimes God leads his children to heaven through some foul way, by which he lets them see what need they have of washing by the blood and Spirit of Christ; which, otherwise, perhaps they would not so much value: When they grieve the Spirit, and the Spirit thereupon grieves them, and that grief proves medicinal; the grief which sin breeds, consumes the sin that bred it."

God never leads his children through any foul way: On the contrary, all his exhortations direct them to the way of holiness. His children indeed sometimes sinfully run into a way which is displeasing to his purity: They cry to Him out of the deeps, into which their sins have plunged them. God hears their cry: In great mercy he brings them up out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, sets their feet upon a rock, and establishes their goings. (Psalm xl, 2.) To assert, therefore, in opposition to the uniform tenour of Scripture, "that God *leads* his children to heaven through some foul way," is to make God at once the Author of sin, and affords an alarming inlet to all the desecrating deductions of Antinomians. How different is the fine description which Isaiah gives, (xxxv, 8,) of the way to heaven by the Gospel! "And a highway shall be there, and a way; and it shall be called THE WAY OF HOLINESS; *the unclean shall not pass over it;* but it shall be for those: The wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." The holy provisions of the Gospel for the salvation of man are entirely of this sanctifying character; and God is not so deficient in means for effecting the purification of his people, as to require the aid of sin for its own destruction.

These brief animadversions on the words of Dr. Sibbes, in the substance of which that pious divine had the concurrent testimony of his Puritan brethren, will shew the point of difference between the Arminian and the Calvinistic signification given to "the Assurance of salvation:" While in the former sense it is applied solely as a Divine evidence of a christian's *present experience*, in the latter it is presumed to be an evidence of *absolute election and continued perseverance.*

expression is, by means of *opus operatum*. We must never be so foolish, as to place the principal part of our religion in external rites; because God desires now to be worshipped in spirit and truth, and is most urgent concerning the cleansing of the heart. But charity herself is lost, while such long disputes are maintained about the bond of charity; and purity of soul is disturbed and violated, while contests without end are indulged about the baptism of water. It was a declaration of the prophets, which has often been repeated, and must now again be inculcated, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*. But a principal part of mercy consists, in not injuring or disturbing those who are in error, but in nourishing them in the bosom of the Church, that they may by this method become better instructed. Knowing, therefore, that *the kingdom of God consists not of meat and drink, but of righteousness and peace*,—and that *we are saved in baptism, not by the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but by the answer of a good conscience towards God*,—we Remonstrants recommend, offer, and exercise CHRISTIAN LIBERTY in no matters more readily than in external rites, if we are not able to persuade other people to embrace our sentiments on this subject which we defend as true."

II.—THE DESIGN OF THIS WORK,

THESE extracts display with tolerable fidelity the real bearings of Arminianism: It now remains that I render to the public some account of the origin and progress of this production. Upwards of two years ago, I had nearly completed a translation of the First Volume of *the Works of Arminius*, which also comprises a Memoir of his Life and Writings, more ample than any that had been previously published either in English or Latin. It was my desire to derive from his private letters and other authentic sources of information, the rise and gracious aspect of his doctrines, and the workings of his ingenuous mind while weighing in the balances of the sanctuary the apparently opposite propositions to which I have already alluded, (p. xi.) and I wished to publish these, with a brief account of his learned Dutch cotemporaries and the spread of his principles in foreign countries. My design, however, I soon found, was too comprehensive to be executed in an adequate manner in one volume. Of English Arminianism, respecting the commencement of which the greatest misrepresentations have prevailed, I could give no account: And as I was desirous of presenting to the public a Syllabus of the doctrines of the Dutch Remonstrants who succeeded Arminius, I resolved to reprint Bishop WOMACK's *Examination of Tilenus before the Triers*.

The close of that pamphlet contains an excellent English translation of *the Tenets of the Remonstrants*, which were presented to the Synod of Dort, and to which the pious Bishop has added

some scriptural proofs and valuable comments. When I had nearly printed the whole of the Tenets, I obtained possession of a copy of MOSHEIM'S *History of the Synod of Dort by John Hales*, which I had not seen when I wrote the notes to Arminius. The perusal of that very interesting volume offered me the first excuse for increasing the size of this work. For I found that the learned and amiable ecclesiastical historian had adopted the same mode as I had done, of ascertaining the sentiments and proceedings of the Dort Synodists, by a careful attention to the garbled accounts given in their own ACTS, and by comparing those accounts with the despatches which HALES and BALCANQUAL transmitted, generally every week, to the English Ambassador at the Hague, and with other Calvinistic, yet tolerably impartial, documents. That there should be a degree of similarity between his deductions and mine, was not wonderful, since both had pursued one course; but the points of coincidence with regard to sentiment and language were so numerous and striking, as to induce me to translate some of his remarks, which, while they elucidated Bishop Womack's pamphlet, confirmed the view I had given, in the work just cited, of that Calvinistic Convention.

This was the first temptation which I felt to augment the size of the publication. But in translating, for the *benefit* of the mere English reader,* the Latin Theses of Parker, which Bishop Womack had appended to the conclusion of his pamphlet, and had enriched with his own able annotations, another temptation presented itself. I had been long acquainted with the secret history of those Theses, and had often smiled at the eulogies bestowed upon them by some Predestinarian writers,† who must have had an uncommon grasp of intellect, if they could collect from Parker's barbarous language the exact opinions which it was his purpose to convey. These Theses constituted in reality an additional futile attempt to modify Calvinism, so as to conceal under the harshest and most recondite terms of scholastic jargon, its objectionable and half-discarded dogmas. In introducing them to the notice of the reader, the editor, who gives us the initials

* I know, that, by this attempt at translation, I shall be liable to the just remark of Bishop Womack: (page 194:) "The reason why these Theses yet "remain untranslated, is this,—no man could, in my opinion, render them into "English so as to be grasped by the comprehension of mortals, or could himself "understand them when translated." If, therefore, the reader cannot understand the translation, the cause of his mental failure must be ascribed to the Theses, and not to himself.

† RICHARD BAXTER, in his *Saints' Rest*, (Pt. i, c. 8,) when describing "the people of God," speaks in the following fulsome manner of PARKER'S Theses: "They that would see this *work of God on the soul* handled most "exactly, judiciously, scholastically, and briefly, let them read Mr. Parker's "excellent *Theses de Traductione Peccatoris ad Vitam.* If you cannot get the "book, it is in the end of Amesius against Grevinchovius, but maimed of fifteen "Theses left out."

of his name H. S., has extolled them as "entirely studded with gems," and has described, in the language of hyperbole, the reputed victories achieved by various Calvinistic authors over their *supine* Arminian adversaries. His mention of these individuals of different denominations, suggested to me the first idea of illustrating the history of Arminianism during the interesting period between 1600 and 1662, by brief memoirs of six or seven of the principal Calvinists whose names are cited in the Preface to PARKER'S *Theses*, and by elucidatory extracts from their productions, and from those of their learned cotemporaries in various parts of Europe.

In Appendix A, therefore, I have given some account of MACCOVIUS, who with the younger Parker was joint author of the Theses; and in B, have corroborated one of the Prefacer's most judicious hints.

In Appendix C, the reader will find a biographical notice of John CAMERO, and a description of the system of religious doctrines of which he was the author, and which is commonly known in England under the term BAXTERIANISM. The extracts which I have given from the letters and pamphlets of Grotius, Courcelles, Du Moulin, Rivet, Amyraut, Poelenburgh, and others, furnish a fair history of the nature of this system and its progress. A long note, in page 714, affords a still clearer view of its consequences. I have reserved some valuable observations from Episcopius, for insertion in "WOMACK'S *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked.*"—As Camero received his death-blow from one of the furious zealots, who, in those days, had begun to manifest a spirit of insubordination in almost every State throughout Europe, in which Calvinistic churches were planted; I have in a summary manner exposed the origin of that spirit, and have traced it from the Genevan Fathers down to the æra immediately previous to the memorable Synod of Dort.

In Appendix D, I have more minutely marked the spread of the same restless and revolutionary spirit, in a biographical account of Dr. William TWISSE, the famous Moderator *of the Assembly of Divines* at Westminster. The contents of that Appendix, which occupies nearly three-fourths of the present volume, (in two parts,) I shall specify in a separate article. But, as the conclusion of Appendix D is inserted in the commencement of the second volume, part of which is already printed off, I proceed to the enumeration of the particulars it embraces. An entire and interesting chapter on Cromwell's "Triers and Ejectors," from JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin*, occupies the first place in the second volume, and is succeeded by the Rev. Tobias Conyers's celebrated dedication, to the Protector, of his English version of "the Declaration" of Arminius. The state of society and of public morals, at the beginning and the termination of the Civil Wars, is afterwards exhibited from various unexceptionable

authorities; and I think I shall have irrefragably proved, to all impartial persons, that, after Calvinism had exerted its influence uncontrolled under almost every varying form among the inhabitants of Great Britain, public morals were in a worse condition a year prior to the Restoration, than they were in 1637.*

Appendix E will contain a short Life of Thomas PARKER, the young man, who, when these Theses were subjects of reprehension in the Synod of Dort, was charged with having been the author of them, and who thus very conveniently removed a great portion of blame from Maccovius.

In Appendix F, I shall expose the ignorance of those who are accustomed to class Arminianism with Socinianism, and shall prove the far more numerous points of agreement between Calvinism and Socinianism. Among modern Calvinistic writers, I have met with no one that has so frequently and unjustly preferred this unsupported accusation, as the late Rev. Thomas Scott. I shall therefore present the reader in that place with a few animadversions on his inconsiderate expressions.

I shall devote Appendix G to the Life of Robert PARKER, the father of Thomas; and Appendix H to that of AMES and of ROBINSON. These three biographical sketches will afford me an opportunity of communicating some rather novel information on the rise and character of Independency, the very slender grounds of the Puritans' objections against the ceremonies and ritual of the Established Church, and the nature of the persecution which "the unconformable clergy" were compelled to endure.† The

* This is ingenuously confessed by many of the Preachers before the Long Parliament, as will be shewn in a subsequent part of this Introduction.

In WILLIAM BRIDGE'S Sermon before the Commons, Nov. 5, 1647, he said: "And now of late, what bitterness of spirit among professors! What divisions, oppressions instead of justice! What new-fangled prides? What unwillingness to be reformed? Time was heretofore when we did call for Truth, and cried aloud for Truth. Oh that we might know the Truth! But now we deal by Truth, as the Friar said the people did by their Holy Water: 'Ye call and cry,' said he, 'for Holy Water; but when the Sexton sprinkles it, 'ye turn away your faces and it falls on your backs!' So the times were heretofore, that we called and cried out for Truth, Truth! It is now come unto you: We would sprinkle it upon you; but ye turn away your faces from it, and it falls on your backs.

"And is there not as much swearing, drunkennesss, profaneness still as before? I read of a street in Rome, called *Vicus Sobrius*, 'the sober street,' because there was never an ale-house to be found in it: And, upon this account, I think, there will be never a sober street in England, or very rare.

"As for the precious ordinances of Jesus Christ, [they were] never so slighted and rejected as now. Nevertheless, the Lord hath saved us: Yea, he hath saved us with a great salvation, I may say, *a miraculous salvation!*"

Thus, when Calvinism, in all its variations, had been indulged with unbounded sway for seven years, the state of society was not amended, and the people shewed their strong aversion to the Predestinarian rigours.

† The subjoined paragraph commences with a quotation from AMES, which will prove, that the early Puritans, as well as their successors who flourished

account of AMES will also furnish me with an occasion of instituting a comparison between the arbitrary measures of Archbishop ABBOT, and those of his great but ill-fated successor Archbishop LAUD: When, notwithstanding the popular yet ill-founded prejudices against the latter, I shall adduce proofs sufficient to convince every equitable man, that Laud excelled his predecessor both in the liberality of his sentiments, and in the actual execution of his measures.*

during the Civil Wars, had no just notions whatever either of *civil* or *religious* liberty, in the modern acceptation of these terms. The only Toleration which they acknowledged, was *the law of retaliation;* and the axiom, by which they regulated their conduct towards those who differed from them on any doctrinal or ceremonial point, was that of *Kill, or be killed!*

OBADIAH SEDGWICK, in his sermon before the Commons, on the same day and from the same chapter as Hussey's in a subsequent page, says to the members of the Honourable House: "It was but the scornful speech of Tiberius, 'that the Gods alone must remedy the injuries offered unto them.' O no! You are *custodes utriusque tabulæ.* You are designed to be nursing-fathers: You have received the sword, to be a terror to the evil. Pious and and learned Amesius, (*Cases of Conscience*, l. 4, c. 4,) speaking to that question, '*Whether Heretics are to be punished by the Civil Magistrate?*,' answers thus: 'It is his place and duty to repress them and restrain them, if they be 'noxious and turbulent.' Yea, and he adds more than every one will be patient to hear, namely, 'that, if also they be manifestly blasphemous and pertinacious, 'they may be cut off *supplicio capitali*, [by capital punishment,] according to 'that in Leviticus, xxiv, 16.' "—The passage to which Ames refers, is the following: '*And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: As well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the* LORD, *shall he be put to death.*' Obadiah then specifies "nine ways," by which "the dangerous flood" of heresies might be stopped. In the *third* of them he says, "If the discipline [of the Presbytery] were fully and generally established, you should not have a heresy, or blasphemy, or any erroneous opinion, creeping out in any part of the kingdom, but there would be a timely discovery of it, and likewise a spiritual remedy to recover erring persons, and to prevent their further spreading." The *ninth way* is, "By using your co-ercive power, with such methods and proportions as the real safety of truth and souls doth require, and the repression of dangerous errors doth need: So managing the distributions thereof, that, under the notion of restraining heresy, you by no means injure real sanctity, nor yet, under the pretence of sanctity, you do not favour the growth of heresy."

* Perhaps the following passage from LOUIS DU MOULIN'S "*Appeal of all the Nonconformists in England to God, and all the Protestants of Europe, in order to manifest their sincerity to God and the King*," in 1680, will serve as an explanation of this matter: "The Assembly of Divines in Westminster, "chosen by the Parliament, were all CONFORMISTS, and none of them SI-"LENCED MINISTERS, except eight or nine, and four Scots."—This, unlike many of that rash man's assertions, is almost correct, and corroborated nearly *verbatim* by RICHARD BAXTER, in the First Part of his *Nonconformists' Plea;* in which work he also describes "the Houses of Lords and Commons, excepting "an inconsiderable number, the Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, "and the far greater part of the General Officers, &c., of the Earl of Essex his "army, and of the sea-captains," &c., as consisting of "those that had still lived in Conformity." The fallacy of these remarks will be exposed in another part of this Introduction, by the difference between 1640 and 1643. Now, to

Appendices I and K will not occupy much space,—the former consisting solely of a short account of Parker's Theses,—and the latter of a few remarks on the deficiency of learning in the vaunting Prefacer.

Appendix L will be very long: After alluding to Arminius, Corvinus, and Tilenus, it will embrace many curious particulars concerning the origin, the genius, the progress, and the effects of Arminianism in Holland and Great Britain. The decidedly Arminian complexion of the Articles of the Church of England, will also be summarily described, in valuable quotations from a few of our best divines. Among some of the conclusions, which I shall endeavour to deduce from undisputed historic facts, i be the very important one,—that the adherents to all the religious systems which have passed the golden mean maintained by Arminianism, (between Baxterianism and Calvinism on the one hand, and between Semi-pelagianism and Pelagianism on the other,) have fallen into errors on the important doctrine of the TRINITY, while those who have adhered to the evangelical Arminian scheme, as propounded by its founder, have retained all the grand verities which distinguish the ORTHODOX both among the Ancients and the Moderns.

In Appendix M, the doctrine of SCIENTIA MEDIA will be compendiously exhibited; and, in N, Bishop Womack's remarks on the absurdity of several metaphysical reveries about Christian doctrines will be strenuously enforced.

These are the subjects which were suggested by a perusal of the Preface to Parker's Theses, and of Bishop Womack's annotations; and this is the outline of the plan, according to which I have attempted *to institute a comparison between CALVINISM and ARMINIANISM*, and to *demonstrate the favourable bearing which the LATTER SYSTEM has had upon the civil and religious liberties of mankind.*

evince Archbishop Laud's superior moderation, I only require any man, who is acquainted with the general history of that period, to peruse the list of the far-famed *Assembly of Divines*, and then deliberately to declare if, at any former period, such pragmatical Divines, as three-fourths of the members had then proved themselves to be, would have been permitted to be *unsilenced ministers*. Under none of Laud's predecessors, even those of them who were most Calvinistically inclined, would the majority of those who afterwards composed *the Predestinarian Assembly* have been allowed to remain in the circumstances described by Du Moulin; on account of their previous mal-practices, they would either have been suspended or banished. That restless old Nonconformist, Cartwright, in the days of Archbishop Whtigift, was a petty offender against the ecclesiastical laws of the realm, when compared with many of these disaffected though "conformable" individuals. With the exception of two or three members, the Divines summoned to the Assembly were Calvinists; and, at the very commencement of the Civil Troubles, arranged themselves either in the ranks of Presbyterianism or Independency. (See page 400.) Of the few very able Episcopal Clergy, who were nominated to that office, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Gauden, and other worthies, had not then become Arminians.

III.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PURITANS UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

BEFORE I proceed to an enumeration of the contents of Appendix D, which occupy the greater part of this volume, I will present the reader with a brief description of the race of men upon whose doctrines and practices I have ventured to animadvert. The term PURITANS is applied to those individuals who, during eighty years, dissented either *mentally* or *practically* from the rites and institutions of the Episcopal Church of England as established by law. But this extensive application of the name is rather inaccurate, on account of the complex nature of the scruples under which different classes of these Dissidents laboured. Some account of the *early Puritans* will occur in the second volume. That class of them who, soon after the Restoration, refused, on grounds somewhat novel, to unite with the National Church, and received the appellation of "Nonconformists," I do not pretend to describe. But my remarks are directed against those Predestinarian divines who, under a pretence of bringing the Church of England to a greater conformity wih the admired platform of Calvin, overturned both Church and State, Episcopacy and Monarchy.

They were a race of the Puritans entirely *sui generis*, distinct from their predecessors; for, with the exception of the Scotch Presbyterians, these reforming Christians commenced offensive operations, not as *seceders from the Church*, but as *Calvinists*. In a preceding note, (p. xliii,) it has been shewn how boldly two men, of the rival Predestinarian sects of *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, could each boast, that the divines who first engaged in that seditious enterprise were CONFORMABLE EPISCOPALIANS. The fact was in substance as they have related it, and I place it to the benefit of Archbishop Laud's character, who suffered such artful Nonconformists so long to shelter themselves under the wings of Conformity: Had he exercised those inquisitorial powers with which, it is allowed by all parties, he was then invested, he would have previously ferreted all those concealed Nonconformists out of their fastnesses, and would have compelled them to appear in their real colours. But the persons "with whom he had to do," were full of artifice and design. In all European countries, wherever the *doctrines* of Calvin obtained countenance and support, they were invariably accompanied by a love for the platform of his ecclesiastical *discipline*, which was extolled by his zealous adherents as *the sole means of rendering his evangelical doctrines fruitful and prosperous*. Such encouragement had doctrinal Calvinism received in England under the injudicious administration of Archbishop Abbot; and a secret relish for "the holy discipline of Geneva" was consequently created. When, therefore, under the circumstances related in the succeeding pages,

(242—357,) the Scots, who had embraced Calvinism both in its doctrine and discipline, made a hostile irruption into England, they found their Predestinarian friends "on this side the Tweed" prepared to give them a welcome reception. In the subsequent warm work of Reformation, the English Calvinists, though almost universally *nominal Conformists*, had little to sacrifice in renouncing Episcopacy and in ranging themselves, according to their several inclinations or opportunities, under the banners of Independency and Presbyterianism. From the eventful year of 1640, EPISCOPACY became the test by which to ascertain *Arminians* and *Calvinists*,—the former, with scarcely a single exception, adhering to "their Bishops and their King,"—and the latter deserting both, and arming themselves against their lawful authority. A few Calvinists, very few indeed, also adhered to Episcopacy and Monarchy; but a favourable change in their doctrinal sentiments was generally the consequence of this laudable attachment, and they became followers either of Camero or of Arminius: An instance of this salutary alteration of principle will be found (page 707) in good Bishop Hall, who begun at length to think, that even the Arminians could not be "righteous over much,"—a crime with which he had foolishly charged them in his remarkable sermon before the Synod of Dort. Thus did Episcopacy continue to divide Calvinists from Arminians during the twenty years of Predestinarian misrule, till in the year 1662 it was constituted, accidentally and not by design, a more efficient test of those who professed the doctrines of *Particular* or of *General* Redemption. (See page 788.) The rigid Calvinists then almost unanimously became Nonconformists; and the more moderate Predestinarians, with nearly all the Arminians, took refuge under Episcopacy.

This view of the English Calvinists or Puritans, the only one historically correct, is commonly ill-received by their admirers; and I have frequently read, in other authors, such *ex-parte* and palliative sentences as the following by the Rev. Thomas Scott: "Among those who adhered to the royal party and to the Established Church in her abject state, even the faults and successes of the Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents, were arguments, (and indeed they still are so,) against Calvinism: So that, without studying the subject, they became more and more Anti-calvinistic, by a sort of heart-revolting* against

* The Divines described by Mosheim, in a subsequent page, (790,) as converts to Arminianism during the inter-regnum, (among whom are numbered Archbishop Tillotson, Bishops Stillingfleet, Burnet, Pearson, Womack, Sanderson, &c., Drs. Cudworth, Pierce, and several others, the memory of whom is deservedly held in high estimation,) can by no means be said "not to have studied the subject:" Their works, on the contrary, prove their *very accurate acquaintance* with the contending principles of Arminius and Calvin.

That these eminent individuals, and hundreds besides of less consideration, were induced to change their religious principles by no secular interests what-

" principles, which, they erroneously supposed, had produced " these terrible effects. I say *erroneously;* for, except among a " few honest but undiscerning men, and a company of wild " enthusiasts, religion, as to the leaders in these tragical scenes, " was merely the pretence: And if the nation had been divided " into zealots for Popery, and for Mohammedism, the designing " sagacious leaders would have known how to avail themselves of " their prejudices, and the event would have been nearly the " same; as the affairs of the late twenty years on the Continent " may evince. However that may be, at the Restoration a large " majority of the Clergy, who kept their stations in the Church, " or who succeeded to those which became vacant, were Anti- " Calvinistic, and have continued so to this day."

Several assertions in this paragraph require explanation. The "principles" of Calvinism are here said "to be *erroneously* supposed to have produced the terrible effects" of the Civil Wars, and the dreadful subversion of Church and State. In pages 210-20, I have shewn, in as brief and inoffensive manner as possible, the Genevan origin of these destructive principles, and how far Calvin, Beza, Paræus, Buchanan, and Knox were involved in this crimination. But the fairest and most unexceptionable method of deciding this matter will be, by the testimony of Milton, the defender of the Regicides. In his "*Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,*" published in the very year in which his Majesty was murdered, Milton defends that foul deed and the general proposition of *the right of the people against their tyrants,* by quotations from Calvin and his followers. This circumstance roused the indignation of the celebrated Alexander More, (better known by his Latin name Morus,) who had been educated at Geneva, and who, both as a Calvinist and as the son of a Scotchman, attempted in 1652 to wipe off the foul aspersion, in his *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.* To this futile attempt Milton replied in 1654, by his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda,* and unceremoniously decided that part of the controversy in the following manner: "I have at greater length

ever, but by " a sort of *heart-revolting* against principles which had produced these terrible effects,"—is not very wonderful: But the greatest matter of wonder is, that, in the warmth of their " heart-revolting," they did not recede still further from the principles of the Puritans, and run into the opposite extreme. Of those Divines whom I have designated by name, Burnet, Pearson, and Cudworth, retained all the least objectionabie parts of their former system, and may be justly styled, " Evangelical Arminians."

The only correct sentence in the whole extract from the Rev. Thomas Scott, is the last, in which he properly says: " At the Restoration, a large majority " of the Clergy, who kept their stations in the Church, or who succeeded to those " which became vacant, were Anti-Calvinistic, and have continued so to this " day."—This is a fact, for which Mr. Scott is evidently at a loss to account, but which receives ample confirmation from the remarks in pages 788 and 803.

taught this doctrine, [*the rights of the People against their Tyrants,*] in that book which is entituled in our vernacular language, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.*—In that work, passages are quoted, even *verbatim,* from LUTHER,* ZUINGLIUS, CALVIN, BUCER, MARTYR, PARÆUS, and lastly from KNOX, 'whom,' you say, 'I 'indicate as a Scotchman, [*unum Scotum,*] and whom all the Cal- 'vinists of that age, and especially the Reformed in France, con- 'demned in that particular.' But, on the contrary, KNOX, as is there related, affirms, 'that he had derived the doctrine from 'CALVIN,' whom he specifies by name, 'and from others of the 'principal Divines of that age with whom he lived in habits of 'intimate friendship.'" Whatever may have been Milton's early prepossessions in favour of Calvinism, it is certain that he was cured of it during the Inter-regnum; and the forth-coming posthumous publication of this great man *on Religion* will probably teach us, more particularly, the mode of religious belief which he afterwards embraced. But he was too good a casuist not to know, that the rash and unscriptural sayings of the Genevan Fathers would reconcile many of their disciples, in Great Britain and on the Continent, to the infamous deed of the regicides; and, notwithstanding the partial and politic clamour raised in a few quarters by the Calvinists, the event proved Milton's artful mode of defence to have been exceedingly palatable to a vast majority of that party. A convincing evidence of this latter fact is seen in the restricted sale and confined circulation of the pamphlets published by Salmasius, Morus, and other loyal writers on the Continent.

Another of Mr. SCOTT's assertions is, that "except among a "few honest but undiscerning men and a company of wild enthu- "siasts, religion, as to the leaders in these tragical scenes, was "merely the pretence." In pages 729, 562—3, I have given expression to my own views of the character of this unchristian enterprize; and have shewn, (pp. 242-308,)that it was a general Calvinistic crusade against Arminianism and Episcopacy. Mr. Scott ought to have specified more particularly the persons whom he intended to comprise under this appellation, "the leaders in these tragical scenes;" for, on examination, it will be found, that the principal "leaders" were Calvinistic pastors. If a modern divine of their persuasion choose to call them, as Mr. Scott has here done, "a few *honest* but *undiscerning* men," I am afraid his epithets will not be relished by some of his better-informed Predestinarian brethren; because the charge of *want of discernment* will apply to such *champions in the cause,* as Simeon Ashe, Samuel Annesley, John Arrowsmith, Robert Baylie, Samuel Bolton, John

* Milton places LUTHER's name in the front of the Predestinarian supporters of his licentious doctrine. But though the great German Reformer was, early in life, sufficiently imprudent both as a politician and a divine, (p. 158,) yet, it will be seen, (p. 730,) that in his mature years his sentiments concerning *lawful resistance* were entirely changed.

Bond, Oliver Bowles, Thomas Brooks, C. and A. Burgess, Edmund Calamy, T. and W. Carter, Joseph Caryl, Francis Cheynel, John Conant, William Cradock, John Dury, George Gillespie, Thomas Goodwin, William Gouge, John Green, Alexander Henderson, William Jenkyns, John Lightfoot, Christopher Love, Thomas Manton, Stephen Marshall, Matthew Newcomen, John Owen, Herbert Palmer, Edward Reynolds, Samuel Rutherford, Henry Scudder, O. and W. Sedgwick, William Spurstowe, Edward Stanton, Peter Sterry, Francis Taylor, Thomas Thorowgood, Anthony Tuckney, Richard Vines, Thomas Watson, and John White. These are only a few of the very eminent and clever men, who, as Preachers before the Long Parliament, alternately encouraged the readiness and chided the tardiness of both Houses, in perfecting the Calvinistic "Reformation," and who are generally, and in most cases very justly, admired for other productions than their sermons before the reforming Senators. If to these, we add the many equally clever individuals whose Parliamentarian discourses were not sufficiently "heart-searching" to entitle them to the honour of publication, who were efficient members of the *Assembly of Divines*, or who employed their youthful talents in composing treatises to forward the grand design, we shall have a list of some of the greatest divines who have graced the Annals of Protestant Dissenters. Now, it would, in more senses than one, be too great an abuse of language to style these men "undiscerning;" for they possessed discernment enough to keep their own interests in sight, and to cry aloud whenever, in their apprehension, those interests were compromised or impugned. But though I should be afraid of calling them "undiscerning," I consider the epithet "honest," if applied without restriction to the whole of those whom I have specified by name, to be a still greater misnomer. The flexible principles and unjustifiable acts of some of them, during the twenty years of Calvinian misrule, have exposed their names to merited execration: Respecting such ministers of the gospel, the language which I have employed concerning one of their number, (p. 382,) will not, when all the facts are taken into consideration, appear unjust: "It was a happy circumstance, both for themselves and mankind, that they were soon afterwards compelled "to retire from public life, and had abundant leisure afforded "them of amending their ways; and that they were left to lay a "less exceptionable foundation for fame in the composition of "works of piety." Several of those productions of their mature years I have read with admiration, and to my great personal benefit; and so far am I from cherishing any personal pique against them or their subsequent labours, that I have frequently blessed God for having "put it into the heart of these His servants" to compose works of such sterling worth and importance. —But, after all this concession, I am persuaded, my readers will too soon be convinced, that the individuals whom Mr. Scott has

here designated "a few *honest* but *undiscerning* men" were in reality "a company of *wild enthusiasts*," and gloried in identifying themselves with "the leaders in these tragical scenes," with whom, he truly asserts, "religion was merely the pretence."

To afford every impartial man an opportunity of forming a correct judgment of the part taken at that period by various Calvinistic ministers of eminence, and of the degree of criminality which actually attaches to their principles and actions, I shall transcribe a few passages from their Sermons before the Long Parliament. Of those extraordinary productions, which are among the very best chronicles of that eventful æra, I possess nearly an unbroken series of original quarto editions—the form in which they were ordered by the two Houses to be printed:

1.—*The Puritan Ministers the grand Instigators of the Civil Wars.*

THE first extract, illustrative of the intimate connection between the Puritan ministers, and "the designing sagacious leaders," is from "honest John DURYE," who had for many years preceding been employed under the auspices and at the expence of Archbishop Laud, in trying to effect a general union among the Protestants of Europe. His sermon is entituled "Israel's call, to march out of Babylon unto Jerusalem," and was preached before the House of Commons, November 26, 1645. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Episcopacy, then in ruins, is the thing intended by the term BABYLON in the following sentences: "God hath, since the beginning of the Reformation of His church from Popery and anti-christian superstition, intended to bring his vessels out of Babylon unto Sion. The way hath been opened, by the preaching of the Gospel, a long while ago. The nations of Europe, some more, some less, frequently have begun their marches in several troops; and the spirits of many Magistrates and of many Ministers have been stirred up, and called upon to bear the vessels of the Lord, and, by their care, power, authority, assistance, and vigilancy, to bring them to Sion, there to be fully settled in the right use of the ordinances of God. But none of all the *Magistrates* or *Ministers* of other nations have ever given such an answer to this call, as YOU and WE OF THE MINISTRY and this people hath done: For WE ALL have undertaken the cause in the full extent thereof; therefore we are, in this employment, nearer unto God than any others; and he is more interested in you and in Scotland, than in any nation whatsoever. And if this be so, do not you think, that God will have a nearer respect unto you, than unto others; and that He doth expect a more exact performance of this charge from you, than from others? YOU, and WE ALL, have fastened the cause we have in hand upon Him; and, for this cause, we have no foundation to build on, but upon Him: And He hath none other employment for us, but that WE ALL should carry his vessels carefully out of Babylon. If you do this faith-

fully according to your promise, and make it your aim to fulfil your Covenant to this effect with Him, you may be sure that He will bear you up, and bear you out, in all your difficulties. But if you have any other aim, and do not make this your glory *that the vessels of the Lord are committed to your trust,*—if you cast them off in your heart, and think them a wearisome burden and heavy to be borne,—if, I say, any doth *but in his heart* quit the charge committed unto him, will not God require it at his hands?—The only way, then, for you to be supported by Him is this, that you be sure to support with all your heart and might his vessels: For, you must know, that it is *only for their sake* that you are and shall be *a sure nail fastened in the wall of this kingdom*; only, I say, for this end—that the vessels of your Lord's house, and the glory thereof may be hung upon you. But if you cannot be made use of by Him to this effect, though the nail be never so strong, and fastened in a place never so sure, it shall be broken and pulled down, *for the Lord hath spoken it!*"

My remaining extracts shall be confined to discourses delivered in the year 1646-7 when the Parliamentary interest was most flourishing, when their enemies were vanquished, and the King in the hands of the Army. The prosperous state of their affairs, and the deliberative as well as active employments of the Calvinistic Pastors, are well described in the dedication to the House of Commons, which Herbert PALMER prefixed to a sermon preached before them, September 30, 1646, and in which he says:

"THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND is the great expectation of the *world*, I think I may say, of *Angels* as well as *men*; and the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, under God, is the great hope of the Christian world, to bring this reformation about. If any would set himself to study abstractly, how God might prepare a company of men to carry on such a work, he would not easily find out any thing, which God hath not already fitted the Honourable Houses with:—*Great pressures*, to help to make them humble before their meeting:—*Manifold dangers* all along from the beginning of their meeting, to help keep them humble:—*A mighty concurrence of providence*, to necessitate their meeting together:—And *an unparalleled over-ruling of hearts*, for their continuance together, without limitation of time, other than their own prudence should determine:—*A watchful eye and a strong hand*, to preserve them from all sorts of attempts to dissolve their meeting:—*Marvellous and manifold actings of God's Almighty power and rich grace*, in making their enemies fall before them, notwithstanding their frequent expectations and most probable hopes of swallowing them up suddenly; and in making the people every where to stoop to every part of reformation by them promoted, notwithstanding all their habituated and doted-on customs to the contrary:—*The most solemn engagements* to carry the work on for God, and accordingly to God, that are to be found upon earth or are directed by heaven:—*A*

spirit of reformation in the hearts of many thousands throughout the Kingdom, and more particularly near unto the place of their sitting, breathing out prayers and supplications to God for them day and night, with giving of thanks, that the reformation may prosper in their hands and be perfected by their hands:—And finally, *most frequent intercourses between God and them*, by his sending to them, (and even directing them to call to themselves,) his servants in great variety and frequency to pray with them daily, to fast and pray with them monthly, besides extraordinary days of humiliation, and to pray and give thanks with them upon extraordinary days of thanksgiving, and these extraordinary days both of the one and the other sort being not a few, put them all together; and upon all these public and solemn occasions, to speak to them, in the name of God, words of direction and encouragement; *and all this as a joint body together*, with the advantage of having every affecting sermon perpetuated to them, by printing such as they see cause, or approve; while in the mean time the several members have the opportunity of constant hearing from God *every Sabbath*, and many of them *every morning*:—And, with all this, to have *a selected number of men*, chosen by themselves to attend years together, merely upon *giving them advice about this reformation*:—May I not now say in the close of all, *what could have been done more for such a company of men*, to make them willing and able to do God's whole work for his Church and people, for a full and perfect reformation? And is not this your story, honourable and worthy? Is it not the manifest story of God's providence toward the Parliament of England? And what doth he now expect from you, or what may we expect further from Him? Surely from Him, for my part, I can expect no less but that his intents are (though yet through some further difficulties, perhaps,) to carry your spirits, and the spirits of the whole Parliament strongly and powerfully on, to finish this so blessed a work. He hath pardon,* and grace, and wisdom, and strength enough to answer and overcome all that can be said or thought to the contrary; in this persuasion I have divers years lived, and I hope in it I shall die, if I must die before the work be perfected."

The activity of these ministers, and the delight which they felt in adverting to their pragmatical behaviour, will be apparent to every one, in the three extracts subjoined:

Thomas VALENTINE preached before the Commons, September 29, 1646, from Rev. iii, 18, *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the*

* These men needed pardon from Heaven: But this method of applying the holy doctrines of Christianity, as *sacred unction*, to the consciences of men then openly engaged in rebellion against their Sovereign, was one great cause why evangelical piety, or true experimental religion, came afterwards into much disrepute, and was greatly neglected. This sad consequence, the reader will perceive, is adverted to and lamented in pages 296 and 804, as well as in other passages.

fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, &c. In his "use" of the doctrine, he says: "Give me leave to make a further application to you that are the Great Council of the kingdom; and let me tell you, that the people of this land look for this pure gold and white raiment; and, to purchase them they have offered fair—their plate, their money, their horses, their servants, and their sons! They begin to fear they shall not have these commodities which they have bidden well for, because, in all this time, they had little else than ends of gold and silver. We will persuade them to wait longer, and to help you by their prayers, that you may become the happy instruments of the kingdom's good, in making the gold and raiment in the text as plentiful, as the material gold was in Solomon's time."

Thomas Case, in the sermon quoted page lxviii, describes the following, as some of the advantages which the Long Parliament possessed to execute the designs which he has there proposed: "A ministry neither ignorant, nor unfaithful, nor driving their own interests to serve you, to bring in the hearts of the people to you, which (till some taught otherwise) they did with such success, that your interest in the affections of the subjects was such, that you commanded their purses and their persons, their livelihoods and their lives, with as much freedom as ye did the wives of your bosoms or your hired servants. Oh that it were with you as in the days of old!"

In his Sermon before the Commons, August 26, 1646, Jeremiah Burroughes makes the following pertinent remarks concerning the early labours of himself and his Puritan brethren: "It is righteous, that those that are delinquents should be punished. What was the great title of our war, but 'the raising of the *Posse* 'Regni for the taking of delinquents, and bringing them to con-'dign punishment?' We made very much use of this argument continually, for the satisfying men in the justice of the war. If a judge in the country shall have the command of the *Posse Comitatûs* to fetch in delinquents that are rebellious, then the Parliament hath the power of the *Posse Regni*. Now then, if God hath given them into your hands, there will not appear that righteousness as heretofore was thought to be, if they escape without condign punishment."

2.—*The spirit of Railing with which the Puritans were infected, and the lurking Attachment of the People to Episcopacy.*

One of their own body, the Rev. William Jenkyn, "Minister of God's Word at Christ Church, London," has also well described that race of Puritans who overturned Church and State, in a sermon which he preached in the Abbey-church at Westminster, before the House of Peers, on the 27th of January, 1646. The Bishops had then been expelled from the Upper House, and in allusion to this event, the preacher informs their Lordships in his

Epistle Dedicatory: "The Lords spiritual (so called) grew too *temporal;* but the Lords temporal cannot be too *spiritual.* Temporal pragmaticalness ruined them; spiritual practices must uphold you. The power of Godliness is the only means to save your souls, and the best to silence your foes."—In the discourse itself he thus complains of "the insensibleness" of the Long Parliament: "Insensible we are of noises and stirring. How loud hath been the voice of the word in our ears, but how deaf have we been! Rare is the operation of the word in our congregation; *the bellows are burnt, the lead is consumed, and yet the founder melteth in vain.* (Jer. vi, 29.) Ministers are spent both in strength and numbers, and yet our lusts in neither: And, for the Parliament, it is a common observation, *that it is sermon-proof!* You command us to *preach* before you: Oh that God would command you to *practise* before us! You enjoin us to print: But it will be an unanswerable dilemma another day—*either the sermons you caused to be printed were good or bad:* If bad, why were they so much as printed. If good, why not more than printed and practised also?"—He then describes himself and brethren, in the following language: "Painful zealous ministers, that will tell us of our sins, are now looked upon as busy men, as those that meddle with the State: They are bid *to keep to their texts;** as if that preach-

* Some of the Puritans attended strictly to this advice: Thus, in his sermon before the House of Commons, January 27th, 1647, from Rev. xii, 1, 2:—"A woman clothed with the sun, &c. and she, being with child, cried, travailing in "birth, and pained to be delivered;"—Dr. John Arrowsmith kept well to his text, as the reader will perceive when he has perused that discourse.

Stephen Marshall, before the House of Lords, October 28, 1646, also kept well to his text, '*Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained* '*strength, because of thine enemies,*' &c. (Psalm viii, 2.) "I principally speak to your Lordships," said Stephen, "to take care that this magazine of the mouth, the powers that come out of the mouth of babes and sucklings may be preserved and recruited, and not any-ways disbanded. It is now a great dispute, among you that are wise statesmen, what we should do with our armies? Whether, there being no visible enemy in the field, it would not be fittest to disband our present armies? A dispute I have nothing to do with: But this I have to do with, and make bold to tell you, whatsoever you do with other armies, you must not disband the Forces of the Babes and Sucklings, out of whose mouth comes your strongest help. You are far from having your work done as yet: Ireland is in a sad condition; England is woefully unsettled: Terrible divisions are found every where. Look to it, that you have a force about you. What other Forces are needful, I leave to your wisdoms; but, sure I am, these Babes and Sucklings are the *Triarii*, the *Veterani*, the old soldiers, the life-guard of England. Disband them once, and you are lost.—Give all the assistance possible, that these soldiers may be encouraged and multiplied in all parts of the land: I mean, that the gospel may spread, the preaching of the gospel, that saints might be won, and that the church might be enlarged, be settled in peace, that there might be freedom to seek God, and to serve him according to his will; and know you for certain, that every soul which shall be won to Christ,—be it the soul of a woman, or of an old man that stoops for age, or of a child,—yet every soul won to Christ, and so numbered among these Babes and Sucklings, will be as stout a soldier as ever you did employ, and will, in your extremity, do more than all the experienced Captains that tread on English ground," &c.

ing which is a coming close up to your lusts, were a going away from our texts. In the Bishops' times we were suffered to preach any thing, so we came not near their sins: And this prelacy is still kept up among us. Hence it is that faithful ministers are denied their maintenance, are abused by the nick-names of *Anti-christian,* are voiced *enemies to the Parliament,* (are you and your lusts so near, that we cannot be enemies to one, but we must be enemies also to the other?) 'that they have changed their princi-'ples, that they are turned *Malignants:*' Whereas it is not the shore that moveth, but the boatman. The ministers are still the same men, and walk by the same rule,—still are for you, the Covenant, and a pure Reformation. The Lord will one day judge who they are that continue faithful and firm both to Him and you, and who are unfaithful to Him, to us, and to your-selves."

In one of the most judicious sermons* preached before the House of Peers, on May the 26th, 1647, by the Rev. William Hussey,

* I call this "one of the most judicious sermons preached before the house of Peers." Two or three extracts will corroborate my favourable judgment of it: Their Lordships were then dwindling fast in public estimation; and the King, though a prisoner, was in treaty with his rebellious subjects. Instead of insulting fallen Majesty, and exciting the rage of the populace against the King, as was the practice of many of his co-pastors, Hussey made the following remarks: "I cannot but confess, these times have involved your Lordships in very great difficulties: But the greatest difficulty is, to amend yourselves. If you could but give testimony to the world, that you see yourselves, (partly by the fault of your ancestors, and partly by your own,) disabled from doing your country that service which the duties of your places do require, and that you earnestly desire a reformation of yourselves; if you could but undertake the principal duty of your places, *to be reconcilers of the King and people*, and propose such terms of agreement as may be fit for Prince and people to receive, God would certainly assist you. You ought to deal plainly with King and people. Where you find the fault, lay the blame. Press the King to his duty, and the people to theirs. Let your propositions be legal, reasonable, and wholesome for the State. God and good men will not leave such endeavours without comfort and success. You ought not to join with the King against the Commons, nor with the Commons against the King; but carry the balance of justice so justly and friendly between them, that they may join in friendship one with another. You are trusted with the honour of the Crown, the justice of the people, the setting up the honour of Christ's kingdom: Ye must not suffer any of these to sink."

Speaking in favour of a better maintenance for himself and his Puritan brethren, Hussey says: "There was great pretence of *honour done to the Clergy*, in the Court of England. Were the Bishops so much honoured at Court, that Christ might be honoured in them, that religion might be advanced by them? No such matter, but that they might be popular orators to draw over the people to put on the yoke of slavery, and that hath drawn so much envy of the people on them. The principle, notwithstanding, that was pretended, was a good principle—*that he who laboured in the word and doctrine, is worthy of double honour.* (1. Tim. v. 17.) But the honour must be joined to the work, that the work may be done. Certainly it is the duty of Christian Kings and Princes, to use all means that come to their hands to encourage the choice of men for parts and education to become ministers, to make such public provision for ministers that men may by that obtain more honour, more maintenance by it, than by any other

Minister at Chiselhurst, in Kent, the following observations are made, by a professed adversary, in behalf of the Bishops who had

public profession.—So that Kings and States cannot receive the Gospel, unless they honour the messengers of Christ, according to the command of Christ; not as beggars and private men give honour with cap and knee, but with honourable maintenance; and commandt that honour be given them from private subjects." —He then successfully combats the common arguments for an ignorant ministry, and observes in conclusion: "This is the common cry of the multitude, *Ye may see what good learning did in the Bishops' time: We must never look for better from it! Therefore down with it!* Yet this I say, that if the value of but one Bishopric were bestowed on seven honest and able Divines that might maintain a School of Divinity, and [were] the scriptures interpreted by them according to the best improvement of human skill, such satisfaction would be given, that the mouths of those who fill the world with new fancies would be stopped, the hard places of scripture made plain, unity and piety much advanced: Which no one man's skill will ever be able to bring to pass, that would make more for the safety of the kingdom than all the forces and power of the sword."

With such sentiments as these about the superiority of the Puritans over the Bishops, it is not wonderful that Hussey should plead in the following manner for a better maintenance: "Were any ministers received into this state as *Commissioners to preach the Gospel* ought? Have any sort of ministers been received as Ambassadors from a King to his own subjects? Were not those Bishops that were honoured by this State, first sized to the Prince's humour and good experience had of their servile condition, then sent out to stop the mouths of all that were not fitted to the same last, not with the commission of Christ *to preach what He commanded*, but with a new commission to preach what the Prince and his Commissioners should allow? And was all this done with intelligence, according to principles of christian religion? Or have not all these strivings to keep the ministers of the Gospel under, come from a more corrupt fountain, that they might not be bold to preach against their corruptions, or lay the yoke of Christ too heavily on the necks of kings, princes, and people!—Were not Bishops nursed up to keep the ministers of the Gospel from speaking boldly in the name of Christ? Was not this their style? *No Bishop, No King!* I never heard *No Bishop, No Christ!* But had they relied on Christ, and heard Christ freely speaking to them out of the Gospel, He would have kept them safer than the Bishops did. And I dare boldly say, *No honour and freedom given to the ministers of the Gospel, No Christ received in that Commonwealth!* Men dare not say, 'Christ is proud: A course must be taken to bring Christ a little 'lower!' But, *Ministers are proud; they must be taken down; they must come under the gentry.* If that be the end of taking down the Bishops, *to make the Clergy below the Gentry*, I would fain know, by what principle must wealth needs be of more esteem than religion? But let these men speak plain, and tell us they will bring Christ below the Gentry. Indeed, I have heard a gentleman that had some influence on the placing of a minister in a country church, should say, 'he 'scorned any minister should be so saucy as to tell him his faults:' And surely the carriage of the Gentry has been such, as if they were above the commands of Christ."

The fact is, the character here drawn of the Bishops is much more applicable to the Puritans themselves: For no man was permitted to become a Court Preacher before the Long Parliament, unless he had first proved himself "to be sized to their humour, and good experience had of his servile condition." He was then qualified to be sent, as all *the Assembly of Divines* were commissioned by Parliament, August 10, 1643, "to go into the country to stir up the people to rise for their defence," or, as Hussey quaintly expresses it, "to stop the mouths of all that were not fitted to the same last." Where are the records of the Bishops, or of the Episcopal Clergy, engaging in a warlike crusade, and exciting

then been suppressed: "War is the breaking out of the Lord upon an unjust people. I dare say, had the judges walked in judgment according to *the Petition of Right*,—punished those that first took monopolies, tonnage, and poundage, not exacted, because not granted in Parliament, or [had] the exacters [been] punished in judgment,—[had] ship-money not [been] judged *to be law* contrary to law,—it had been impossible to have brought the

their fellow-subjects to arouse themselves, and destroy their republican invaders? The sermons preached by Hammond, Sanderson, Usher, and others, before the Court and the Army, are still extant: Let a comparison be instituted between these pacific and truly christian discourses, (of which many specimens will be found in the subsequent pages,) and those of their adversaries. It will then be instantly seen, that the adherents to Arminianism and Loyalty were better instructed in the school of Christ Jesus, and did not return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.

Old Dr. Thomas Manton, though he also was a Presbyterian, had the same view of the bad consequences of suppressing Episcopacy. In his Sermon before the Commons, June 30, 1647, he said: "I confess, God loveth to '*pour contempt upon the sons of Levi that are partial in the Covenant*,' (Mal. ii, 9,) and it is his way many times to cause '*the voice of many waters*,' that is, of the confused multitude, to go before '*the voice of mighty thunderings*,' (Rev. xix, 6,) that is, the regular act of the magistrate, whose sentences and decrees are terrible as thunder. And therefore I do adore the justice of Divine Providence, in causing the former ministry to become base and contemptible before all the people. But, however, I cannot but sadly bewail the mischiefs that abound amongst us by the neglect of men. Though the corruptions of Episcopacy made it justly odious, yet it would have been better it had been, rather than jested down. *Arguments* would have done more good than *scoffs*, beside the danger of *returning to folly*. Do but consider the present inconveniences of making so great a change without more public and rational conviction; when things that before were of reverend esteem, are of a sudden decried. What is the effect? Why, religion itself is of less esteem: Men suspect all, can as well scoff at truth as error. Calvin's observation is excellent: He saith, that 'in times of changes there are many that are 'of Lucian's temper, who, by jesting against all received rites, insensibly lose all 'sense and awe of religion; and, by scoffing at false Gods, come the less to 'dread the true.' Consider, and see if the former liberty of tongues and pens hath not begotten that present irreverence and fearlessness that is in the spirits of men against things that undoubtedly are of God. But this is not all: Do but consider how many are hardened in their old ways, and prejudiced against the reformers, as if they were men that did proceed, not to perfection, but to permutation, were men given to changes, merely to love things out of passion and present dislike, or, which is worse, out of self-aims."

The truth is, the Puritans had "raised a spirit which they could not lay." They had taught the common people to ridicule the decent observances of Episcopacy, and they could not prevail with them, after having abandoned the *form* of religion, to shew any attachment to the *substance*. Besides, all these Puritanic complainers studiously conceal the important fact, that Calvinism was inadequate to produce any good effect upon a people that had been carefully instructed in their Christian duties, as the great mass of the nation had been by many of the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy. Though the political might of Calvinism in the Civil Wars gained the ascendancy here, as it had previously done in Holland, yet its "moral power" was gradually diminished during the whole of the Interregnum, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions which were made for its establishment, and which had never before been made for that of any other religious system. I could quote several confessions similar to this, from the Calvinistic sermons preached before the Long Parliament.

people into such a distemper as to fall one upon another. The fault was laid upon the BISHOPS and CLERGY of the land. I will not excuse them as far as they had any hand in over-swaying the Judges, putting down the good ones, and setting up such as were servile and might easier be bent to serve the lust of the Court against law,—or as they were active themselves in arbitrary Courts to the oppression of the people, such as were the High Commission, Star Chamber, Council Table. But this I dare say, the most immediate causes of breach of peace have been failings in judgment. All failings in judgment are oppressions; therefore is judgment opposed to oppression."

The next quotation, from Thomas CASE'S sermon before the Commons, May 26, 1647, describes the havoc which this Calvinistic Crusade had made in the belief and the practice of the nation, compared with which, the preacher says, the abolished *ceremonies* of Episcopacy were *children's sport:* "Is there any thing refused and opposed so much as Reformation? Oh that Popery were so much opposed as Reformation! Oh that Blasphemies were so much opposed as Reformation! Oh that Anti-christianism and Atheism were so much opposed as Reformation! Happy we then! Would ye know WHEN all these abominations are broken out in England? Oh, it is in a time of Reformation! In a time of the breaking out of gospel-light and liberty, such as the world never saw since it was christian: In a time when we had sworn ourselves to God by Covenant 'to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, 'Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall 'be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of god-'liness.' Alas! we run in such a contrary motion, that a man might almost think there was a word in the Covenant mis-printed, and the next *errata* should bid the reader read ESTABLISH instead of *extirpate.* Oh, God may say of us, *When I would have healed England, then the iniquity thereof was discovered!* England was never so bad as in a time of Reformation. Witness the numerous and numberless increase of errors and heterodox opinions even to blasphemy among us! The world once wondered to see itself turned Arian. England may wonder to see itself turned Anabaptist, Antinomian, Arminian, Socinian, Arian, Anti-trinitarian, Anti-scripturist, what not! Alas, what were CEREMONIES to these things, but (as Calvin once called them) *tolerabiles ineptiæ,* 'children's sport' in comparison! How much less an evil was it, think ye, to bow at the name of Jesus, than to deny, to blaspheme the name of Jesus? (2 Pet. ii, 1.)"

These topics are still more amply treated in the next quotation, and might soon be confirmed by numbers of others. In the perusal of this volume, the reader will find that I have frequently alluded to the attachment of the people of England to Episcopacy, and have (p. 779,) called the influence of the Episcopal Clergy, "DEEP ROOTED:" No one, I think, who reads the following il-

lustrative passages from Richard KENTISH's sermon before the Commons, Nov. 24, 1647, will consider that epithet to have been inappropriately applied:

"Oh that the Lord would persuade the people of England, to *remember from whence they are fallen.* (1.) The people of England once loved the Saints, and honoured those that feared the Lord; but now they loath them. They once longed for a Parliament, petitioned for a Parliament, honoured a Parliament, thought they could not be happy without a Parliament; but now how is the Parliament slighted! their order and ordinances contemned! and how many are there that say to the Parliament, as the Gadarenes to Christ, *Oh that it would depart out of our coasts!* Oh how is England fallen!

"(2.) The people of England once desired reformation, petitioned for reformation, covenanted for reformation. But now they do hate to be reformed; they are like Israel of old in their travel towards the promised land; *they preferred the garlick and onions of Egypt, before the milk and honey of Canaan;* so now a prelatical Priest, with a superstitious service-book, is more desired, and would be better welcome to the generality of England, than the most learned, laborious, conscientious Preacher, whether Presbyterian or Independent. Oh how is England fallen!

"(3.) Again: About six years since sin began to be ashamed, to creep into corners, to be out of fashion. But now sin is grown brazen-faced, walks in the open streets, is come in great request again. Sabbaths are profaned, ordinances slighted, swearing is accounted gainful, drunkenness goes unpunished, and whoredom the people are apt to think lawful now, because, since the Bishops' Courts went down, we have scarce any law against it.

"Now here (by the way) I do most earnestly beseech you, (honoured worthies of Parliament,) if you have not been acting that way already, to hasten out some order for the punishment of that heinous sin of adultery. We read in God's law, (Lev. xx, 10.) that he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress, shall surely be put to death. Was it to be punished with death then, and shall it go unpunished now? I beseech, let some course be taken that such kind of transgressors may be made to smart.

"(4.) Again: Oh how is England fallen! Time was when we rejoiced that we had days of fasting; we looked upon them as none of our least mercies. But now we are ready to say with those in Amos viii, 5: *When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?* So say our people, 'When shall we have an end of these fasting days, 'that we may follow our callings, look to our shops and our other 'occasions?' And these poor simple creatures are mad after superstitious festivals, after unholy holidays. Alas! why should we be weary of well-doing? Are England's dangers all over? Is not Ireland's case as bad as it was? And shall we give over seek-

ing of God? Oh that we would *remember from whence we are fallen!*

"(5.) Yet it were somewhat tolerable, if there were such a declining only among the generality of England, if it were only among the *riff-raff's* of the people. But alas! how are England's professors fallen from hot to cold, from better to worse! They are not like the people they were. Do they not neglect Sabbaths, slight sermons, grow weary of Manna? Is not their love to Christ, to Christians, grown cold? Do they not love the world better than they were wont? Are they not grown more foolish and fashionable, more contentious and complimental than formerly? You cannot know a professor from a prodigal, a christian from a carouser, now a-days. Oh how are England's professors fallen! Oh that England, that the people of England, both high and low, rich and poor, one and other, from Dan to Beersheba, would this day begin, to *remember from whence they are fallen, and repent!*"

Evidence sufficient has now been adduced to prove, from the men themselves, the erroneousness of Mr. Scott's assertion, and that the most active "leaders in those tragical scenes" were, in reality, the Predestinarian Divines.

3.—*The Puritans who embraced Presbyterianism, were not favourable to Civil or Religious Liberty.*

But it is gravely asserted, by some of our most popular historians, that these "Puritans were the renowned fathers of English Liberty." This proposition is true in the same sense as, that the devil was the cause of Job's final earthly prosperity; but in no other acceptation can it be deemed correct, either in regard to the Presbyterians or Independents as a body.

The ideas entertained, by the leading Puritans, on the subject of TOLERATION, shall be expressed in the very language which they employed in their discourses before the Long Parliament:

In a sermon before the House of Peers, Feb. 24, 1646, Nathaniel HARDY made the following *improvement* upon the Solemn League and Covenant into which their Lordships and all the Revolutionists had entered: "Remember, I beseech you, you are within the bounds of a Covenant; for what? for a Toleration? No, for *an extirpation of all heresies, schisms, and profaneness.* What, if, while the Ark was floating on the waters of strife, you were enforced to entertain wolves and lambs together, yet now that the waters are abated and the ark in some measure settled, send out the wolves from the fold. Oh, let your thankfulness to God, for preserving the bounds of your possessions, appear, by your maintaining the bounds of his worship! Suffer not yourselves, I beseech you, by self-respects and politic principles, to be withdrawn from this work. He that pieceth God's Providence with carnal policy, is like a greedy gamester, who, having got all his game in his own hand, steals a needless card

to assure himself of winning, and thereby loseth all. It is a hard question, 'Whether is greater idolatry—*to prefer reasons of state before principles of piety*,—or *to worship a golden calf?*' O let policy ever give place to piety, your private affections be swallowed up in the common cause, as small rivers lose their name in the ocean.

"But as you take with you WORDS, so take to you the SWORD, and think God saith to you as he did to Joshua, *Wherefore lie on your faces? Up and be doing; take away the accursed errors from among you!* That of St. Bernard is true, if taken *cum grano salis*, 'Faith is wrought by persuasions, not by compulsions:' Yet that of Tertullian is as true, 'Obstinacy must be forced, not wooed.' It was a divine speech of Seneca, 'Divers nations appoint various punishments, all some for those that violate religion.'—I have learned so much state-divinity as to distinguish between *voluntas signi et beneplaciti:* I well know, the biassed Bowls may fetch a compass to touch the Jack. Dumb Zachary begat him [the Baptist] who was the voice of a crier: Neither doubt I but your former *silence* will end in a *loud decrying* of all heterodox opinions and practices. My only aim is to add spurs to your pious intentions, that they may appear by such peremptory actions, as the people may not deceive themselves with vain hopes of unsufferable liberties. It is to be supposed, that,—as in the sweating-sickness in England, the sick persons, when beaten on the face with sprigs of Rosemary by their friends, would cry out, *Oh you kill me! you kill me!*, whereas indeed they had killed them in not doing it, for had they slept they had died,—so those whom the sickness of error hath surprised, being suppressed, will exclaim and say, *Oh you persecute them! you persecute them!*, whereas indeed it is not a persecution that lets out the life-blood, but a prosecution that lets out the corrupt blood. Oh happy violence, which pulls men out of the fire! Blessed bonds, that tie men to Christ! Comfortable fetters, which keep our feet in the way of peace!"

On the afternoon of the same day, Dr. John LIGHTFOOT thus pursued the same argument: "It is not yet four years since we entered into as solemn a Covenant as ever did nation: And will it be believed in the next generation, if our guilt upon it do not make it too evident,—or would it be believed in any remote parts of the world, but that the fame of it is blown through all nations,—that, in so short a time, after so solemn an obligation, and the Parliament that brought on the Covenant sitting, the Covenant should be so forgot as we dolefully see daily that it is?—We vowed *against Error, Heresy, and Schism*, and swore to the God of Truth and Peace, *to the utmost of our power to extirpate them, and to root them out*.. These stones, and walls, and pillars, were witnesses of our solemn engagement. And now, if the Lord should come to enquire what we have done according to this vow and

covenant, I am amazed to think what the Lord would find amongst us. Would he not find ten schisms *now* for one *then*, twenty heresies *now* for one *at that time*, and forty errors *now* for one *when we swore against them?* Was there ever more palpable walking contrary to God, or more desperate crossing of a covenant? If we had sworn, to the utmost of our power, to have promoted and advanced error, heresy, and schism, could these then have grown and come forward more, than now they have done, though we swore against them?—And so we entered in as solemn an engagement for *Reformation in matters of Religion;* and this was the joyful sound that stirred up the hearts of the people, and this was their hopes. Five or six years ago it was proclaimed, and between three and four years ago it was covenanted, and our hearts danced within us for the hopes we had in this particular. But what hath been done? *I looked,* saith God, *for grapes, and behold sour grapes,* and nothing else! When Reformation was first spoken of, we had order and ordinances; but now, how is the one lost and the other slighted! We had then Sacraments, full congregations, a followed ministry, and frequented churches; but now sacraments laid aside,—congregations scattered,—the ministry cried down,—churches empty,—church-doors shut up, *equestres Samnitum in ipso Samnio!* If you look for Reformation upon our Covenanting for Reformation, how little to be found, and how much clean contrary!"

Richard Vines, in his sermon before the House of Commons, March 10, 1646, inveighs most vehemently against a Toleration, and informs his honourable audience, that such a measure would produce the restoration of Episcopacy. Alluding to the interference of King James, in the case of Vorstius, who had been chosen to the Divinity Professorship at Leyden, the preacher says: "He bears himself upon that common rule, *when a neighbour's house is on fire, it concerns all in the neighbourhood to look about them.* This vigilancy condemns our (I know not what to call it, I wish no worse might be said than) insensibleness and security. For, what were those sparks at that time smoking in a remote corner, in comparison of that fire which now flames forth at every corner of our house, blown up by that *liberty of all religions* which may justly be called *the Golden Calf* of these times! Whereunto many are not unwilling to contribute their strength and policy, and whose birth-day they would not fear to call *Festum Jehovæ,* an acceptable day unto the Lord. Are not the errors which are rife amongst us, either by infecting persons of place and quality, grown into that *boldness?** or, by *carrying*

* The patronage of Toleration by "persons of place and quality" is alluded to, in a subsequent part of this Introduction, as one of the grand causes which prevented the persecution of one Calvinistic sect by another. Though all these sects combined to crush Episcopacy and Arminianism when they could, yet the interest of the Statesmen was frequently exerted to screen the sufferers.

away BARNABAS* also, crept into that *credit?* or, by spreading far and wide, risen to that *strength?* that they do *face,* if not seem able to put into danger of routing, our common faith, public worship, authorized ministry, long and much expected and promised Reformation! This, to the common enemy, is *the Cape of Good Hope.* The sound part are afraid lest the truth should come to beg for poor quarter, and be led captive, following the chariot of triumphant liberty. Some think, that Episcopacy in his *Pontificalibus* may by this means be retrieved, and recalled from exile, to which it was sentenced by the Covenant. Many that are as distant as the two poles, yet, moving upon one axle-tree, or tied together by the tails of *common interest,* doubt not but, by laying their stocks together, they shall be able to bid fair for a TOLERATION. And, that we might not be left alone to wonder at ourselves, our sympathizing brethren abroad do wonder also, that we should be made the common sewer to receive the garbage of other churches, and their *stinking snuffs* should be allowed candlesticks here in England.—I wish that our military men had not transfused error into the several parts of our body. If it be said, that *many of those who are charged with teaching of errors or heresy are holy men,*† I answer, that a holy man cannot easily be a

* The "Barnabas," of whom mention is here made, was, I think, Dr. John Owen, whose name certainly gave "credit" to such "a liberty of all religions," as his rigid Calvinism would allow him to indulge. Tolerant principles, it is seen, were "spread far and wide," and those who patronized them became in consequence very popular preachers. (See page 448.) The "military men" are also here blamed, for "having transfused error into the several parts of the body." See page

† What a remarkable difference between this uncharitable sentiment, and that of "the ever-memorable Hales," quoted in a succeeding page: "He would often "say, that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow, if "it obliged him to believe that any other CHRISTIANS should be damned," &c.

Still greater is the contrast between the unhallowed zeal of these tyrannizing *Calvinists,* and "the heavenly flame" which is beautifully described in the only *Arminian* sermon preached before the Long Parliament. After an eloquent apostrophe to Divine Love, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, on March 31, 1647, made the following just remarks:

"Let us express this sweet harmonious affection, in these jarring times; that so, if it be possible, we may tune the world, at last, into better music. Especially, in matters of religion, let us strive with all meekness to instruct and convince one another The Gospel at first came down upon the world gently and softly, like the dew upon Gideon's fleece; and yet it quickly soaked quite through it: And, doubtless, this is still the most effectual way to promote it further. Sweetness and ingenuity will more powerfully command men's minds, than passion, sourness, and severity; as the soft pillow sooner breaks the flint, than the hardest marble. Let us '*follow truth in love;*' and, of the two, indeed, be contented rather to miss of the conveying of a speculative truth, than to part with love. When we would convince men of any error by the strength of truth, let us withal pour the sweet balm of love upon their heads. TRUTH and LOVE are two the most powerful things in the world; and when they both go together, they cannot easily be withstood. The golden beams of Truth, and the silken cords of Love, twisted together, will draw men on with a sweet violence, whether

heretic; nor are all the errors of holy men to be called *heresy*, though they may be *hay and stubble* upon the foundation. But it hath been observed of old, that some *Heresiarchs*, or heads of heresy, have been well reputed for strictness and unblameableness of life: We learn out of Austin, that Pelagius had a very good testimony; and scripture tells us, *they come in sheep's clothing and speak lies in hypocrisy*. Lies would not take, if they were not commended by the holiness of the person, and gilded over, as a rotten nutmeg, with gold. There is a transformation of

they will or no. Let us take heed, we do not sometimes call that *zeal for God and his Gospel*, which is nothing else but *our own tempestuous and stormy passion*. True zeal is a sweet, heavenly, and gentle flame, which maketh us active for God, but always within the sphere of love. It never calls for '*fire from heaven*,' to consume those that differ a little from us in their apprehensions. It is like that kind of lightning, (which the Philosophers speak of,) that melts the sword within, but singeth not the scabbard: It strives to save the soul, but hurteth not the body. True zeal is a loving thing, and makes us always active to *edification*, and not to *destruction*. If we keep the fire of zeal within the chimney, in its own proper place, it never doth any hurt; it only warmeth, quickeneth, and enliveneth us: But if once we let it break out, and catch hold of the thatch of our flesh, and kindle our corrupt nature, and set the house of our body on fire, it is no longer zeal, it is no heavenly fire, it is a most destructive and devouring thing. True zeal is an *ignis lambens*, a soft and gentle flame, that will not scorch one's hand; it is no predatory or voracious thing: But carnal and fleshly zeal is like the spirit of gunpowder set on fire, that tears and blows up all that stands before it. True zeal is like the *vital heat* in us, that we live upon, which we never feel to be angry or troublesome; but though it gently feed upon the *radical oil* within us, that sweet balsam of our natural moisture, yet it lives lovingly with it, and maintains that by which it is fed: But that other furious and distempered zeal, is nothing but a fever in the soul. Our zeal, if it be heavenly, if it be true vestal fire kindled from above, will not delight to tarry here below, burning up straw and stubble and such combustible things, and sending up nothing but gross earthy fumes to heaven; but it will rise up, and return back pure as it came down, and will be ever striving to carry up men's hearts to God along with it. It will be only occupied about the promoting of those things which are *unquestionably good;* and when it moves in the irascible way, it will quarrel with nothing but *sin*. Here let our zeal busy and exercise itself, every one of us beginning first at our own hearts. Let us be more zealous than ever we have yet been, in fighting against our lusts, in pulling down those strong holds of sin and Satan in our hearts. Here let us exercise all our courage and resolution, our manhood and magnanimity.

"There is a straitness, slavery, and narrowness in all sin. Sin crowds and crumples up our souls, which, if they were freely spread abroad, would be as wide and as large as the whole universe. No man is truly free, but he that hath his will enlarged to the extent of God's own will, by loving whatsoever God loves, and nothing else. Such an one doth not fondly hug this and that particular created good thing, and envassal himself unto it; but he loveth every thing that is lovely, beginning at God, and descending down to all his creatures, according to the several degrees of perfection in them. He enjoys a boundless liberty, and a boundless sweetness, according to his boundless love. He inclaspeth the whole world within his outstretched arms; his soul is as wide as the whole universe, as big as '*yesterday, to-day, and for ever*.' Whosoever is once acquainted with this disposition of spirit, he never desires any thing else; and he loves *the life of God* in himself, dearer than his own life."

Satan into *an angel of light*, of false Apostles into *the Apostles of Christ*, of Satan's ministers into *the ministers of righteousness*; (2 Cor. xi, 13—15.) and therefore we must not measure or judge of Faith by the Person, but of the Person by the Faith. Truth may be as a jewel in a dunghill, and error carried (as Hannibal carried his poison) in a gold ring. That horse of superstition and idolatry, upon the back of which the Devil hath in former times made war against the Church, is slain under him; and now he is mounted upon a fresh horse of another colour, called LIBERTY OF OPINION, falsely called *Liberty of Conscience*. Let us not be ignorant of his devices!—Let not Reformation and Religion be cried up for *design* and *to serve turns*: Settle it speedily. Send forth the Confession, that it may testify to the world that you hold the form of sound and wholesome words. Let some government and order be established. Religion is the ball of contention: Many men's hopes lie in our differences, and their interests are served upon them. We have *professed* enough for Reformation and Purity, and have *covenanted* to endeavour it. The world is weary of *words*, they look for *fruit*. Let this day set an edge upon you: No man take a BREAK-fast of this Fast. Let not our ruin be under your hand! There was a BUT in Naaman's story: He was such and such, BUT *a leper*. You have done worthily, covenanted seriously; BUT the matter of Reformation lies most of it as yet in the Covenant. It may be, 'the foolishness of many 'opinions on foot makes you slight them,' as Calvin said of Servetus's first onset, *securum me reddidit ipsa dogmatum fatuitas*. But be not secure; a great fire may rise out of a small spark. Let the souls of so many thousands of people be precious in your eyes; and the Lord make your name like the name of those who have built the house of God!—I pray you, let me not be understood to ship, in one and the same bottom, every error or mistake with damnable heresies. 'Some differences of opinions,' as one (Lord Verulam) elegantly saith, 'are as the strivings of one 'Israelite with another: And these Moses quiets, and parts them 'fairly. And some are like the Egyptian striving with the Israel-'ite, whom Moses smites down.' There must be differences made between Error and Heresy, Erroneous and Heretics, Seducers and Seduced. I would I might entreat, nay, press it upon, those that are called PURE INDEPENDENTS, that they would zealously and seriously declare against the doctrinal errors and heresies of these days; that such pernicious errors may not shelter themselves under their name or wing, nor ever any INDULGENCE or TOLERATION be either desired or granted upon such a reason, as all may come in at the same breach or port: For that would be but a selling of the Church into a LIBERTY of being in captivity to destructive confusions and errors."

At the subsequent monthly Fast, April 28, 1646, SIMEON ASH spoke thus to the House of Commons: "Lately you appointed

a solemn general Fast, that we might be humbled before God, and pray, in regard of the inundations of errors and heresies. Give me leave to ask you, whether you only intended to *speak* to God, and to *act* nothing? If you do not act according to your orders and prayers, God will judge you as hypocritical abusers of his name and ordinances. Doubtless, proportionable to your sincerity in appointing that Fast, will be your zeal to suppress that for which you professed humiliation before God."

On the same day, and to the same Honourable audience, WILLIAM STRONG uttered many similar sentiments. But the most amusing parts of his Discourse are those in which he employs scriptural threats. One of them is thus expressed: "God doth commonly put men out of their stewardship, secondly, by the tumults of the people; there is a particular curse of God upon the magistracy, in taking off the hearts of the people from them: —(1.) Either *openly and at once,* as in the case of Rehoboam and Nebuchadnezzar, for their cruelty and oppression, destroying their land and slaying their people; God giving them up unto such cursed ways, that their own subjects cast them out of their own dominions.—(2.) Or, *secretly and by degrees.* For God is not always a LION to a State, but sometimes a MOTH; and the prophet Zechariah, (xi. 16,) speaks of the '*withering of the Shepherd's right arm,*' which is the decay of his authority and ruling power by degrees. Some seditious libels, you know, have been scattered abroad, of 'the people's re-assuming their power,' which doubtless is wicked;* for God never put the sword into

* These Calvinistic pastors delivered political doctrines in their sermons, to suit different periods; thus, Richard HEYRICKE, before the Commons, May 27, 1646, preaching from Queen Esther's expression, *And if I perish, I perish!*, said: "The poorest subject may have liberty to prefer his petition, a privilege that Esther, though a Queen, could not have; but if she would go uncalled to the King, she must run the hazard of the law, for *it was not according to the law.* How far such laws do bind, I cannot determine: 'He is no transgressor,' saith the Civil Law, 'that crosseth not the mind of the Law-giver,' though he break the letter of the law: And a reasonable cause, as the Casuists and Schoolmen agree, ever excuseth the breaking of a human law. I heard it very lately from the Authority of the Honourable House of Commons, *What laws, ordinances, or orders soever, that are against the aw of God, are, by the laws of this land, nulled.* The observation of laws is very commendable; but when exigencies are so violent, when confusion hath turned all upside-down, when the State is disturbed, when wicked men are combined, when all order is perverted, then men are to look to *the main chance,* then to solicit the principal business; and so much the more zealously, as Esther did, by how much there is less possibility of compassing it the ordinary way. When necessity is so urgent, that it makes the observing of the laws impossible, Nature, Reason, Laws, Religion, all instruct us to betake ourselves to that which is most necessary. Prerogative, Privilege, Liberty, all must be laid aside. It was a reproach unto Cato, he would rather suffer the Commonwealth to run into all extremity, when he might have succoured it would he have a little transgressed the laws: And contrarywise, Epaminondas is commended, that in case of necessity he continued his charge beyond his time, though the law, upon pain of life, did prohibit it. The Parliament shall ever be

the people's hands. But yet, though it may be the *sin* of the people, it may be the *punishment* of the magistrate, and the *judgment* of the kingdom."

At the next monthly Fast, May 26, 1646, THOMAS CASE delivered a Discourse before the House of Commons, and gave it the title of "Spiritual Whoredom." In his application of the doctrine, he says: "To you, honourable and noble patriots, I would humbly move, that you would exert that power and authority which God hath given you, to the punishing and suppressing of the adulteries and whoredoms of the land, which do stare heaven and earth in the face, and do provoke the jealousy of God, even to give England a bill of divorce, and to put us away. Arise, I say, Oh ye rulers and governors of England! '*Gird your sword upon your thigh, and ride on prosperously because of truth and righteousness, and let your right hand teach you terrible things!*' (Psalm xlv. 4.) You know what Phineas did, in the case of corporal whoredom, committed in the face of God and the congregation. '*Then stood up Phineas, and executed vengeance, or judgment:*' And you remember how well the Lord took it at his hands, '*The plague was stayed, and it was imputed to him for righteousness.*' (Psalm cvi. 31.) Oh that the spirit of Phineas may come upon you, that you may sheath your sword in the bowels of these monstrous whoredoms of all sorts, corporal and spiritual, which are committed in the sight of all Israel, yea in the sight of all the Churches round about us, that the blessing of Phineas may come upon you, and the plague may be stayed! Doth not indeed the punishing and suppressing of spiritual whoredoms against God,—idolatry, heresy, blasphemy, and the rest,—doth it not belong unto you, as well as the punishing of bodily whoredoms, theft, murder, &c.? Doth it indeed belong to you, only to look to the *Civil Peace*, and to let *Religion*, and *Truth*, and *the Worship of God*, stand or fall to their own master? Fight God, fight devil, fight Christ, fight Antichrist! Catch, that catch can! You have nothing to do, but to stand by and look on! Say so, then; speak out; publish it in your Declarations to the world, and let the people of England know, 'that it is the right and liberty, to which the subjects of England 'are born, that every man hold what he please, and publish and 'preach what he holds; that it is the birth-right (as some would 'have it) of the free-born people of England, every man to wor-'ship God according to his own conscience, and to be of what 'religion his own conscience shall dictate!' Do so, and see, fathers and brethren, how long your CIVIL PEACE will secure you when Religion is destroyed, how long it will be ere your *Civil*

famous; they have not only followed precedents, but made them."—This soothing doctrine might suit the Long Parliament; but the private interpretation of NECESSITY must always, on these principles, be dangerous to the community.

Peace be turned into CIVIL WAR! For, no doubt, if this once be granted them, but they may in good time come to know also, (there be them that are instructing them even in these principles too,) 'that it is their birth-right to be freed from the power of 'Parliaments and from the power of Kings; and to take up arms 'against both when they shall not vote and act according to their 'humours!' Liberty of conscience (falsely so called) may in good time improve itself into liberty of estates, and liberty of houses, and liberty of wives, and, in a word, liberty of perdition of souls and bodies!—Prevent the further departure of the land from God, by keeping out seducers,—those seducing, malignant, Popish, Prelatical priests, whom you have cast out, who have been one great cause of the apostacy of England. The sins of the teachers have been the teachers of sin: They are the men, who, with Hananiah and Zedekiah, *have taught rebellion against the Lord*. Certainly, if ye did well in putting of them out, ye will do extremely ill in taking of them in again. Hath the King's army bettered them? Hath Oxford changed their principles? I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that if ye suffer them to recover their stations again, or whoever of you shall for favour, reward, relation, or any other respects whatsoever, use your interest to re-invest them again into their places, you destroy what ye have builded, and will be found transgressors, and translate the blood of poor souls upon your own heads!"

4.—*How far the Independents, as a Body, were favourable to Toleration.*

But these, it will be said, were only "the absurd ravings of Presbyterian Intolerants." What then were the mature opinions of the *liberal* Independents on this important subject? Consisting, as the name imports, of numerous small churches of professing Christians, quite distinct from each other and completely *independent*, their very existence as separate religious communities under one denomination implied a mutual and enlarged TOLERATION of varieties in doctrine and discipline. (Page 389.) But the man who entertains such an idea has been deceived by the mere name; for he will find, that their toleration of *varieties in* DOCTRINE extended only to those who held the opinions of Calvin, in common with themselves: and that, with regard to *varieties in* DISCIPLINE, it was not allowed to reach, in every case, to those of their Predestinarian brethren who were attached to Presbyterianism, much less to those who were unfortunate enough to be Episcopalians. In page 449, I have said, "Cromwell, that wary politician, seems to have acted upon the maxim of King James, in balancing the power of one party by that of its opponent;" (p. 566;) and on no matter was the Protector's cunning more warily evinced, than in the futile attempt in which the Inde-

pendents engaged, by his direction, when the delegates of their Churches met at the Savoy, in 1658, to compose "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in *the Congregational Churches* in England, &c." They had been exceedingly importunate with him, and with the rest of the Republican Statesmen, who generally ranged themselves under the banners of Independency, to grant them the supremacy after which their Presbyterian brethren had been fruitlessly aspiring; (p. 448;) and, "though the Independents had the best preferments left in the Church, and opened and shut the door of preferment to others," (p. 447.) yet they were dissatisfied with this high degree of favour which they enjoyed, because it was not accompanied with powers still more extensive. (Page 444.) Cromwell, therefore, under the pretence of a wish to ascertain what security they could give to the civil magistrate for the integrity and harmlessness of their tenets as a religious body, ordered them to prepare a Confession of Faith in which they could all agree. The arch politician knew, that if they prepared any public instrument of this description, which might be considered binding on the whole denomination, their Churches would immediately cease to be "Independent," except in name, and would by that single act assume a mild Presbyterian aspect. The pitiful subserviency of their principal men, in those days,* has induced many people to suppose, that a great majority of their Churches would have fallen into the rich snare which the Protector had laid for them, had the latter lived; and that the rest would have preferred their real Independency, though accompanied with secular disadvantages or civil penalties. But Cromwell died prior to the completion of their famous "Declaration;" in consequence of which, their hopes being dashed to the ground, no symptom of effective ecclesiastical power appeared in that document, except the very vague appointment of "Messengers of Churches holding communion together," who were empowered "to meet in Synod or Council, to consider and give advice [in cases of difficulties or differences] to be reported to all the Churches concerned."

Had the Independents succeeded in their wishes under the Protector, there is no doubt the following prophecy concerning them, from one of their Calvinistic brethren, would have been

* The reader will find Dr. Owen's sycophancy to the regicides related in page 382; and, in page 448, shrewd reasons are given for "the pliability of Independency" in that age of changes. Owen's biographer boasts of the rich members of their Churches; and, we are told by Robert Baylie, (p. 464,) that Philip Nye was "cried down as *impertinent*" in the Assembly of Divines, while speaking against the Presbytery. "The day following," says Robert, "when Philip "saw the Assembly full of prime nobles and chief members of both Houses, he "entered on that argument again, and very boldly offered to demonstrate, that "our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one National Assembly, is formi- "dable," &c. Further instances of their politic subserviency will be seen in other parts of this volume.

literally fulfilled. It was pronounced by the Rev. Thomas Case, in his Sermon before the Commons, May 26, 1646: "Is there not idolatry found among us? Ye have pulled down idols in the Churches, and ye have done well! But, Oh! idols are multiplied in the land: Every man's *opinion* is become his idol, which he adores and worships with highest veneration. We have cause to be humbled for our old Popery, and our old Popish ceremonies: You, our Honourable Senators, told us so once in an Ordinance of Parliament; and ye did well. But Popery was but one way of false worship: There be a generation of men in the land that stand up for *all kinds of false worship*, that every man may worship God after his own conscience; or if they will not own it in words at length, they will have it in figures: And if they may not, are ready not only to *cry*, but to *act* persecution,* and that to purpose: For while they *cry* perse-

* Beside their unwearied persecution of the Episcopalians and Arminians, Richard BAXTER asserts, in the subjoined extracts from his *Church Divisions*, that the Independents did not treat their Presbyterian brethren with too much kindness: "Was it no persecution, when many Anabaptists and Separatists made such work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in Cromwell's time and after, as they did, when so many were turned out of the Universities for not *engaging*, and so many out of the Magistracy and Corporation Privileges? And when an ordinance was made to cast out all ministers, who would not pray for the success of their wars against Scotland, or that would not give God thanks for their victories? When I have heard them profess, *that there were many thousand godly men that were killed at Dunbar*, (to instance in no other,) and yet we were all by their ordinance to be cast out, that would not give God thanks for this.—What more harsh kind of persecution could there be, than to force men to go hypocritically to God against their consciences, and take on them to beg for the success of a war, which they judged unlawful, and to return him a public counterfeit thanks for bloodshed, yea, for the blood of thousands?"

This, certainly, is a very trifling display of persecution; and, if the Independents could be charged with no higher a degree of criminality than this towards the Arminians, they would appear in the foremost ranks of friends to Toleration. On the doctrines of General Redemption, they had been egregiously misinformed. They had seen Arminianism only in the form which Archbishop Laud had compelled it to assume, (p. 691,) and which undoubtedly was not the most attractive; and for many years they manifested no wish to be made better acquainted with its native purity as taught by the Dutch Founder of the system. When these obnoxious doctrines did not intervene, the Independent divines were almost uniformly found to possess a greater portion of philanthropy than their Presbyterian brethren: But the Independent statesmen were generally more lenient and generous than the divines of their persuasion. One of the most outrageous High Church-men that ever wrote, has given us the following just description of the Independents, in a reply to Richard BAXTER'S complaint at the commencement of this note:

"Presbytery is too tyrannical for the spirit of an Independent to bear. The "stomach of that party would not brook it; and so they cast it up again: For "there is, though a licentious, yet somewhat of a practical and accommodable "generosity in that party. But are not you aware, gentlemen, that the worse "you speak of these people, the greater is your condemnation for making the "Episcopal Party *still more insupportable than these* [*were*] *at the very worst*?" —L'ESTRANGE'S *Casuist Uncased.*

cution *gladio oris*, ['with the sword of the mouth,'] they are ready to *act* persecution *ore gladii* ['at the point of the sword']. I pray God it may never be Englished!"

What defence of themselves did the Independents publish against this charge of *a General Toleration*, which, they knew, was intended to apply to them? JEREMIAH BURROUGHES, one of the chief of this party, thus disclaims "such a Toleration," in his Sermon before the House of Peers, Nov. 26, 1645: "Let not violence be used to force people to things spiritual that they know not. If those who now have but food and raiment should have great penalties inflicted upon them, for not submitting to what they yet have no means to instruct them in, how grievous would it be! The votes of Parliament are to be honoured, and the judgment of an *Assembly of godly and learned men* is not to be slighted; but that which must subject men's consciences, in matters concerning Christ and his worship, must be *light from the word*. Let not the greatness of your power be exercised upon those who do *what they can* to know the mind of Jesus Christ, and would fain understand and practise more, only they dare go no further than they see Christ before them. You cannot say, *Men are obstinate and will not see;* for what means hath the generality of the kingdom had to see ground out of Scripture for such great changes? To use force upon people before they have means to teach them, is to seek to beat the nail in by the hammer of *authority*, without making way by the wimble of *instruction*. Indeed, if you have to deal with rotten or soft sappy wood, the hammer only may make the nail enter presently: But if you meet with sound wood, with heart of oak, though the hammer and hand that strikes be strong, yet the nail will hardly go in; it will turn crooked or break: Or, at least, if it enters, it may split that wood it enters into; and, if so, it will not hold long, you have not your end. Consider, you have to deal with English consciences; there is no country so famous for firm strong oaks as England; you will find English consciences to be so.

"My Lords, you are advanced to high power and honour, in a kingdom where Christ hath as many dear saints of his, as (I had almost said) in all the world besides; He expects you should use them kindly. They have been faithful to you; even such as cannot fully come up to you, in some things you have published to the world. Where hath any one of them (though cried out upon, as *troublers of the kingdom*) falsified their trust in any thing you have committed to them? You sit here in peace, and enjoy your honours with abundance of mercies; in part, through the blessings of God upon their faithfulness and courage in venturing their lives for you: God forbid you should fall upon them, when your turns are served by them! Listen not to any who shall whisper such suggestions, or boldly vent such things as tend to the exasperation of your spirits this way. There is a great out-

cry against *the toleration of all religions*, and we are willing to join against such a toleration; but that which fills the mouths of many in this, is the heat of their spirits against those that differ from them *in any thing*, that they might with the more strength be able *by this* to strike at THEM: Suffer not your power to be abused to serve men's designs. Be faithful with God; encourage those that fear him; and God will take care of your honours; He will do good to you, and your posterity after you. Do not hearken to those who tell you, *These men would lay all level; they would make no difference between the Nobleman and Tradesman.* Yes, we know, honour is to be given to whom honour belongs. God hath made a distance between man and man; it is fit it should be acknowledged and observed."

This is certainly a noble description of the consciences of Englishmen; and the warning is very proper against using violence "to force people to things spiritual that they know not." In a preceding page, (lx,) the Presbyterian tyranny has been depicted, by Nathaniel Hardy, before the house of Peers, as consummate "PIETY!" He has there most ingeniously urged their Lordships to commit the foul deed which Burroughes so feelingly deprecates. "If, while the Ark was floating on the waters of strife," says Hardy, "you were enforced to entertain WOLVES and LAMBS together; yet now that the waters are abated, and the Ark in some measure settled, send out the WOLVES from the fold." The Independents remembered, for a long time afterwards, this "exasperation of their Lordships' spirits," and Burroughes intreats them "not to listen to any who shall whisper such suggestions."

On this subject, another Independent Preacher, "WILLIAM DELL, Minister of the Gospel, attending on his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax," speaks thus, in the Dedication of the sermon which he delivered before the House of Commons, Nov. 25, 1646: "Here lies *the mystery of iniquity* in this—that they [the Presbyterians] make *the whole kingdom* A CHURCH; and then require a power, authority, and jurisdiction in their CHURCH-KINGDOM, which the Magistrate is not to deal withal, but themselves.—What a balance they may prove against the State where they live, in turning and tumultuous times, as they themselves know, so I hope you clearly perceive. How do they manifest their discontents against you, in pamphlets and pulpits, in their sermons and prayers, because you have not settled the government [which] they have studied out for you as *Jus Divinum* and the certain and unchangeable mind of God, though they can neither make it out to yourselves, nor to any body else, by THE WORD, that it is so! And how do they labour to instil into the people their own discontents, persuading them *you have done nothing at all*, because you have not done all that ever they would have you do, though you can see neither reason nor scripture

for it! Some discoveries of this spirit you might see in Mr. LOVE'S sermon, telling you before your faces, and before the people, that *some called you* A MONGREL PARLIAMENT! Telling you also, *The Clergy had done as much service for you in their Pulpits, as your Regiments in the Field;* that, by this means, he might mind you what they can do *against* you, as well as *for* you, if you be not servants to their designs!—I shall trouble you no further with any such stuff, but only with a smart expression from one, it seems, of some note in the Assembly [of Divines] who said, 'If the Parliament approved Mr. DELL'S Sermon, it were no blas-'phemy to say, *they were no Parliament!*' So that it seems you shall be no longer a Parliament, than you approve what the Assembly approves! But the kingdom hopes, you are built upon a better foundation."

In his Sermon, Dell relates the following anecdote, and adds a few just reflections: "I read, in FRITHE'S *Answer to the Bishop of Rochester*, 'that a youth, being present at his father's burning, 'the officers, seeing him, resolved to examine him also, to try if 'they might find him a sectary or a heretic: But the youth, dis-'mayed at the sad sight of his father's death, and fearing the like 'end himself, being asked of one of them, *how he believed?*, 'answered, *Sir, I believe even as it pleaseth you.*' And so, the more outward and violent power is used upon men, the more of this kind of faith and obedience you shall have. When men shall see prisons, and banishments, and loss of goods, and death, walking up and down the kingdom for the Reformation of the Church, you shall at last have men say, '*Sirs, we will believe and do, even as it pleaseth you: We will believe as the State pleaseth, or we will believe as the Council pleaseth; and let them make what confession they will, we had rather* BELIEVE *them, than* ENDURE *them!*' And thus by fear and punishment may men be brought to say and do that which they neither believe nor understand: And how acceptable such Popish faith and obedience is unto God, all spiritual Christians know, and every man's conscience, me thinks, should be convinced."

Dell's Sermon contains sentiments more tolerant and liberal, than those of the other Independent ministers, who gave public expression in those days to their opinions. He may be considered as the Army's representative at that period,* having pow-

* DELL was one of the most fanatical of the Army Chaplains; yet, with all his eccentricities, he and his *multiform brethren* of the Independent persuasion were the only persons qualified to cope with the intolerant Presbyterians. The worst feature in his character was that which generally attached to the men of his denomination, a suppleness of principle in accommodating his tenets to the varying circumstances of the times, and to the prejudices of the people or the army.

In RICHARD BAXTER'S *Second Admonition to Bagshaw*, it is said: "Alas! how common was this in the Army—*to set up and pull down, do and undo, own*

erfully pleaded their cause in his Sermon. Yet, by consulting "the humble Petition of the Officers of the Army," in a succeeding page, (779,) it will be seen, that even they, who, from the number of their discordant sects, required the most extensive indulgence from each other, were very careful to except Popery and Prelacy, and under the latter term they always included Arminianism. The same exceptions are made by Dr. Owen, (p. 416,) against "Papists' Images and Prelates' Service-book;" and his open avowal, that "*the zeal of them that put Servetus to death may be acquitted,*" identifies his views on this subject with those of Vines in a preceding page (lxv). Indeed, I have not met with an Independent Minister of that era, (with the exception of John Goodwin,) who, when speaking without ambiguity or circumlocution on the subject, did not bear his testimony against tolerating Episcopalians, who were usually depicted under the epithets of *Delinquents, Malignants, Prelatists,* or *Arminians!*

The reader will find, in page 791, some reasons for the great extent of John Goodwin's catholicism, and his superiority in this respect to his famous cotemporary Dr. Owen. It is there shewn, that both of them acknowledge "their doctrine of *Religious* "*Liberty* to have been derived from the writings of the Remon-"strants: But, with this doctrine, Goodwin almost simultane-"ously imbibed that of *General Redemption;* and the latter "rendered the amplitude of the former much more distinct and "apparent. Owen, on the contrary, borrowed only just as much "of the Dutch doctrine of mutual toleration as served a tempo-"rary purpose, and fenced it about with many restrictions, which "might enable its advocate virtually to disclaim it at a convenient "season. Owen's views of toleration partook of the narrowness "of his religious system," &c. But, though the glory of *the first promulgation of tolerant principles* does not belong to the Calvinistic Independents, it is undoubtedly due to the Arminian branch of that denomination. Indeed, in what quarter soever Dutch Arminianism in those days achieved her conquests,—whether among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents,—she almost invariably rendered them favourable to the civil and religious liberties of mankind: Of her early trophies among these three denominations, John Goodwin, Ralph Cudworth, and Lawrence Womack were admirable specimens, that entitled her to the veneration of all the lovers of piety and freedom. I would have substituted Jeremy Taylor in the place of Womack, had not the former been an Arminian in the days of Laud; while the

and disown, as by the Spirit of God! There was Mr. Erbury, Mr. Saltmarsh, Mr. Dell, Mr. William Sedgwick, who, as from God, wrote one week to the Army *against their putting the King to death*, and the next week wrote quite to them *on the other side;* and who set London, by a prophecy or vision, on looking for the Day of Judgment, on a set day."

famous trio, whose names I have classed together, were converts to the doctrinal system of the Remonstrants during the Civil Wars. The Presbyterians, perhaps, have the greatest cause to complain of the manner in which the history of British Toleration is generally related: For, the great body of "the Latitude men," (p. 796,) who at the Restoration placed themselves under the wings of Episcopacy, were liberal Arminians. They had either become Presbyterians by education, or by the preference which, in the multitude of contending parties, they had given to that form of ecclesiastical regimen: But they found the *doctrinal* as well as the *ceremonial* restraints of the Presbytery too strict for them; and as soon as Episcopacy was, by the good Providence of God, restored to her former pre-eminence, in vast numbers they joined her truly catholic communion.

In the preceding extracts, one of the Presbyterians intimated, that "Episcopacy in his Pontificalibus might, by means of" the the Toleration for which the Independents pleaded, "be retrieved and called from exile." (Page lxiii.) Yet the same preacher, who knew the wishes of his party as Calvinists, (p. 454,) "intreats the PURE INDEPENDENTS,"—that is, those who adopted all *the Westminster Confession of Faith* except the parts which relate to Church-government,—"to declare zealously and seriously against the doctrinal errors and heresies of those days." The manner in which the latter complied with their brethren's request, and by which they brought themselves within the amicable arrangement of their Calvinistic "strivings," (being "those of one Israelite with another," whom "Moses quiets and parts fairly,") will be described in the commencement of the second volume. In that part, I expose the conduct of the TRIERS AND EJECTORS, of whom "the Independents formed the majority, and were the most active in the use of their delegated powers."—"These "TRIERS," says Granger, "for the most part, brought the test "to a short issue: If a Minister readily gave up the Five Points "of Arminius, embraced the tenets of Calvin, and was *orthodox* "in politics, he was generally qualified to hold any benefice in "the Church."

The obnoxious view which both Presbyterians and Independents took of Arminianism, has been shewn in several of the preceding pages. This will be still more apparent from the following extract of a sermon, preached before the House of Commons, December 30, 1646, by MATTHEW NEWCOMEN, who, as one of the famous *Smectymnyan* faction, had pleaded for Presbyterian liberty against good Bishop Hall:

"There is yet another dying object of your pity; and that is Truth, Religion, the Gospel, the Lord Jesus Christ, that lies a bleeding, that is drawn to death, ready to be slain: O do not, I beseech you, forbear to deliver them. There is scarce any truth of Christ, any doctrine of the gospel, any point of our religion, but by some temerarious hand or other hath been invaded, as-

saulted, maimed, ready to be slain. The doctrine of the Trinity, of the Godhead of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, of the verity of the scriptures; the doctrine of election, of redemption, of vocation, of justification, of sanctification; the work of the Spirit, the rule of life, of holiness; the doctrine of the sacraments, of the immortality of the soul, &c.—Truth it is, right honourable and beloved, that, when first you met in Parliament, we were in great danger of losing our religion. There was a Popish Arminian faction, that had a design to rob us of our religion. God gave you hearts to be very sensible of that danger, and to be very zealous for the prevention of it: I, and thousands more, must and will *bear you record, that, if it had been possible, you would have plucked out your own eyes,* rather than have parted with the least *apex* or *iota* of divine truth, out of a lenity or indulgence to Papist or Arminian, or any other Heretic:* Where is then your former

* On the same day and to the same audience, STEPHEN MARSHALL delivered the following harangue:

"Our times are times of errors, horrible errors. I mean not such errors as are to be found among God's people, to whom he never hath given an equal light; and, notwithstanding which errors, Himself bears with them, and would have his people bear one with another. But I mean, our times are times of such errors as are heretical and blasphemous, such as concern our christian faith, and holy conversation, in a very high degree. It would weary you, but to tell you the things that are generally known to spread as a gangrene. A new generation of men are risen up, and spread all the points of Arminianism, *Universal Redemption, Apostasy from Grace, Man's Free-will.* Multitudes of others cry down the law, as *not having any thing to do with God's people*, others denying that the Saints of God should ever any more confess sin to God in prayer: Others questioning whether there be any church or ministry this day upon the face of the earth, and whether there shall be any till new apostles arise. Nay, beyond all these, many denying the Lord Jesus, that bought us with his blood, to be God, or the Holy Ghost to be God: Others denying the Three Persons in the Trinity, and, consequently affirming that we, and all the christian world with us, do worship idols instead of God; for if these men be right, they are idols whom we worship.—These, and abundance of such horrid things as these are, do spread and scatter like wild-fire every where in all corners of the land, to the great provocation of God's wrath, and our reproach through the christian world. And what have our heads to do at such a time? Certainly you, and all others, ought to mourn for these things, and tear your clothes, and your hairs, and your hearts, that God should be so dishonoured.

"But for your duties who are in high places, for what is peculiar to you, I'll not dispute any controversy at this time, but set down two things which I know you must yield to. ONE is: Certainly you must search diligently into the scriptures, and enquire whether Jesus Christ would have you oppose yourselves against these things that are so opposite to him:—If, upon a diligent search, you find that he hath not authorized you, do not you arrogate any authority that Christ hath not given you:—My lie will never honour God, though I should tell it for God's glory. And your thrusting yourselves into an office Christ hath not called you unto, will never be accepted by him. But if, SECONDLY, Upon a diligent search, it appears he hath given authority unto you, then I am as assured that he hath not left it to your arbitrement whether you will use it, or no; he hath not left it to your will, whether you will punish them. But if you have power to stop them and do not, he will lay them all at your doors, and require them at your hands. Therefore search diligently what you have power to do,

zeal? Is religion and truth less dear and precious now, than it was before? God forbid! Is it in less danger? Oh that it were! But surely, beloved, our danger in this particular is but a little changed, not quite removed. Then indeed religion was in danger of a more violent and quick dispatch, and now it is in danger of a more lingering, but as sure a death: Then it was like to have been dispatched with one thrust of a sword, or one chop of a hatchet, by the hand of known and undoubted enemies; now it is like to be stabbed to death with bodkins, with variety and multiplicity of errors, that have wounded our religion in every vein; and this assassinate upon religion, committed by those that would be counted her chief and only friends.

"Truly when I behold the face and state of religion among us, it is in mine eyes, as if the Lord Jesus Christ were crucified afresh, and put to open shame in the midst of us.—Here comes a blasphemous ARIAN, and he wounds his head, by denying him to be God.—There comes a sectary that is a flat ARMINIAN, though he hath not wit enough to know it, and he wounds him through the heart, by maintaining *universal redemption*, and that *Christ shed his blood for all men*, a thing that never entered into the heart of Christ!—There comes an ANTINOMIAN, and he pierceth his hands and his feet, by denying that exact walking and working by the rule of the moral law, which Jesus Christ came not to give an indulgence or dispensation from, but to give himself an example of: *Atque hæc impunè*. Can you plead ignorance of these things, and say, *Behold we know it not?* You cannot. Blessed be God, you do not; you have begun to set your faces against these blasphemies and heresies, that *(servis dormientibus)* are broken in upon us. Go on in this your might, to stop the mouth of all ungodliness, and the zeal of the Lord of Hosts be your strength! I know it hath been said by some, 'that because a heart to know and em-'brace the truth is the gift of God, and the Magistrate cannot by 'forcible means work such a heart in men, therefore the Magis-'trate must use no compulsion or co-ercion in matters of religion.' But certainly, though the Magistrate cannot give grace, yet he may compel men to attend upon those means where God doth usually give that grace: (2 Chron. xxxiv, 11. Ezra, x, 7, 8.)

and then let not these things go on to God's dishonour. But supposing you have authority, *What then is to be done?* I answer, you must not take blasphemies, errors, and heresies to be such upon the reports of other men, but as the Lord ordered them in the 13th of Deuteronomy, so likewise must you do, *search diligently whether indeed such and such things are done;* and when they appear to be done, out of the zeal of God do that against them which the Lord would have you do; let not your religion be thus contaminated; suffer not your children to whom you ought to be nursing-fathers, to be thus poisoned by such corrupt doctrines, nor devoured by such wolves: This I know you will all subscribe unto:—This I desire above all may stick with you, that if the Lord hath given you power, he hath not given you liberty to forbear such men: God in mercy make you zealous for him that hath been zealous for you in all your troubles!"

Else you must not only repeal the laws that enjoin Papists to come to our churches, but repent of them, as yours and the nations sins. And though the Magistrate *cannot give men a heart to know and love the truth,* yet certainly the Magistrate may make laws to restrain and punish errors and blasphemies that are against the truth ; (Dan. iii, 29.) else, *pari ratione,* because a chaste heart, or a true and loyal heart, is the gift of God, and the Magistrate by all his penal laws, cannot make men have such hearts, therefore the Magistrate may not make laws to punish adultery, incest, theft, treason : Were this good divinity, or good policy ?"

This was the common strain in which all the English Calvinists spoke concerning Arminianism ; and their acts corresponded with their sayings. When, therefore, the two grand parties, into which the Predestinarians were divided, had scarcely sufficient charity to tolerate each other in the small matters about which they disagreed, it is not surprising that they would not suffer the Arminians, whom they classed with "heretics and blasphemers," to enjoy the exercise of their religious privileges without molestation. In pages 496 and 552, I have shewn the origin of this deadly antipathy to those who were attached to the doctrines of General Redemption. Gomarus declared, "that he durst not "appear in the presence of his Maker, if he maintained the "opinions which Arminius professed ;" and all the subsequent champions of Calvinism, in Great Britain and in Holland, had studiously perpetuated this infernal feeling, by exhibiting the Predestinarian differences between themselves and their Arminian brethren, as *fundamental verities* and *essential to salvation !*—The English Independents, therefore, who acted upon this excluding principle to the time of the Restoration, when they were compelled to resign their "powers ecclesiastic," have in reality as slender a claim as their Presbyterian friends to the title of "the earliest and best friends to Toleration."

In several of these sermons before the Long Parliament, the army is blamed as "the grand hot-bed of *errors, heresies, and blasphemies.*" That the different military corps were far removed from *uniformity both in doctrine and discipline,* and that they had imbibed *many egregious errors,* no impartial person will deny. But the wonderful economy of the Providence of God is here again strikingly displayed, in over-ruling the spread of these evils for the attainment of a greater good. If the army had contained no *Arians, Socinians,* or *Antinomians,* with whom *Arminians* were likewise invidiously classed, the parties who held *the hundred and four-score new opinions,* to which Bishop Hall alludes, (p. 707,) would have had nothing to *tolerate* in each other : But as their religious sentiments were exceedingly multiform, and as they soon proved to the nation that they held the Supremacy in their own hands, though sufficiently zealous for their several principles, (p. 778,) they saw the *propriety* as well as the *safety* of yielding much

liberty to each other, "in things of the mind," as it is expressed (p. 452) by one of their arch commanders. It is to the honour of ARMINIANISM and EPISCOPACY, that they were both *as such* formally excluded from the benefits of Toleration, even in the republican Army. Both of them, however, were ultimately gainers by this exclusion: For, in that inquisitive age, after the first intemperate heat against the two obnoxious terms had subsided, people began to examine the reasons for such partiality against some of the best men in the nation. (See page 803.) The result was just what might have been expected,—after one outrageous error had expended its fury upon another, the sober and thoughtful part of the community became enamoured with the beautiful and chaste features of Truth, and gladly embraced her at the Restoration, under the form of Episcopacy,* Arminianism, and Monarchy.

* "These considerations of the unproportionableness of any other Church-government than a right Episcopacy to the temper of England, moved the supercilious, yet very learned, Salmasius,—in his advice to the Prince Elector [Palatine] then in England, and to some other of the Long Parliament and of Scotized Assembly, (who desired his judgment upon the then hot and perboiling, yea, passionate and overboiling debates touching Episcopacy,)—to tell them, 'that, as 'the Episcopal government, rightly constituted and executed, is very agreeable to 'the word of God and most conform to all Antiquity; so it was, of all other, 'most *suitable to the English spirit and constitution*: The want of which, he 'already foresaw, was and would ever be the cause of much disorder and dis-'traction, of infinite factions, heresies, schisms, and confusions.'—Thus the great Dictator of Learning (as he esteemed himself) was pleased, in this passage and other-where, graciously to express his judgment and pleasure, according to *the humour he was in* or to *the interest which he was pleased to adopt*. Sometimes he is WALO MESSALINUS, and ashamed to own his name against Episcopacy: He was, in that disguise, to gratify the pretensions of Presbytery, and the adherence or dependence which he had to the French and Dutch Churches. Otherwhile he puts off the vizard, and with open face owns the eminency, authority, antiquity, and universality of Episcopacy; yea, the incomparable utility of it, when joined with a grave and orderly Presbytery, besides a particular aptitude in it to the English genius."—GAUDEN'S *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*.

Salmasius was a very learned and clever man, but addicted to the love of money and of changes: His changeableness and mercenary habits rendered his writings against Milton of little estimation, though, abating his childish personalities, they were in many respects worthy of his great reputation. His character also will not be much enhanced, after the reader has perused the following extract from the last letter which the illustrious Grotius addressed to his brother in 1645, the year in which he died: "I do not know whether the account which I have heard "be correct, that letters have been written in the English Parliament to Sal-"masius, to engage him in the defence of their [the Presbyterians'] ecclesiastical "government against the Bishops and the Independents; and that he will do this "in the book which he is writing concerning the Primacy." When the English Presbyterians had contributed their share towards the murder of their king, (p. 385,) Salmasius wrote vigorously against the whole Calvinian phalanx; but his pen was represented as a venal one by his former employers, and his fame suffered much in consequence of this report. His injustice to the memory of Grotius, by whom he had been invariably treated with particular delicacy and attention, (p. 593,) operated to his disadvantage. In his ungenerous attack upon Episcopacy, then in ruins, he had a compeer in the famous David BLONDEL, who, though nominally a Cameronist, afterwards succeeded G. J. Vossius in the Chair

5.—*The culpable share which the Calvinists had in the Murder of King Charles the First.*

THE guilt which attaches itself to the two grand denominations of Calvinists, on account of the murder of King Charles the First, is impartially awarded in some of the following pages.

of History at Amsterdam. In a letter to Isaac Vossius, dated April 25, 1645, Grotius says: "I desire greatly to behold all BLONDEL's productions: For he "is exceedingly skilful in history, but the party to which he has addicted himself "sometimes transports him in a wrong direction."

It is to this last trait in the character of both, that Dr. Gauden alludes in the following passage: "Shall one David Blondel, or *Walo Messalinus*, (that is, *Salmasius*,) men indeed of excellent learning, yet obliged, (as Peter Moulin confesseth of himself, in his epistolary dispute with the most learned Bishop Andrews,) to 'plead what might be for the enforced stations and necessitated conditions of 'those Presbyterian churches with which they were then in actual fellowship and 'church-communion,'—shall, I say, these two men, who are the greatest props for Presbytery, be put into the balance against all the ancient and modern assertors of Episcopacy? Or shall the votes of the late Assembly [of Divines] be a just counterpoise against all the chief Reformed Divines at home and abroad?"

Dr. Gauden here ascribes the conduct of these men to their "obligations to plead *what might be* for the enforced stations of the churches with which they were in actual fellowship." I have read Calvin's and Beza's vituperative remarks on English Episcopacy, and was always accustomed to attribute to their native French politeness, the facility with which those great men "swallowed their own words," and broke out afresh into fulsome praises of well-regulated Episcopacy. But when I behold the same practice in several of their eminent successors, such as Du Moulin, Diodati, Salmasius, Blondel, Le Moyne, De L'Angle, and Claude, (all of whom were, with a single exception, likewise Frenchmen and exceedingly polite,) I am tempted, did not charity forbid, to impute their apparent, (yet often *forced*,) tergiversation to the native hollowness of the Calvinistic system. Much, indeed, of this "blowing *hot* and *cold*" proceeds from the violence of the party, and the awkward predicament in which ministers are placed, when the letters which contain their private opinions about their Calvinistic brethren are published. Such were the painful circumstances in which Le Moyne, De l'Angle, and Claude, were placed, when their confidential letters, (one of which I have quoted in page 421,) were published by Bishop Stillingfleet, at the close of his "Unreasonableness of Separation:" And, after all the ingenious arguments produced by Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, in his "Life of Claude," those who have perused both sides of the question, will at once perceive, that the first letters of these foreign Presbyterians contained their unbiassed opinions, and that their subsequent explanations only went to save their character with the party.

I must not conclude this note without informing my readers, that Dr. Hammond wrote an able Reply in Latin to Blondel and Salmasius, the latter of whom (through a feeling of loyal gratitude for his writings against the regicides,) is purposely treated with uncommon respect, for which the Doctor briefly gives this reason in his Preface. The Doctor's production is entitled, *Dissertationes Quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex S. Scripturis et Primæva Antiquitate adstruuntur.* To these erudite Dissertations, and to the several English pamphlets written in vindication of them, I acknowledge myself indebted for the more correct views which I have happily gained of Episcopacy. The labours of Dr. Hammond on this argument afford another proof of the immense advantage which an accurate knowledge of the Ancient Fathers gives to a Polemic writer, and the great superiority of the English Clergy in that department of sacred literature.

(379—391.) The craft and sophistry of the PRESBYTERIAN Calvinists, in this affair, are well expressed by the famous Daillée, one of that party, in his congratulatory letter on the Restoration of King Charles the Second (p. 606): "When our adversaries "formerly would charge the blame of the death of the late king "of England on our religion, you know we could very well guard "ourselves from this reproach, *by casting it entirely on the sectaries*, "who indeed were only guilty of that horrible crime."—One of these sectaries, LEWIS DU MOULIN, thus removes the burden from his own friends, the INDEPENDENTS, and throws it upon the army: "As for the odium that is cast upon the *Congregational Way*, and "upon those who are called Independents,—as being the more "immediate authors and abettors of the King's murder, and of "taking away Monarchy,—it can easily be wiped off and made "out, that Oliver Cromwell's army, like that of King David's in "the wilderness, was a medley or a collection of all parties that "were discontented, as some Courtiers, some Episcoparians, few of "any sect, but most of none, or else of the religion of Thomas "Hobbes and Dr. Scarborough; not mentioning the Papists, "who had the greatest hand in the death of King Charles the "First, the success of which made them so daring and impious, "as to contrive another most damnable and hellish plot to cut off "the life of his Sacred Majesty [Charles II.] that now is, his "royal son, and our most gracious sovereign."—The Republican OFFICERS and SOLDIERS, by Moulin's special pleading, were furnished with a good excuse for their share of criminality, in the assertion, "that the Papists had the greatest hand in the death of "the King."—See also Richard Baxter's assertion to the same effect, in page 294. The LONG PARLIAMENT was vindicated, I believe by DANIEL DE FOE, from all guilty participation in this foul deed, in the following manner: "How the LONG PARLI-"AMENT was by military force turned into *the Rump*, and reduced "to a small party of factious members, who with the army hatched "that barbarous tragedy,—is so universally attested by historians "of all sides, that he must be altogether unacquainted with those "times who does not know it. For the Parliament, who proposed "no other end in their war, than to keep the prerogative within its "just limits, and to preserve the nations from the unjust invasions "which had been made upon them by evil councillors under "colour of *Royal Authority*,—having upon a treaty obtained such "concessions from the King as they voted *satisfactory for the* "*ground of a treaty*,—were proceeding to accomplish that great and "noble work, until the *Sectarian Party* in the Army, that had "then conquered the *Commanding Part* of it, subverted and over-"turned all. 'The members,' says Coke, 'met upon the first of "'December 1648, and vote the King's concessions to be *a suffi-*"*'cient ground for peace;* and then adjourn for a week. But "'when the members were to meet again, they found all the

" ' avenues to the house beset with soldiers, who exclude all " ' which were *not of their faction* from entering the House, which " ' were not one-fourth part, and make the residue prisoners. So " ' farewell Presbytery, &c.' "

Unfortunately for the parties, who thus ingeniously tried to exculpate themselves, they were all severally guilty participators in this high offence; and though their criminality differed in degree, the members of the Long Parliament were certainly not the least culprits. (P. 406.) On this topic an eminent writer has very justly observed: " How far that part of the Parliament " which sat at Westminster were inclinable to a peace and recon- " ciliation with their most injured monarch, their voting his con- " finement to Warwick Castle, (when he was not in their hands,) " and their making choice of such a set of preachers, might be " sufficient to convince us, had we no other proofs, of their dis- " affection to their lawful sovereign. For, notwithstanding they " have been called ' A PARLIAMENT OF PATRIOTS, *who stood up* " *against tyranny both in Church and State;*' and all their pretences " from first to last were, *that they were fighting to rescue their sove-* " *reign out of the hands of wicked Councillors, and to bring him in* " *honour to his Parliament,* (a thing frequently suggested by their " preachers;) yet, besides what has been said, it is very apparent " from what follows, how consistent their public declarations and " actions were with each other. For when Mr. Nathaniel WARD, " one of their preachers, (in other respects incendiary enough!) " chanced to speak favourably of the King, and of bringing him " back to the Parliament, they did not desire him to *print his* " *sermon,* or return him *thanks for the great pains* he took, accord- " ing to custom: A favour that, I am convinced, was never " refused before, in the compass of seven years, from near two " hundred and thirty sermons I have in my custody, which were " preached before the Two Houses, from November, 1640, to " February, 1648!"

Their apologist gives the date of " the breaking-up of the Long Parliament, December 8, 1648;" and Ward's sermon was preached before the House of Commons, June 30, 1647. His text was Ezek. xix, 14; and when, in application of the words, he urged the Senators to lamentation, he addressed them in the following language:

" Let us also lament our present martial sceptre. We have slighted God's moral and evangelical law; he hath now brought us in some sort under martial law. Let us lament that so good an army should be so ill-guided, as to do what they do without warrant from God or State, so far as wise men can yet discern.

" Let us lament, that a sceptre made of so much gold and silver, and true *English* metal, should have any part of it of a *Westphalian* temper. Let us lament that such honourable and serviceable troops should have any mounted upon any saddles

of John a Leyden's make.—Let us lament that so good an army should advance toward so ill a work, at least in their shows and our fears, as to deliver a Parliament of some eminent members by a Cæsarian section.

"Let us very sadly lament, that some of them of a mechanic alloy should be so bold, as, without warrant from their chief leaders, to plunder us of our King; it was so malepart an act, an act that would have better become a John a Leyden, Knipper Dolling, or Jack Cade, than a loyal English subject! But what if the sword contemn even the rod, what? It is great pity but that sword should meet with a sound rod. If nobody else will provide it, I hope God will. But I trust, Gentlemen, some of you will call to mind what an old Roman, a wise Statesman, wrote to Marcus Brutus in the like case.

"It was too great a disparagement to make our King, who is the Lord paramount of all our freeholds, such a moveable. I believe there have been spirits in the world which would almost scorn to be King again after such a handling. If he went willingly, let us bewail his error.

"Let us lament that there should be any Korahs, Dathans, and Abirams, in an army that lays so much claim to piety.—Let us lament with much spiritual grief, that many of this army have bemeazled so many ignorant countrymen and towns, with impious and blasphemous opinions and rude manners. I marvel much, that any man who fears God closely and uprightly, should fear this army, whereof a great part is said to be so good, that surely they *will not*, and others so bad, as surely they *cannot* hurt us.

"In the first of Ezekiel, there is a description of a strange wheel; it was a wheel, and wheels, and a wheel within a wheel, and four wheels, and there were four flashing and sparkling creatures, guided by a spirit that was in the midst of them; whither the spirit went, they went. The form and motion of this wheel made the heavens look terrible. I could parallel our army to this wheel allusively, but not abusively. If they can so drive their wheels, that they overthrow not Charles his wain, nor break the axletree of the State, I mean the Parliament, and run not the wheels over some of their own loins, and can be so wise as to unload on this side Munster, before they come to battle and slaughter, I dare be bold to say, with all reverence, that either the General or Christ his General, hath more skill in carting than I ever look to have while I live.

"Let us lament, that these our brethren have embarked themselves into an act unparalleled, and an enterprize so snarled and imbranched, that, I dare say, all the eyes amongst them cannot see to the end of all its issues, by a thousand leagues. Let us seriously lament, so seriously, that we may prevent all lamentations by these our brethren and more than fellow-subjects.—

Let us lament, that such an English army have cast so much well-deserved honour in the dust, and such a black veil over the face of the Gospel.

"Let us also lament the whole State and people, who *feel* in part, but do not sufficiently *see* their sin and sorrow. The anger of the Lord was moved against the people, and moved David to sin against them. (2 Sam. xxiv, 1.) Kings can sin fast enough of themselves, and kindle fires upon themselves and the people. But usually people, by their sins, blow the coals to a flame.

"Lament, that they have a suspended King. Did they know what the Egyptian and Russian States, and what the kingdom of Fez suffered, for more than seven years together, for want of a King, they would lament to purpose.—Israel shall say, we have no King, because we feared not the Lord; what then should a King do to us? (Hos. x, 3.) He that can tell what a King should do to a people that will not fear the Lord, I could earnestly wish him our King's Vice-roy in a country that I know; I should hold him as good and as wise a man as ever was Papirius Censor. What should a King do to his people, embroiled in so many divisions, commotions, and distractions? What should a King do, in a country where there are so *many Kings* and so *few subjects*? I dare freely say, that Claudius Gordianus nor the Barbarian Hermite would not willingly at this time take the royal sceptre into their hands, though the subjects, in the plight they are, would swear fealty to them with their hearts pinned upon their tongues' ends. It may be, an Abimelech, or a Perkin, or a Michael de Lando would, if they might.

"Let us lament, that, through these distractions and people's clamours, there is not balm enough, nor sufficient physicians, left in our Gilead to recover our healths."

After this faithful warning, both to Senators and people, of the sad consequences of the army's detention of the person of their King, it cannot be said with truth, that the Long Parliament

> Were guiltless of their Monarch's blood!

They could not have been induced to refuse their thanks to WARD, merely on account of the bluntness of his harangue; for several other preachers were still more caustic and severe in their personal remarks.* But the Long Parliament is generally, yet very

* The following remarks occur in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, May 26, 1647, by George Hughes:

"See the woe and weal of states. Happy land whose King is ennobled by God, and Princes made gracious, and taught by Him even to the use of meat and drink! There our Lord hath the kingdom and his Christ. But woe to that state, where a King, a child, a fool shall reign, an enemy to the Lord; and Princes lustful, gluttonous, drunken, and lascivious, such as must have a breakfast every morning in sin, shall steer by their counsels! Christ is no Lawgiver there. This is woeful: '*The people must mourn when the wicked beareth*

erroneously, depicted as that virtuous body of representatives who occupied its benches in 1640, and who opposed the aggressions of lawless power; while there is a studious concealment of the immense defections from its ranks,* which occurred in the

rule.' (Prov. xxix, 2.) They say there are such among you, if I may speak in usual terms, impious, childish, cock-pit counsellors: If so, such are bad trustees for laws, liberties, and religion. A Roman or Spartan state would provide against some of those, and not hazard kingdoms in the hands of fools: Much more should that state which is Christian. I know ye are not electors, but the scum of people send such unto you; and will spoil all your boilings, unless you take it off. It is a voice of fear, among them that love you and pray for you in the West, and other parts, *that such as could not overcome you by the sword, labour to do it by votes, even by sending such as will vote God from among you.* Ever Honoured Worthies, see if it be so; let the sight of one root of bitterness among you humble you; and now shew forth Christ ruling in you. Methinks, it is possible for a Christian Parliament, by a law, to purge and prevent such profane Paganish leaven, and to honour Christ's kingdom so much, as to make *gross sin* uncapable of a membership among you. Surely, if that be allowed, our Lord rules not; and this is woful.

"Our Lord takes no reward in judgment, neither must the stewards that act for him; such as do, He curseth. The voice of people is, there is such a fault among you. I confess, it is incredible to me, that such a Judge as a Parliament, consisting of so many heads, can be the subject of such corruption; and I am confident the body is free in judging. But it is replied, *though the judgment at last come free, yet motions many times cost men dear.* I cannot charge it upon any, and I wish that they who complain would testify to the faces of the guilty at your own bar. I am confident the just hands among you, would be against such a man, to thrust him out of your assembly."

* The same casuistry is employed by various Dissenting Historians, in speaking of the Long Parliament. Thus, BROOK, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, informs his readers, that "the members of this Parliament were *all members of the Church of England*, and nearly all advocates for Episcopal government." Richard Baxter, when writing about the impressions which HOOKER'S principles had made upon him, (p. xcvii,) says, "when the war begun" he did "not hear of two Presbyterians among all" the members of that Parliament: He also employs similar language, in a preceding page, (xliii,) and says very cautiously, "they had lived in conformity."

To shew to what class of Conformists these Calvinistic or Republican *Episcopalians* belonged, one of Baxter's opponents very justly observes: "You do well, Richard, to say that 'they *had* lived in conformity;' for the complying humour was now going off apace; insomuch that a *professed opposition to the orders of the Church* became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal party: And all those *Parliament men, Officers, and Assembly Divines*, contributed unanimously in their several stations toward the common ruin.—On Friday, December 11, 1640, a petition was brought into the House by Alderman Pennington from the Citizens of London, in the name of 15,000, complaining of the Church discipline, in having Archbishops, Bishops, &c.; using the cross in baptism; kneeling at the Communion-table, as unlawful in the Protestant Church.—(*Diurnal Occurrences.*)—Jan. 13. Petitions against the government of Bishops from several counties.—Jan. 13. The Remonstrance with 700 hands against the Bishops and their Prelacy was read.—March 7. A Bill against Episcopacy read in the House of Commons, &c.—March 10, 1640. Bishops' Votes in Parliament taken away.—In November, 1641, several tumults against Bishops; and December 11, 12, Bishops accused of High Treason: The Bishops in the mean time petitioning his Majesty, and entering a protest of their privi-

persons of those who went over to the Royal Party, and those who retired to their estates, as soon as they discovered the intentions of the dominant members. These two classes of seceders included some of the most upright, able, discerning, and honourable men that had sat in either House of Parliament. To this circumstance Stephen MARSHALL alluded, in his sermon before the House of Lords, (and his remarks would have applied as well to the Commons,) October 28, 1646, when he said:

"When the Church is smiled upon, and countenanced by Kings and Princes, it is no marvel though wise, rich, and great men do join with it. But when wars and persecutions are raised against it, which hath most-what been the Church's lot hitherto, wonder not though wise men withdraw from it, when they can see nothing but ruin attend them who take with this side: And this is the very reason of their withdrawing; and this also abundantly satisfies me in our present trouble, wherein we have had so many Lords, so many gentlemen, so many learned men, so many great and rich men, to have deserted the cause that the Parliament was engaged in. I solemnly profess, I rather wonder that any wise man, if not sanctified, hath stayed; that any man, not guided by the Spirit of God, should venture himself in a cause that appeared so desperate as this cause of Christ hath done to the eyes of flesh and blood. I justly call it *the cause of Christ and his Church*, because it is apparent that the Parliament's engaging themselves for *reformation of Religion*, as well as *preserving Civil Liberties*, hath provoked most of these enemies against them. Therefore, let this satisfy you abundantly, when the multitude of the world generally go against the cause of Christ, they think it folly to own it, because they look upon it as a lost cause."

Stephen here plainly informs their Lordships, that all *the wise, great, learned, and rich men*, who were "notsan ctified," that is, who were not those "babes and sucklings" of Calvin's school, described in the same sermon, (p. liv,) had withdrawn from their cause; and his statement is corroborated by that of the old historian in page 361.

5.—*The Republican Statesmen, and the Arminians of the New School, were the real Fathers of Religious Toleration.*

BUT though I have awarded the highest palm of merit, talent, and integrity, to those statesmen who effected a timely retreat

leges, and against tumults.—April 9, 1642. A due and necessary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church pretended. (*Ex. Col.*)

"It is to be hoped, that all these violences upon the Ecclesiastical State, and the persons of the Bishops, were not acted by CONFORMISTS. And it will not be denied, I suppose, that, after the posting and proscribing of the greater part of the Clergy's friends, (as well as the King's,) the schismatical interest was carried on by the major vote of the remaining fragment; and all this was *before the eruption of the war*; the Earl of Essex not receiving his commission, till July 12, 1642. Unless you'll say that *Episcopal men themselves were for the extirpation of Bishops!!*"

from the *arena* of faction and sedition, yet I consider it one of the many *mercies*, mixed with the distinguished *judgments* of those days, that some men of piety, honour, ability, and discernment, were left in both Houses, to keep down the bold aspirings of the Calvinistic divines, and to check the arrogance of "the fanatics" among their own members. They contrived for some time to keep the two great rival sects of Calvinists in abeyance; but, having commenced the war out of hatred to Archbishop Laud, as the chief and most responsible adviser of King Charles, and under the semblance of *religious zeal* against POPERY and ARMINIANISM, (a most discordant association!) they either did not always possess the power, or did not on every occasion account it politic, to protect, in the exercise of their religious privileges, the professors of General Redemption, who were almost universally attached to Episcopacy. The proceedings against "scandalous ministers," in 1643, were directed entirely against the Arminian Clergy: For the profession of their scriptural tenets was considered one of the greatest public "scandals" of the age; and there is scarcely an instance on record, of an Arminian Clergyman retaining his benefice, during the heat of that inquisition, except through the patronage of some nobleman or official person in the government, who possessed influence with the party, and exerted it in behalf of the sufferers. Yet, in the course of other ten years, it was discovered, that the number of the Clergy who had embraced the doctrines of Arminius was greatly increased: A fresh inquisition was therefore instituted, in 1653, against those excellent men, many of whom were cast out by the Commission of EJECTORS, while Arminian candidates for Holy Orders were effectually prevented from entering the ministry by the cognate Commission of TRIERS.

In the history of religious intolerance it ought always to be remembered, that this second hot inquisition against Arminianism (in 1653) was undertaken at the earnest solicitation and under the immediate conduct of the INDEPENDENTS; and that the first, in 1643, was by the advice and under the direction of the PRESBYTERIANS. Whether under the forms of Independency or Presbytery, therefore, the CALVINISTS adhered throughout to their first grand principle of persecuting the Episcopalians: And the number of the latter, who were also converts to the doctrinal system of Arminius in the latter days of the Commonwealth, has been egregiously under-rated by all the Predestinarian historians of that period. But in some of the following pages, (788 and 803,) I have afforded the reader two important criteria by which to form an accurate judgment of their astonishing increase. Evidence of the immense numbers of Arminians and Episcopalians under persecution, has also been already adduced from Calvinistic writers, (pp. lix, lxiii, lxxvi,) and other curious testimonies will given in the second volume.

In no proper sense, then, can THE PURITANS be said to have been "the fathers of English Liberty," unless the term is intended to apply to the Statesmen, who, as Erastians or Independents, as orthodox Christians or as undisguised Deists, (pp. 779—781,) controlled as far as practicable, the impetuosity of the Predestinarian Ecclesiastics, though, to effect their own purposes and to preserve the peace of the realm, they were occasionally forced to comply with some of their intolerant humours. To the patriotic and praiseworthy exertions of these individuals, in the Senate, in the Assembly of Divines, in the Army, and in the subordinate departments of Government, I have done ample justice, in pages 352, 400, 436, 444, 448, 452, 469, 779, &c.—From the letters and private papers which they have left, several of them seem to have been really noble-minded, though, like other mortals, they did not always perceive the course and issue of the measures which they advised or adopted, and in which they had unhappily involved themselves; and, from this source, impure in some respects as it certainly was, the streamlets of British Freedom, civil and religious, first began to flow in that disturbed period. The first principles of liberty were then discussed with great ability in the writings of some accomplished laymen, whose religious sentiments were exceedingly loose; while John Goodwin,* Tobias Conyers, the General Baptists, and the

* The following extract, from the preface to GOODWIN'S *Banner of Justification displayed*, will prove, that the labours of this great man and of his coadjutors had been extensively useful and highly approved:

"Whereas my accuser chargeth me with *having my hand against all men*, neither is he orthodox in this, unless he takes sanctuary under the wing of the good figure *Synecdoche*, which hath had a privilege, time out of mind, to grant a pardon to men for this delinquency in speaking, viz. when meaning only *some*, they say *all*; or intending only *a part*, yet mention or name *the whole*. But it is a good sign on the Truth's side when her enemies retreat and flee to their PATHETICALS: For this argues, that their INTELLECTUALS fall short, and that their heart serveth them not to confide in them any further.—Yet I cannot but mention this by the way, as matter of sad consideration, although of too frequent occurrency, that men,—who have competent gifts and parts of wit and learning, whereby they might serve their generation and be useful unto many, yet suffering themselves to be over-grown with a conceit *that these gifts and parts are far greater than they are*,—they hereby stifle their opportunity, and give hostages unto *sin and Satan* that they will never do any great matters against them!

"The remaining article of his charge—*that I have provoked all men, even to the common pamphleteer, to lift up a hand against me*,—will keep him out of the New Jerusalem also, without the mediation of the said figure *Synecdoche*: See *Revelations* xxi, 27, xxii, 15. I know it would be offensive to the gentleman, if I should relate how many letters, and messages otherwise,—of thankful acknowledgments of the grace of God given unto me for the clearing of those doctrines of Election, Reprobation, &c., and of Christian encouragement to proceed in my way, &c.,—I have received, time after time, from several persons of considerable worth for godliness and knowledge, inhabiting in several parts of the nation, some of them ministers of the Gospel, and others of them students in the University of good standing, &c. But because such a story as this would, I presume, be a heavy burden to a tender and weak shoulder, I shall forbear it. In the mean

Arminian members of their Independent Churches, promulgated throughout the land their truly catholic opinions on the subject of Toleration.—Milton, Selden, and others, had digested HALES's Tract *on Schism*, and were familiar with some of the most admired productions of the Dutch Arminians: Yet as the war against the King had been undertaken with the avowed intention of *rendering the religion of the English people more uniformly Calvinistic*, these politicians were aware that they could not succeed with the more clamorous part of the nation, unless they permitted themselves to be constantly addressed as Calvinists. Cromwell was accustomed to excuse himself to his intimate friends, for this easy compliance with the Calvinistic humour, by saying, *I must talk to these men after their own way!* "This created in his relative, Mr. Waller, [the Poet,] an opinion, that Oliver secretly despised those whom he seemed to court:" And a similar aversion must have been ultimately produced on the minds of all enlightened men, who had transactions with such servile individuals.

Whether the ears of the republican Statesmen had been so accustomed to the sweet and soothing strains of their Calvinistic flatterers, (who, it is seen, occasionally became their fierce accusers,) or whether loyal Arminianism was known to be of too unbending a character to stoop to such a degrading employment, certain it is, that all divines of the three great denominations who laboured even under any suspicion of being Arminians, were carefully excluded from the court-pulpits till the period of the Restoration. John Goodwin's early services had been of vast importance to the cause of the infant Republic, but he was badly remunerated for them: If any Arminian, therefore, was entitled to stand up as a court-preacher, John was, without doubt, that individual. The liberal sentiments, however, which he had then

time, Mr. Hickman must give me leave to tell him and all the world this plain story, that I know certainly, infallibly, above and beyond all possibility of mistake, that he spake not by the Spirit of God when he said, *that my hand hath provoked all men, even to the common pamphleteer*, &c. He is an Athenian, and seems to have some sympathy in blood with him that laid claim to *all the ships*, that came into Piræus, as HIS OWN. But he may know, if he please, that there are seven thousand, (and seven thousand more to them twice told,) amongst the Israel of God in this nation, who either never bowed the knee of their judgment to the bloody Moloch of his Reprobation nor to any of his confederates, or else have repented of that superstitious and unadvised homage!"

After all the harsh measures employed by the Calvinists, Arminianism could never be eradicated out of our two Universities. On this subject, T. HODGES made the following remarks before the Commons, March 10, 1646:

"Take special care of our Fountains, the Universities, that learning may be encouraged; and [that] doctrines contrary to soundness of faith, or [to] holiness of life and manners, be wholly there suppressed. For want of this, because there have been errors in the first concoction, they could never, in many, be mended to this present day; but many congregations have been poisoned with Arminianism, Socinianism, yea, downright Popery. It was the milk they sucked in at the University from ill tutors; and their people must either take that or none, for they have no better to give them."

recently embraced, excluded him effectually from the favour of the great Republicans ;* and while pastors of far inferior talents basked in the sunshine of Whitehall, this highly-gifted person, though an Independent, was suffered, after many struggles, to instruct his congregation in comparative privacy and quietness. Many of the stories circulated concerning him, after the murder of King Charles the First, evidently belong to Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who, in the capacity of chaplain to the Protector, was a man of eminence, while the doctrinal views of his reputed relative precluded him from all such marks of Puritanic distinction. But though the English Arminians gained no ill-scented laurels of this kind, numbers of their opponents stood ready to receive the commands of their political superiors.

Many circumstances concurred to render those of the Arminian Clergy who either adhered to Episcopacy, or were recent converts to it, a neglected race. They could not boldly refer, like many of the Puritan Divines before both the Houses, (pp. lii, lxi,) to any previous mighty stirrings on their part in the cause of sedition; for they were then under persecution, principally on account of well-tried loyalty to their sovereign, and of warm attachment to the ancient institutions of their country. They had no clerical friends at the Republican Court, who could give a modest hint in their favour,—as Vines the Presbyterian has done (p. lxv,) for his Calvinistic brethren "the pure Independents," when all other resisters of Predestinarian ordinances were ominously compared to "the Egyptian striving with the Israelite, *whom Moses smites down ;*"—or as Marshall has done, (p. lxxvi,) when describing "the horrible errors" of the times, he excepts

* Speaking of the great benefit which Mr. Hickman or any of his Calvinist friends would confer on him, by producing such arguments against his theological tenets as would "put him to a stand," John Goodwin says, "They would be the best benefactors unto me in the good things of this world, that I have met with these many years. Especially they would have been such unto me, had they befriended me in that kind heretofore, whilst and when I was more capable of the courtesies and benefactures of the world than now I am, expecting daily to remove into that climate where the sunshine of this world hath no warming or cheering influence at all. For certain I am, that those [Arminian] tenets, from under the conscience whereof I might well have been delivered by the means specified, have divided between the world and me, and kept many of the good things thereof from me, by reason of their unsupportableness unto the greater part of men, and more especially unto the great men in the state of my sojourning, and to those who, by their consent, (yea, they love to have it so,) exercise dominion over their faith, under the importune claim of being *orthodox, and sound in their judgments from the one end of them even unto the other, in matters appertaining unto God.* I have neither any disposition within, nor occasion without, to turn plaintiff against the world; a man with a competency of wisdom may very well be content with my portion in it. For my good God hath fed me and mine, with food convenient, yea, and clothed and harboured us accordingly: And the truth is, that, for things greater than these, it is best receiving them at the Resurrection."—Goodwin's *Banner of Justification displayed.*

"such as are to be found among GOD'S PEOPLE, to whom He never hath given an equal light, and notwithstanding which errors, Himself bears with them, and would have HIS PEOPLE *bear one with another!*" On the contrary, Marshall points out in the same discourse, not the old silenced ministers, but a "new generation of men" who were then "risen up and spread all the points of Arminianism, Universal Redemption," &c. as those whom the "Lord had not given" the Parliament "liberty to forbear." When the Calvinists alone were thus numbered and treated as "God's people," though according to their own eloquent descriptions they were surrounded with swarms of heretics and unbelievers, of their own or of the Parliament's formation, (pp. xlii, lvi,) we cannot wonder at the ignorant admiration of those "blessed days" which has been expressed by certain of the ill-informed of their modern successors.*—Some persons have said,

* Mr. ORME, in his *Life of Dr. Owen*, gives the subjoined glowing account of that period: "During the Commonwealth, no system of church-government can be considered, as having been properly, or fully established. The Presbyterians, if any, enjoyed this distinction. But the ministers who occupied the parish churches, were of very various sentiments. Many of them were secret friends to the old Episcopacy and the liturgy. Many were for a reformed Episcopal government. Others thought no form of ecclesiastical polity of Divine right, or gave themselves no concern about the matter. Some were Independents, and a few were Baptists. Cromwell's policy encouraged this diversity, as he dreaded the ascendancy of any one party. If the ministers attended to their own duty, and did not interfere with his affairs, whatever their sentiments were on church government, it did not prevent the enjoyment of his favour. This state of things may be considered anarchy and confusion by many, but it may be questioned, whether the great ends of the gospel ministry were ever more effectually accomplished in this country, than during this period. No sacrifice of conscience was demanded—no encroachments on religious liberty were practised—no bounds were prescribed to zealous exertion for the good of the souls of men. Every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree without fear. The word of the Lord had free course and was glorified."

If, by "the great ends of the *Gospel Ministry*," Mr. Orme means "the great ends" which Calvinism then had in view,—the attainment of political power and of ecclesiastical patronage,—his assertion will be correct; for never were those "ends more effectually accomplished in this country, than during this period," by one race of Predestinarians or another. But, if "the great ends" of converting sinners from the error of their ways, and of teaching them to lead holy and quiet lives, be those which he intends, the preceding copious extracts from the sermons of Calvinistic pastors will prove, that these good effects were not produced by the promulgation of their peculiar doctrines; and that the nation at large was, under their management, in a state of deeper moral wretchedness than in the days of the Bishops.

But the concluding sentences of Mr. Orme's remarkable paragraph are untrue, and could never have been written by any man minutely acquainted with the history of that æra. The assertions are untrue as they regard the conduct of the dominant Calvinistic sects towards each other; for their mutual complaints and recriminations were concerning attempted "sacrifices of conscience" and "encroachments on religious liberty." But they are most glaringly untrue with regard to Episcopalians and Arminians, who, after Cromwell had seized the reins of empire, constituted no inconsiderable portion of the people whom he ruled with a rod of iron. Were no "demands" made to *sacrifice conscience*, when Epis-

" that if the ministers of the gospel attended to their own duty, " and did not interfere with Cromwell's affairs, whatever might " be their sentiments on church-government, they were not ex- " cluded from the enjoyment of his favour." Adopting this as an undoubted maxim, many amiable writers have been led to suppose, that as the Protector's persecuting ordinance of 1655 was particularly directed against the Episcopal Clergy, they were a race of divines, as seditious and pragmatical as those by whom they had been supplanted. The reverse of this will, however, be found to be correct; and when the great number of Episcopalians, who had been ejected from the ministry in 1643, are added to the hosts of young men, who, in the latter days of the Republic, were prevented from entering into Holy Orders on account of their Arminian principles, they present to the world the grand spectacle of a company of courageous yet humble sufferers, worthy

copalians were ejected from their livings, for their conscientious attachment to the Liturgy? What was the nature of the Calvinistic *Covenant*, which, in 1643, was appointed by Parliamentary Ordinance to be taken? " It was the test of the " faction. No man was allowed to practise the Law, no man admitted into the " Ministry, that had not taken it; and it was imposed, under a penalty, upon " the whole nation. Then, after the taking of it, it was made DEATH for any " man to return to his allegiance [to his King]; and all the deserters of the con- " spiracy, that were murdered under a form of justice, were put to death for " *Breach of Covenant!*" Omitting all mention of the *Engagement* and other *Republican Oaths*, how can Mr. Orme venture to say, that " no sacrifice of conscience was demanded," when this *solemn League and Covenant* became an intolerable burden to his own denomination? Were " no encroachments practised on religious liberty," and did " every man sit under his own vine and fig-tree without fear," when a whole congregation of Episcopalian believers was interrupted and seized by armed soldiers, while in the solemn act of receiving the memorials of their Saviour's death? (P. 451.) And can " no bounds" be said to have been " prescribed to zealous exertion for the good of the souls of men," when, in the early days of the Inter-regnum, the Presbyterian discipline was established by Parliamentary ordinance throughout England,—and when in Cromwell's time the Independents, by means of the cognate Commissions of " Triers and Ejectors," opened and shut the door of preferment to other denominations? " The word of the Lord had *free course*," indeed, and was often quoted for the encouragement of seditious and rebellious enterprizes before the Long Parliament itself: But the vapid manner in which it was " glorified" under their administration, the Puritans themselves have described in the preceding pages.

The following brief allusion to the liberty of Cromwell's æra is more correct than the description given by Mr. Orme. It was written by a man, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were actors in those turbulent scenes, and whose father was early initiated in the same principles. (See pages 812—815.) In his *Calm Address*, on the subject of the American War, the Rev. John WESLEY says: " Do not you observe, on the other hand, the perfect liberty which we enjoy? Not, indeed, derived from our forefathers, as some writers idly talk. No; our forefathers never enjoyed it, either before or after William the Conqueror, and least of all in the time of the Long Parliament or under Oliver Cromwell. English Liberty commenced at the REVOLUTION. And how entire is it at this day! Every man says what he will, writes what he will, prints what he will. Every man worships God, (if he worships him at all,) as he is persuaded in his own mind."

of the early days of Christianity. On this subject, one of the most eminent men among them published the following remarks in the days of Cromwell: "Since *the latter spring of* REFORMATION in England, I am confident there is not one instance of any one Bishop or Episcopal Divine, that either wrote or instigated any christian subjects to act, upon any religious pretensions, contrary to the rules of civil subjection to that Prince or State under which they lived; no, not to bring in or restore Episcopacy itself, which hath far more pleas for it from Catholic antiquity and universal prescription, &c. together with its own ancient, catholic and national rights, which aggravate its injuries, and exasperate men's spirits. Yet these are not enough to animate or heighten Episcopacy, so far as to make or restore its way into any Nation, Church, State, or Kingdom, by armed power or tumultuary violence, against the will of the Chief Magistrate or the laws in force. It humbly attends God's time, and the sovereign's pleasure, for its reception or restitution."

Mr. Scott's remark is exceedingly just, (p. xlvii.) these "designing sagacious leaders knew how to avail themselves of the prejudices" of the different Calvinistic pastors: And when one Republican General or Erastian member of Parliament was allowed to nominate the preacher of a Fast-day sermon before either of the Houses, as an expounder of the principles of the Independent persuasion, a similar privilege was claimed and exercised on the next solemn occasion by a Presbyterian divine, under the patronage of some General or Statesman of his denomination. Though much artifice was apparent in thus opposing the liberal and occasionally licentious opinions of the Independents to the intolerance of the Presbyterians, yet many benefits resulted from the practice. The violent conflicts, between the extreme opinions of the two parties, produced at length a happy medium; and Christian moderation about *things indifferent* began to find some countenance. These, however, were but the infant struggles of British Liberty; and, in the twenty years immediately succeeding the Restoration, the legal rights of a free people were better understood, and gained a glorious triumph at the Revolution in 1688.* (See page 692.)

* The Episcopal Clergy of those days shewed themselves the consistent and intrepid admirers of "the new sect of the LATITUDE-MEN." Even some of those who had been eminent Tories, were, on that occasion, carried out beyond the narrow principles which they had imbibed; they loudly declaimed against, and manfully resisted, the attacks of Popery and Tyranny. The following extract from Bishop HEBER will prove, that those eminent Whig Divines have still able successors in the Church of England:

"Taylor, however, makes another admission, which, if his life had been prolonged a few more years, might have involved him in a very serious difficulty of conscience; and would have divided him, if he had acted on it, from all the best and wisest of his own order and religion: 'The unlawful proclamations 'and edicts of a true prince may be published by the Clergy in their several

In a succeeding page, (690,) I have said, "It would be singular, indeed, and a circumstance altogether anomalous in the moral history of mankind, were those narrow principles which are peculiar to Calvinism accounted the parents of a liberal Toleration, either civil or religious." One of the best-informed of modern Calvinists, (p. 802,) has on this subject made the following just remark: "The same temper of mind which led Armi-
"nius to renounce the peculiarities of Calvinism, induced him
"also to adopt *more enlarged and liberal views of church-govern-*
"*ment* than those which had hitherto prevailed. While he main-
"tained, 'that the mercy of God is not confined to *a chosen few*,'
"he conceived it to be quite inconsistent with the genius of
"Christianity, that men of that religion should keep at a distance
"from each other, and constitute separate churches, *merely*
"*because they differed in their opinions as to some of its doctrinal*
"*articles*."—This is the principle which runs through "the ever-memorable HALES's" tract *on Schism*, and which that great man defended, both in person and by letter,* to Archbishop Laud:

'charges!'—I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank heaven, that this principle was not adopted by the English Clergy in 1657. Yet, for Taylor, many allowances may be made; and many excuses offered for this and the other ultra-monarchical features of his creed. Accustomed as he was to see and feel all the tyranny which then plagued the land, from those who, under the colour of freedom, had disturbed and enslaved their country, it was hardly to be expected that his attention could be equally alive to the possibility of the same evils occurring under a legitimate Sovereign. And, above all, let it be remembered, that his inclination for absolute monarchy, if it were unwise, was, at least, not interested or servile; that if he carried too high the power of a lawful king, it was when that lawful king was in exile. The *Ductor Dubitantium*, though published at the moment of the Restoration, was written and printed while no such event could be looked for, and when all that could be gained by an unlimited loyalty, was the suspicion or persecution of the ruling powers,—imprisonment, fine, and aggravated indigence."

* As every fact connected with this small treatise is important, I subjoin the narrative, which Lord Clarendon has given us in the account of his own LIFE, of the personal interview between Hales and Archbishop Laud: "Nothing troubled him more than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the Church of Rome, more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors in their own opinions; and would often say, 'that he would renounce the religion 'of the Church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other 'Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man 'to be damned, who did not wish him so.' No man more strict and severe to himself; to other men so charitable as to their opinions, that he thought that other men were more in fault for their carriage towards them, than the men themselves were who erred; and he thought that pride and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion; and he frequently said, 'that that only kept the world from agreeing upon such a 'Liturgy, as might bring them into one communion; all doctrinal points upon 'which men differed in their opinions, being to have no place in any Liturgy.' Upon an occasional discourse with a friend, of the frequent and uncharitable reproaches of *Heretick* and *Schismatick*, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst men who differ in their judgment, he writ a little *Discourse of Schism*, contained

His boldness and consistency did not alienate the affections of the Prelate from him, nor did they prevent him from obtaining high ecclesiastical patronage. That tract had been very extensively circulated, especially among his Arminian friends, either in manuscript or in print, without Hales's privity or consent, five

in less than two sheets of paper: which, being transmitted from friend to friend in writing, was at last, without any malice, brought to the view of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid surveyor of all things which never so little bordered upon schism; and thought the Church could not be too vigilant against and jealous of such incursions.

"He sent for Mr. Hales, whom, when they had both lived in the University of Oxford, he had known well; and told him, that he had in truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old acquaintance; then asked him, whether he had lately writ a short *Discourse of Schism*, and whether he was of that opinion which that discourse implied? He told him, 'that he had, for the satisfaction of a private 'friend, (who was not of his mind,) a year or two before, writ such a small tract, 'without any imagination that it would be communicated; and that he believed 'it did not contain any thing that was not agreeable to the judgment of the 'primitive Fathers.' Upon which, the Archbishop debated with him upon some expressions of Irenæus, and the most ancient Fathers; and concluded with saying, 'that the time was very apt to set new doctrines on foot, of which the 'wits of the age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much care 'taken to preserve the peace and unity of the Church;' and from thence asked him of his condition, and whether he wanted any thing, and the other answering, *that he had enough, and wanted or desired no addition*, so dismissed him with great courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of Windsor fallen, and told him, the King had given him the preferment, because it lay so convenient to his Fellowship of Eton; which, (though indeed the most convenient preferment that could be thought of for him,) the Archbishop could not, without great difficulty, persuade him to accept; and he did accept it rather to please him than himself, because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe. Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales, and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size."

It is probable, that, in this conversation, the Archbishop had pointed out to him the disregard which he had evinced towards *Christian Antiquity* in that tract, and the undue slight which he had put upon *Church-authority*. On both these points he explained himself in a letter, which is supposed to have survived the wreck of the learned Prelate's papers. "Whereas," he says, "in one "point, speaking of church-authority, I bluntly added, *which is none;* I must "acknowledge it was *incautiously* spoken; and, being taken in a generality, is "false,—though, as it refers to the occasion which I there fell upon, it is (as I "think I may safely say,) most true.—I count, in point of *decision of church-* "*questions*, if I say of the authority of the Church that *it is none*, I know no "adversary that I have, the Church of Rome only excepted. For this cannot "be true, except we make the Church *judge of controversies;* the contrary of "which we generally maintain against that Church."

The Archbishop, who loved frankness and hated an untruth even when uttered with a jocose intent, (p. 709,) admired Hales for his meek, yet manly, spirit, and took him under his protection. His Grace knew the source from which Hales's aversion to *church-authority* sprung, and which he had imbibed through disgust at what he had seen of the unwarrantable assumptions of the Dort Synodists. See page 579, in which the Archbishop's conduct towards Hales and Chillingworth is satisfactorily explained.

years prior to the Archbishop's downfall and the beginning of the Civil Wars. * The salutary effects which it produced on the mind of Jeremy Taylor, who was then a mere youth, were soon afterwards manifest in his "Liberty of Prophesying:" an able defence of which, from the nervous pen of Bishop Heber, will be found in page 808. What effects Hales's tract produced upon the minds of many other moderate men of different religious persuasions, during the Commonwealth, is apparent in the numerous quotations which they gave from its pages; but its fruits were most conspicuous in the writings and opinions of the new race of Arminians, who then arose in England, and who are well described by Mosheim under the name of "Latitudinarians."—(See pages 789—800.)

But those earlier Episcopal Divines whose theology was applied to practical purposes, rather than to nice Predestinarian disquisitions, were more decided friends to religious liberty than their Calvinistical cotemporaries. Such great men as Bishops Hooper, Bilson, Andrews, and Overal, Dr. Saravia, and Richard Hooker, might with the strictest propriety have been called "Arminians," had Arminianism, in their youthful days, had an existence as a system of religious doctrines. But they, and multitudes of other moderate and learned Divines, who were generally styled "Augustinians," thought it quite sufficient if they adhered to the first and sounder opinions of St. Augustine on Predestination, which had a sanctifying and practical tendency, and which Arminius himself never exceeded. The grand enemy, with whom the chief of these great men were compelled to contend, was the Papist; and in managing the usual arguments against him, especially that first of rational Protestant axioms, "THE BIBLE ALONE IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS," and the absence of an infallible interpreter, they naturally learned and gave expression to the most liberal sentiments.† These tole-

* It is said, by Wood, to have been written at the particular desire of his friend Chillingworth, when the latter was engaged in the composition of his immortal book, *the Religion of Protestants*, which was commenced in 1634, and printed in 1637. Hales's tract must therefore have been in circulation, at least nine years before the murder of the Archbishop.

† In the year 1617, the amiable Bishop Overal, having congratulated Grotius, in a letter, on "the bright prospect, which then shone, of *greater concord and more Christian toleration* among the Dutch Divines," added the following just remarks: "But I am unable adequately to express my astonishment, that there are some persons among us in England who indulge such a dreadful antipathy against your party, [the Arminians,] since it was long ago acknowledged, in our arguments against the Papists,—as is sufficiently manifest among us from the publication of JEWEL'S *Apology*,—'that these dissensions of Protestants do not 'relate to the *principles*, *foundations*, or *heads* of our own religion, but to '*lighter matters* and questions of *less importance*.' I hear that a certain treatise by the present Bishop of Salisbury, who is the Archbishop of Canterbury's brother, has been some time in the press. It is written against the Arminians and THOMSON'S *Diatribe*. At this circumstance I am not much surprised,

rant opinions, however, became somewhat reduced in Catholic amplitude when the same individuals were under the necessity of defending the Church, of whose UNITY in too restricted a sense they were profound admirers, against the incroachments of the Presbyterians and Brownists. Yet it is remarkable, that Richard Hooker, who wrote against both parties, (the Papists and the Disciplinarian brethren,) is far more liberal and tolerant in his views of Religious Liberty than Richard Baxter,* Bishop Overal than Dr. Lightfoot, (p. 467,) Dr. Hammond than Dr. John Owen,

since he formerly defended PERKINS and his *Reformed Catholic*. How desirable, that we should discuss and determine Theological matters, and those questions which concern the Christian Faith, not according to party prepossessions and private opinions or feelings, but according to the sure Word of God, and the consent of the Ancient Church! We might then entertain better hopes about Evangelical Truth and Concord."

* In BAXTER'S *Second Admonition to Bagshaw*, he enumerates some of the faults committed by himself during the Civil Wars, of which he then saw cause to repent:

"I do repent, (again,) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish quarrelling with Superiors and Church-orders; and (though I ever *disliked and opposed* it, yet) that I sometimes *did too much encourage* such as were of this temper, by speaking too sharply against those things which I thought to be *Church-corruptions;* and was too loth to displease the *contentious*, for fear of being uncapable to do them good, (knowing the *profane* to be much worse than they,) and meeting with too few religious persons that were not too much pleased with such invectives.

"I do repent also, that I had not more impartially and diligently consulted with the best *Lawyers* that were against the Parliament's cause; (for I know of no controversy in *Divinity* about it, but in *Politics* and *Law;*) and that I did not use all possible means of full acquaintance with the case:—And that, for a little while, the authority of such writers as Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, (Lib. i, *Eccles. Polit.*,) and Bishop BILSON, and other Episcopal Divines, did too much sway my judgment toward the principles of POPULAR POWER:—And, seeing the Parliament *Episcopal* and *Erastian;* and not hearing, when the war began, of two Presbyterians among them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generals, Major-Generals, or Colonels, till long after; I was the easilier drawn to think, that HOOKER'S *Political Principles* had been commonly received by all; *which* I discovered soon after, upon stricter enquiry, to be *unsound*, and have myself written *a confutation of them!*"

This quotation is exceedingly important, for other reasons than that of shewing *the more tolerant character of the writings of Hooker and Bilson:* It corroborates the remarks which I have made (page 379) upon Baxter's casuistry, about *the authority to which the allegiance of the people was due.* It is likewise highly confirmatory of the correct view which I have given, (in pages 563 and 728,) of *the true difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion.* I have there shewn how "the Puritans and the minor sects, in 1640, in the capacity of CHRISTIANS, enrolled themselves under the banners of sedition." Baxter, though full of subterfuges on this point in several of his writings, here plainly owns, "that the controversy about the *Parliament's Cause* "was not in DIVINITY, but in POLITICS and LAW." If Richard, therefore, had again entered on his republican career, and had resumed his former fighting attitudes, he would have done so, not on principles of *Divinity*, (for by such rebellious acts he would have *unchristianized* himself, according to his own shewing,) but on principles of *Law* and *Politics;* that is, merely as "a man of the world."

(pp. 413, 416, 654,) and even Archbishop Laud (pp. 575, 577,) than that lusty pleader for Presbyterian Toleration, Stephen Marshall!

6.—*Specimen of an Arminian Sermon before the Long Parliament.*

Among the numerous anomalies perceptible in the fashionable Calvinism of the Civil Wars, was that of its being suddenly transformed into a system of powerful motives to activity. The stirring and astute preachers before the Republican Senators, with scarcely one exception, called them to the diligent performance of public duties; and, instead of encouraging them to rely on their *personal irrespective election,* (as they had formerly been accustomed to encourage others,) they saw it to be their province, as well as their interest, to give plain and broad intimations to their political superiors, that *their acceptance with the Almighty,* and consequently *their future salvation,* depended materially upon the conscientious and able manner in which they discharged their high functions. Several traces of this strange yet wily transformation of Calvinism may be seen in the preceding pages, and a still greater number might readily be produced. In some instances, the system seemed to be absolutely changed into the ancient legal one of "*Do this, and live;*" and the attempts to prevent its assuming such an appearance were exceedingly clumsy and awkward.* This strenuous mode of exciting men to the performance of their duties, had those duties been of *a lawful kind,* would have been strictly Arminian; and the men by whom

* To give one instance out of many,—Thomas Valentine, preaching before the House of Commons, Sept. 29, 1647, took for his text, Rev. iii, 18, "*I counsel thee to buy of me gold, and white raiment,*" &c., applied the doctrine in the following manner:

"To *counsel us* is a rational way, and fit to work upon a man; and God, that tries always to do us good, takes this course to counsel us. '*I have drawn thee with cords of a man and bands of love.*' (Hos. xi, 4.) I have dealt with thee, *more humano;* for man is counselable, but so is not a beast. *Coge pecus,* you force a beast; but man is to be persuaded. Speak reason and express love, and you cannot be despised or slighted; reason cannot be gainsayed. Though the man will not confess he is conquered by your argument, yet the understanding secretly must assent, and love cannot be contemned; the party may, but love cannot. But when the wise God shall speak reason, and manifest his love, we should not despise his counsel.—It is very fit and proper for the action of buying, you should not be *compelled* to buy the commodities here offered; but you shall use your reason, whether a poor man should not do all he can to get good gold, and a naked man clothing."

This is all very good, and strictly Arminian. But, to remove all misapprehension on the subject, Valentine adds, in the next sentence: "But here I must needs explain this point, lest we should think that *a man were left to his own liberty* in the point of his conversion; and this simile of *counselling to buy* must not be extended beyond the scope. And we say, that the will of man is over-ruled and overpowered by the Spirit of Christ, *so as it cannot but come in* upon the offer of grace; and the will is determined to one thing, *not left to itself* to take or refuse what is tendered to it. And it is no absurdity, (whatever Arminians think,) to say, 'In the conversion of a sinner, there is a violence offered 'to the corruption of the will, and yet the will not wronged; a suspending of 'the liberty of the will, and no destroying of it!'"

they were inculcated, really, though undesignedly, assisted in the propagation of a religion of motives, conditions, and duties, and of corresponding rewards and punishments,—which, *when severally propounded according to the lively oracles of God,* constitute pure and unsophisticated Arminianism.* On many subsequent

* This remarkable circumstance is mentioned in the following eloquent and humourous manner, by John GOODWIN, in his very able pamphlet entitled *The Banner of Justification displayed*, which was published in 1659:

"Christian Reader, I well know with which of my hands these papers are offered unto thine: But I am somewhat doubtful with which of thine they will be received. For I am far from judging thee unworthy the salutation of *Christian*, because my thoughts may not be thine in matters of a more arduous and difficult contemplation. Only the evil genius of these times worketh so effectually, acteth so imperiously, yea, tyrannically in the minds and fancies of many, that it permits them not the use of their right hand in receiving any thing from another, which is not already an ingredient in the composition or body of their faith. But persons of this character seem, not so much to desire to be free from error, as to presume themselves so to be. The cross of Arminius is grown so heavy amongst us, and the generality of professors so weak, that the greater part of them are not able to take it up, though TRUTH be tied fast to it, and the burden of it hereby made much more easy and light. Yet, if many of those who occupy the places of the learned, were not more contradictious than their opinions, or, at least, than many of their sayings, the cross we speak of would soon be abolished, and the offence of the innocent doctrine, disguised with the vizard of ARMINIANISM put upon the face of it, would presently cease. And the certain truth is, that the unhappy dividing character—between those who, measuring themselves by themselves, call themselves *orthodox*,—and those whom, because they cannot and do not measure themselves by their measure, they vote *Arminian*,—doth not stand in this, (as most men take for granted,) viz. 'that the latter hold or teach things contrary unto or 'inconsistent with the doctrines or opinions, delivered and taught by the former;' but rather in this, that the latter, [the Arminians,] in their judgment and doctrine, are YEA and AMEN, the former [the Calvinists] YEA and NAY. My meaning is, that the latter [the Arminians] are more uniform, steady, and coherent with themselves in their notions and doctrines; whereas the former [the Calvinists] are desultory, and themselves as it were possessed of a spirit of *Amphibology*, which sometimes taketh and casteth them into the fire of Calvinism, and otherwhile into the waters of Arminianism so called. And this declaring of themselves, *toties quoties* and from time to time, for the *Contra-remonstrant tenets*, is their expiatory sacrifice, to cleanse them from the guilt of being thought Arminian, notwithstanding their never so palpable and clear asserting the *Remonstrant principles* at other times. Yea, let the minister commit the foul crime of Arminianism never so openly in one part of his sermon, and but do penance in a fair contradiction in another part of it, hereby he stands *rectus in curia*: ORTHODOXISM and SOUNDNESS IN THE FAITH are imputed unto him. Yet it is no great matter of commendation for such men to be orthodox, who, if truth lieth in either part of the contradiction, (as it always doth, and of necessity must,) will be sure, I cannot say so properly *to hold it*, but *to teach it*. Whereas they who shall, in their doctrine, deliver the express matter and substance of what was taught by the other, yea, though they should deliver it in the self-same words and expressions, yet, unless they shall ever and anon be pulling down with their left hand what in this kind they build up with their right, they shall be debtors, and be compelled to bear the cross of CHRIST, under the name and notion of *Arminius*. That *whosoever believeth in Jesus Christ shall be saved*, is the frequent, constant, and most avouched doctrine of those men whose eye is so evil, against their brethren, for standing at the left hand, as they suppose, of the Truth in the

occasions, Calvinism has been compelled to abandon for a season her theory of personal Quietism and of desecrating Unconditionality, and to employ as powerful exhortations as ever her rival did; and the fruits of such scriptural labours have generally been still more advantageous to the cause of God and Truth, than even in the particular instance now adduced.

But though the crafty Predestinarian Divines perceived the propriety of inciting their hearers to energetic endeavours, yet they never lost sight of the secular interests of Calvinism: All the pathetic Discourses, delivered before the Long Parliament, were therefore addressed to them as Calvinists. One Sermon, however, was preached to them, "the scope of which," its learned author said, "was not to contend for *this* or *that* opinion, but only to persuade men to the life of *Christ*, as the pith and kernel of all religion." But the preacher, as might very naturally be inferred, was never more invited to fill the pulpit of St. Margaret's. This was the famous Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, whose Puritanic education and connections, with his former Predestinarian tenets, had prepared him for easily complying with the changes which occurred in 1643. But in prosecuting his metaphysical studies, he compared the two contending systems, and, in common with Dr. Thomas Jackson, of Oxford, preferred the beneficial and enlightening turn which Arminianism gave to those speculations,—though in such studies he may be said to have been "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel;" for his honoured father was editor of PERKINS's Works, and added some elucidations to them in an Appendix. His son Ralph ultimately became an Arminian, and consequently, at the Restoration, a Conformist, and a noble champion not only for *Revealed* but also for *Experimental* Religion.

Quinquarticular Controversies: I do not insist upon the doctrine specified, as the only ground or proof upon which I conclude, that those who profess and teach the clear and direct sense of those whom they expose to the hatred and reproach of poor ignorant souls, under the aspersive character of ARMINIANS. The truth is, that very many sermons are preached by them, wherein, though the face of the doctrine they teach be set against one or other of those opinions, yet, in their use and application, they reconcile themselves unto them. And, as the Roman Orator observed, 'that the force of Justice is such and so great, that even 'thieves and robbers, both by sea and land, who live upon injustice and rapine, yet 'cannot live upon their trade without some practice of it [Justice] among them-'selves:' In like manner, the necessity and power of those tenets or doctrines, nick-named *Arminian*, is so great for the accommodating and promoting the affairs of Christianity, that even those persons themselves who get a good part of their subsistence in the world by decrying them, and declaiming against them, yet cannot make earnings of their profession, are not able to carry on their work of preaching, with any tolerable satisfaction to those that hear them, without employing and asserting them very frequently. Yea, the truth is, that the grounds and principles of the *Remonstrant Faith*, (for so we have been and are unhappily constrained to distinguish them,) are, as it were, some of the choicest and most useful implements or tools, with which they work upon their art whereby they get their living."

When Cudworth preached that Sermon before the House of Commons, March 31, 1647, he might not himself be conscious of "contending for *this* or *that* opinion;" but as Arminianism has been shewn to be *practical Christianity*, the reader, after a perusal of the following passages, will not so far mistake his "scope," as to suppose that he was then pleading in behalf of Calvinism:

"He that builds all his comfort upon an ungrounded persuasion, 'that God from all eternity hath loved him, and absolutely 'decreed him to life and happiness,' and seeketh not for God really dwelling in his soul; he builds his house upon a quicksand, and it shall suddenly sink and be swallowed up: '*His hope shall be cut off, and his trust shall be a spider's web; he shall lean upon his house, but it shall not stand; he shall hold it fast, but it shall not endure.*' We are no where commanded to pry into these secrets; but the wholesome counsel and advice given us, is this, '*to make our calling and election sure.*' We have no warrant in Scripture to peep into these hidden rolls and volumes of eternity, and to make it our first thing that we do, when we come to Christ, to spell out our names in the stars, and to persuade ourselves that we are certainly elected to everlasting happiness, before we see the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, shaped in our hearts. God's everlasting decree is too dazzling and bright an object for us at first to set our eye upon. It is far easier and safer for us to look upon the rays of his goodness and holiness as they are reflected in our own hearts; and there to read the mild and gentle characters of God's love to us, in our love to him, and our hearty compliance with his heavenly will: As it is safer for us, if we would see the sun, to look upon it here below in a pail of water, than to cast up our daring eyes upon the body of the sun itself, which is too radiant and scorching for us. The best assurance that any one can have of his interest in God, is doubtless *the conformity of his soul to him.* Those Divine purposes, whatsoever they be, are altogether unsearchable and unknowable by us; they lie wrapt up in everlasting darkness, and covered in a deep abyss: Who is able to fathom the bottom of them? The way to obtain a good assurance, indeed, of our title to heaven, is, not to clamber up to it by a ladder of our own ungrounded persuasions, but to dig as low as hell by humility and self-denial in our own hearts: And though this may seem to be the furthest way about, yet it is indeed the nearest and safest way to it. We must, as the Greek epigram speaks, *ascend downward* and *descend upward*, if we would indeed come to heaven, or get any true persuasion of our title to it. The most gallant and triumphant confidence of a Christian riseth safely and surely upon this low foundation, that lies deep under ground; and there stands firmly and stedfastly. When our heart is once tuned into a conformity with the word of God,

when we feel our will perfectly to concur with his will, we shall then presently perceive '*a Spirit of adoption*' within ourselves, teaching us to cry '*Abba, Father!*' (Rom. viii, 15.)

"But I wish it were not the distemper of our times, to scare and fright men only with *opinions*, and make them only solicitous about the entertaining of this and that speculation, which will not render them any thing the better in their lives, or the liker unto God; whilst, in the mean time, there is no such care taken about *keeping of Christ's commandments*, and being renewed in our minds according to the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness. We say, '*Lo, here is Christ!*' and '*Lo, there is Christ!*,' in these and these opinions; whereas, in truth, Christ is neither here, nor there, nor any where but where the Spirit of Christ, where the life of Christ is. Do we not now-a-days open and lock up heaven, with the private key of this and that opinion of our own, according to our several fancies as we please? And if any one observe Christ's commandments never so sincerely, and serve God with faith and a pure conscience, that yet haply skills not of some contended-for opinions, some darling notions; he hath not the right *Shibboleth*, he hath not the true watch-word, he must not pass the guards into heaven. Do we not make this and that opinion, this and that outward form, to be the wedding-garment, and boldly sentence those to outer darkness that are not invested therewith? Whereas, every true Christian finds the least dram of hearty affection towards God to be more cordial and sovereign to his soul, than all the speculative notions and opinions in the world: And though he study also to inform his understanding aright, and free his mind from all error and misapprehensions, yet it is nothing but the life of Christ deeply rooted in his heart, which is the chemical elixir that he feeds upon. He feeleth himself safely anchored in God: and will not be dissuaded from it, though perhaps he skill not many of those subtleties which others make the Alpha and Omega of their religion. Neither is he scared with those childish affrightments, with which some would force their private conceits upon him: He is above the superstitious dreading of mere speculative opinions, as well as the superstitious reverence of outward ceremonies: He cares not so much for subtlety, as for soundness and health of mind.

"I wish it may not prove some of our cases, at that last day, to use such pleas as these unto Christ in our behalf: '*Lord, I have 'prophesied in thy name;* I have preached many a zealous sermon 'for Thee; I have kept many a long fast; I have been very 'active for Thy cause in Church, in State; nay, I never made 'any question but that my name was written in thy Book of 'Life:' When yet, alas! we shall receive no other return from Christ, but this, '*I know you not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.*'

"What is it that thus cheats us, and gulls us of our religion; that makes us thus constantly to tread the same ring and circle of duties, where we make no progress at all forwards, and, the further we go, are still never the nearer to our journey's end? What is it that thus starves our religion, and makes it look like those kine in Pharaoh's dream, *ill-favoured and lean-fleshed;* that it hath no colour in its face, no blood in its veins, no life nor heat at all in its members? What is it that doth thus be-dwarf us in our Christianity? What low, sordid, and unworthy principles do we act by, that thus hinder our growth, and make us stand at a stay, and keep us always in the very porch and entrance, where we first began? Is it a sleepy, sluggish conceit, 'That it is enough for us if we be but *once in a state of grace;* if we 'have but once stepped over the threshold, we need not take so 'great pains to travel any further?' Or is it another damping, choaking, stifling opinion, 'That Christ hath done all for us 'already *without* us, and nothing need more to be done *within* us? 'No matter how wicked we be in ourselves, for we have holiness 'without us; no matter how sickly and diseased our souls be 'within, for they have health without them!' Why may we not as well be satisfied and contented, to have happiness *without us* too to all eternity, and so ourselves for ever continue miserable? '*Little children, let no man deceive you: He that doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as He is righteous; but he that committeth sin, is of the devil.*' I shall therefore exhort you in the wholesome words of St. Peter: '*Give all diligence to add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge;*' *&c.*"

I linger with much complacency over this single specimen of Arminian preaching before the Long Parliament; because it exhibits, in such a conspicuous manner, the practical and hallowing tendency of the principles of GENERAL REDEMPTION. This Discourse presents the first-fruits of that glorious harvest which sprung up from the seed sown by the Dutch Remonstrants during the Inter-regnum, (p. 785,) and not from the school of Laud, who "did not permit this scriptural system freely to develope itself." (Page 691.) I prize it the more highly, because it contains a distinct recognition of that spirituality and holiness which I have pointed out, (pp. xxvi, 803,) as distinguishing characteristics of the doctrines which genuine Arminianism derives from the Scriptures, and which it uniformly inculcates. Of the spiritual religion, here described, Dr. Cudworth was not ashamed after the Restoration, when all the wit of man was employed in exposing it to ridicule, on account of the abuse of it by the Puritans: (Page 296:) For he reprinted this Sermon in the first edition (1678) of his immortal work, "THE TRUE INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE," without any omission except that of the *Dedication* to the House of Commons. Every man of piety

will be charmed by such manly and scriptural eloquence as breathes in the following passages:

"The Gospel is a true *Bethesda,—a pool of grace,*—where such poor, lame, and infirm creatures as we are, upon the moving of God's Spirit in it, may descend down, not only to wash our skin and outside, but also to be cured of our diseases within. And whatever the world thinks, there is a powerful Spirit that moves upon these waters, the waters of the Gospel, for this new creation, the regeneration of souls: The very same Spirit, that once moved upon the waters of the universe at the first creation, and, spreading its mighty wings over them, did hatch the new-born world into this perfection; I say, the same Almighty Spirit of Christ still worketh in the Gospel, spreading its gentle, healing, quickening wings over our souls. The Gospel is not like Abana and Pharphar, those common rivers of Damascus, that could only cleanse the outside; but it is a true Jordan, in which such leprous Naamans, as we all are, may wash and be clean. '*Blessed, indeed, are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered! Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin!*' But yet, rather blessed are they, whose sins are removed like a morning-cloud, and quite taken away from them! '*Blessed,*' thrice blessed, '*are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*'

"Now, therefore, I beseech you, let us consider, whether or no we know Christ indeed; not by our acquaintance with systems and models of Divinity; not by our skill in books and papers; but by our keeping of Christ's commandments. All the books and writings which we converse with, they can but represent spiritual objects to our understandings; which yet we can never see in their own true figure, colour, and proportion, until we have a Divine light within, to irradiate and shine upon them. Though there be never such excellent truths concerning Christ and his Gospel, set down in words and letters, yet they will be but unknown characters to us until we have a living Spirit within us, that can decipher them; until the same Spirit, by secret whispers in our hearts, do comment upon them, which did at first indite them. There be many that understand the Greek and Hebrew of the Scripture, the original languages in which the text was written, that never understood *the language of the Spirit.* There is a *caro* and a *spiritus,* a flesh and a spirit, a body and a soul, in all the writings of the Scriptures. It is but the flesh and body of Divine truths, that is printed upon paper; which many moths of books and libraries do only feed upon; many walking skeletons of knowledge, that bury and entomb truths in the living sepulchres of their souls, do only converse with: Such as never did any thing else but pick at the mere

bark and rind of truths, and crack the shells of them, But there is a *soul* and *spirit* of Divine truths, that could never yet be congealed into ink, that could never be blotted upon paper, which, by a secret traduction and conveyance, passeth from one soul unto another; being able to dwell and lodge no where but in a spiritual being, in a living thing, because itself is nothing but life and spirit. Neither can it, where indeed it is, express itself sufficiently in words and sounds, but it will best declare and speak itself in actions: As the old manner of writing among the Egyptians was, not by words, but things. The life of Divine truths is better expressed in actions than in words, because actions are more living things than words. Words are nothing but the dead resemblances and pictures of those truths, which live and breathe in actions; and '*the kingdom of God*,' (as the Apostle speaketh,) '*consisteth not in* WORD, *but in* LIFE *and power*.' —'Sheep do not come,' saith the Moral Philosopher, 'and bring 'their fodder to their shepherd, and shew him how much they 'eat; but, inwardly concocting and digesting it, they make it 'appear, by the fleece which they wear upon their backs, and 'by the milk which they give.' And let not us Christians affect only to talk and dispute of Christ, and so measure our knowledge of him by our words; but let us shew our knowledge concocted into our lives and actions; and then let us really manifest that we are Christ's sheep indeed, that we are his disciples, by that fleece of holiness which we wear,* and by the fruits that we daily

* The following beautiful description of Holiness is in the best style of "the judicious Hooker," and will prove, both to the critic and the Christian, that Dr. Cudworth had read with the deepest attention the productions of that great Divine:

"GRACE is *holiness militant*,—holiness encumbered with many enemies and difficulties, which it still fights against, and manfully quits itself of: And GLORY is nothing else but *holiness triumphant*,—holiness with a palm of victory in her hand, and a crown upon her head. 'God himself cannot make me happy, 'if he be only without me; and unless he give in a participation of himself, and 'his own likeness into my soul.'—Happiness is nothing, but the releasing and unfettering of our souls from all these narrow, scant, and particular good things; and the espousing of them to the Highest and most Universal Good, which is not *this* or *that* particular good, but GOODNESS ITSELF: And this is the same thing that we call HOLINESS.

"Holiness is no solitary neglected thing; it hath stronger confederacies, greater alliances, than sin and wickedness. It is in league with God, and the whole universe; the whole creation smiles upon it: There is something of God in it, and therefore it must needs be a victorious and triumphant thing.—Wickedness is a weak, cowardly, and guilty thing, a fearful and trembling shadow. It is the child of ignorance and darkness; it is afraid of light, and cannot possibly withstand the power of it, nor endure the sight of its glittering armour. It is allianced to none but wretched, forlorn, and apostate spirits, that do what they can to support their own weak and tottering kingdom of darkness, but are only strong in weakness and impotency. The whole polity and commonwealth of devils is not so powerful as one child of Light, one babe in Christ: They are not all able to '*quench the least smoking flax*,' to extinguish one spark of grace.

yield in our lives and conversations. For '*herein*,' saith Christ, '*is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: so shall ye be my disciples.*' Let us not, I beseech you, judge of our knowing Christ, by our ungrounded persuasions that Christ from all eternity hath loved us, and given himself particularly for us, without the conformity of our lives to Christ's commandments, without the real partaking of the image of Christ in our hearts. The great mystery of the Gospel doth not lie only in Christ *without us*, (though we must know also what he hath done for us,) but the very pith and kernel of it consists in *Christ inwardly formed in our hearts.* Nothing is truly ours, but what lives in our spirits. Salvation itself cannot save us, as long as it is only without us; no more than health can cure us and make us sound, when it is not within us, but somewhere at distance from us; no more than Arts and Sciences, whilst they lie only in books and papers without us, can make us learned."

7.—*The Re-establishment of Episcopacy, and a comprehensive View of the Act of Uniformity.*

In a preceding page, (xciv,) and in other parts of this work, I have shewn the close affinity which subsists between Arminianism and Civil and Religious Liberty. In the long note, page 687, I have also tendered much information concerning the relative *political* circumstances, in which the English Calvinists and Arminians were placed at the commencement of the Civil Wars. In the preceding extracts from Dr. Cudworth's sermon, he has expressed the same sentiments concerning *liberty of conscience*, and his being *not greatly scrupulous about the externals of*

Darkness is not able to make resistance against light, but ever, as it comes, flies before it. But if wickedness invite the society of devils to it, (as we learn by the sad experience of these present times, in many examples of those that were possessed with malice, revengefulness, and lust,) so that those cursed fiends do most readily apply themselves to it, and offer their service to feed it and encourage it; because it is their own life and nature, their own kingdom of darkness, which they strive to enlarge, and to spread the dominions of: Shall we then think, that holiness, which is so nearly allied unto God, hath no GOOD GENIUS at all in the world to attend upon it, to help it, and encourage it? Shall not *the kingdom of Light* be as true to its own interest, and as vigilant for the enlarging of itself, as *the kingdom of Darkness?*—Holiness is never alone in the world, but God is always with it; and his loving Spirit doth ever associate and join itself to it. He that sent it into the world is with it, as Christ speaketh of himself, '*The Father hath not left me alone, because I do always those things that please him.*' Holiness is the life of God, which he cannot but feed and maintain wheresoever it is; and as the devils are always active to encourage evil, so we cannot imagine but that the heavenly host of blessed angels above are as busily employed, in the promoting of that which they love best, that which is dearest to God whom they serve, THE LIFE AND NATURE OF GOD! '*There is joy in heaven at the conversion of one sinner;*' Heaven takes notice of it; there is a choir of angels that sweetly sings the *epithalamium* of a soul divorced from sin and Satan, and espoused unto Christ."

religion, (p. 800,) as the English *Latitude-men* did in the year 1662. Though attached to the chaste ceremonies of the Church of England, they were not so unreasonable as to number them among *the essentials of salvation.* They lived to see the truth of that opinion which I have quoted, in page 635, from Grotius, when he recommends the Dutch Remonstrants to adopt Episcopacy by "receiving *imposition of hands* from the Irish Archbishop" then in Holland, "and so commence their return to *customs which are at once ancient and salutary.*" This is a high and disinterested compliment to the rites of the Church of England, then in ruins. "Whenever those customs have been despised," Grotius adds, "the licence for framing new opinions has increased, and has created new churches; and what *the articles of belief* in such churches will be a few years hence, we cannot determine."—Having beheld with their own eyes a sad exemplification of this *religious licentiousness,* Tillotson, Burnet, Cudworth, and other great and good men, declared themselves in favour of Episcopal government, as soon as the former unjust restraints upon it were removed, and before that species of regimen was *re-established by law.* The reader will find, in a subsequent part of this Introduction, the grievous lamentations of the Nonconformists when these eminent individuals refused to join their ranks, and to oppose the rising interests of Arminianism. The accession of such divines as these was most important to Episcopacy. Their principles were generally of a milder and more tolerant complexion, than those of their predecessors; and the fine description, in page 801, is exceedingly appropriate: "They seemed to be the very chariots and horsemen of the Church," &c.

These excellent men had not obtained much influence in 1662: Their share, therefore, in the permanent settlement of the Church at that period, was exceedingly slight; and the religious persecution which ensued, does not attach to the Arminians of "the new learning." But had their conduct been different, had they even become active partizans in that persecution of Dissenters, many excuses might have been made for them, on the common principles of human nature, and from the peculiar circumstances in which the Episcopal party had been previously placed.

The Act of Uniformity and its concomitants are industriously represented, by the advocates of the party aggrieved, as insulated occurrences unconnected with former transactions. To those who are inclined to give implicit credence to such representations, and, without accurate information, to circulate such reports, it may be well to submit the following account from one of the finest and most impartial biographical notices that was ever written in the English language:*

* The high authority of PARR's *Life of Archbishop Usher* was demonstrated at the period of its first issuing from the press, which was in the tyrannical reign of King James the Second, who interposed his power to prevent its publication.

"About this time, 1648, whilst his late Majesty was kept prisoner at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, the Lord Primate [Archbishop Usher] was highly concerned at the disloyal actions of the two Houses towards their lawful prince: To express which, he preached at Lincoln's Inn on this text, *Say ye not a* CONFEDERACY *to all them to whom this people shall say a* CONFEDERACY! *neither fear you their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts Himself, and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread.* (Isai. viii, 12, 13.) Wherein he sufficiently expressed his dislike of those Covenants and Confederacies into which they had now entered, contrary to that oath they had taken already, and that we should not fear man more than God, when we were to do our duty to our prince or country. Not long after which, the Presbyterians, finding the Independent party too strong for them, had no way left to secure themselves, but by recalling their votes of non-addresses, and to vote a treaty with his Majesty in the Isle of Wight. And because the differences concerning church-government were not the least of those that were to be settled and concluded at this treaty, and for which it was necessary for his Majesty to consult with some of his Bishops and divines, the Lord Primate was sent for by the King, among divers others, to attend him for that purpose. When he came thither, he found one of the greatest points then in debate, was about *the government of the church*, the Parliament Commissioners insisting peremptorily for the abolishing and taking away Archbishops, Bishops, &c. out of the churches of England and Ireland. His Majesty thought he could not with a good conscience consent to that demand, viz. *totally to abolish or take away Episcopal government.* But his Majesty then declared, that he no otherwise aimed at the keeping up the present hierarchy in the church, than what was most agreeable to the Episcopal government in the primitive and purest times. But his Majesty (since the Parliament insisted so obstinately on it,) was at last forced to consent to the suspension of Episcopacy for three years, but would by no means agree to

This circumstance is thus related with much artlessness and judgment by EVELYN, in his *Diary:*

"APRIL 18, 1686.—In the afternoon I went to Camberwell, to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shewed me *the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh*, (USHER,) and among them that letter of Bishop Bramhal's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending a hundred priests into England, who were to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seized, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, though it had been licensed by the bishop; which plainly shewed what an interest the Papist now had, that a Protestant book, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be published. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment."

take away Bishops absolutely. But now, to stop the present career of the Presbyterian discipline, the Lord Primate proposed an expedient, which he called *Episcopal and Presbyterial government conjoined*, and which he, not long after he came thither, delivered into his Majesty's hands, who, having perused it, liked it well, saying, 'It was the only expedient to reconcile the present differences.' For his Majesty, in his last message to the Parliament, had before condescended to the reducing of Episcopal government into a much narrower compass, viz. not only to the Apostolical institution, but much farther than the Lord Primate proposed or desired, even to the taking away of Archbishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. together with all that additional power and jurisdiction which his Majesty's predecessors had bestowed upon that function: Which message, being read in the House, was by them, notwithstanding, voted unsatisfactory. So that the Presbyterian party was so absolutely bent to abolish the very order of Bishops, that no proposals of his Majesty, though never so moderate, would content them. Till at last, (when they had wrangled so long till they saw the King's person seized by the army, and that the power was like to be taken out of their hands,) they then grew wiser, and would have agreed to his proposals when it was too late: And so the Presbyterian party saw themselves, within a few days after, forcibly excluded and turned out of doors, by that very army which they themselves had raised and hired to fight against their prince; which, as it was the cause of his Majesty's destruction, so it proved their own ruin.

"It was not the Lord Primate's design or intention, in the least, to rob the Bishops of any of those just rights which are essentially necessary to their order and constitution, and without abasing Episcopacy into Presbytery, or stripping the church of its lands and revenues, both which the Lord Primate always abhorred: For he was of his Majesty's mind in his excellent Icon Basilicon, 'that Presbytery is never so considerable or effectual, as when it 'is joined to and crowned with Episcopacy.'—And that the king himself was then convinced, that this was the best expedient for the settling of the church at that time, you may likewise see by what he writes in the same chapter in these words, viz: 'Not 'that I am against the managing of this presidency and authority 'in one man, by the joint counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those 'errors, corruptions, and partialities which are incident to any 'one man.'—And so likewise, in the chapter about the reformation of the times, he has this pasage: 'I was willing to grant or 'restore to Presbytery what with reason or discretion it can pre-'tend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy. But, for that, 'wholly to invade the power, and by the sword to arrogate and 'quite abrogate the authority of that ancient order, I think neither 'just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way

'convenient for this Church or State.'—And that the most pious and learned Dr. Hammond* was, about the same time, of the Lord Primate's judgment in this matter, may appear by this passage in the preface to his treatise of *The Power of the Keys:* 'That a moderate Episcopacy, with a standing assistant Presbytery, as it will certainly satisfy the desires of those whose pretensions are regular and moderate; craving nothing more, and in some things less, than the laws of the land: So that it will appear to be that which all parties can best tolerate, and which, next to himself, both Presbyterian, Independent, and Erastian, will make no question to choose and prefer before any of the other pretenders.'

"Though it may be true, that divers of the more sober of the Presbyterian party have seemed to have approved of these terms of reconciliation, yet it has been only since the ill success their discipline hath met with, both in England and Scotland, that has made them more moderate in their demands: For it is very well known, that, when these terms were first proposed, the ringleaders of the party utterly cried them down *as a great enemy to Presbytery;* since this expedient would have yet left Episcopacy in a better condition than it is at this day in any of the Lutheran churches. But they were not then for *Divisum Imperium,* [they] would have all or nothing; and they had their desires. So that it is no wonder if the Lord Primate, in this endeavour of reconciliation, met with the common fate of arbitrators, *to please neither party.* But though the church is now restored (beyond our expectation as well as merits,) to all its just rights and privileges,

* Several other eminent Episcopal Divines were at that period advocates for such an accommodation. The following is Dr. GAUDEN's scheme for a coalition of the three great denominations, which he proposed to the world, only two years prior to the Restoration:

"All agree in the main Christian graces, virtues, and morals required in a good Christian's practice; yet still each party is suspected and reproached by others.—The brisk INDEPENDENT boasts of the liberty, simplicity, and purity of his way; yet is blamed for novelty, subtilty, vulgarity, and anarchy.—The rigid PRESBYTERIAN glories in his aristocratic parity, and levelling community, which makes every petty Presbyter a *Pope* and a *Prince*, though he disdain to be a *Priest;* yet is taxed for petulancy, popularity, arrogancy, and novelty, casting off that catholic and ancient order which God and nature, reason and religion, all civil and military policy, both require and observe among all societies.—EPISCOPACY justly challengeth the advantages, right, and honour of apostolic and primitive antiquity, of universality and unity, beyond any pretenders; yet is this condemned by some for undue encroachments and oppressions upon both ministers' and people's ingenuous liberty and christian privilege, by a kind of secular height and arbitrary sovereignty, to which many Bishops in after ages have been betrayed, as by their own pride and ambition, so by the indulgence of the times, the munificence of christian princes, and sometimes by the flatteries of people.

"Take away *the popular principle* of the first, which prostrates government to the vulgar; take away *the levelling ambition* of the second, which degrades government to a very preposterous and unproportionate parity; take away *the*

without the least diminution ; yet certainly no good subject or son of the church, either of the Clergy or Laity, at that time when this expedient was proposed, but would have been very well contented to have yielded farther than this, to have preserved his late Majesty's life, and to have prevented those schisms and confusions which, for so many years, harrassed these poor nations. But if our king and church are both now restored, it is what then no man could foresee ; *it is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes!*"

To complete the correct view, which the reader will now have obtained of the ecclesiastical events preliminary to *the Act of Uniformity*, it will be necessary to present him with the subjoined elucidatory extract from Bishop Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor :*

" It has happened almost uniformly, in cases of religious difference, that those schisms have been most bitter, if not most lasting, which have arisen on topics of dispute comparatively unimportant, and where the contending parties had, apparently, least to concede, and least to tolerate. Nor are there many instances on record which more fully and more unfortunately exemplify this general observation, than that of the quarrel and final secession of the Puritan clergy from the church, in the year 1662. Both parties, in that case, were agreed on the essentials of christianity. Both professed themselves not unwilling to keep out of sight, and mutually endure, the few doctrinal points on which a difference existed between them. The leading Puritans were even disposed to submit to that episcopal government, their opposition to which, during former reigns, had created so much disturbance, and had led, by degrees, to such abundant bloodshed and anarchy. And it is no less true than strange, that this great quarrel, which divided so many holy and learned preachers of the common faith, was occasioned and perpetuated by men, who, chiefly resting their objections to the form and colour of an ecclesiastical garment, the wording of a prayer, or the injunction of kneeling at

monopoly of the third, which seems to engross to one man more than is meet for the whole : Each of them will be sufficiently purged (as I conceive) of what is most dangerous or noxious in them, for which they are most jealous of, and divided from each other. Restore to *People* their liberty in some such way of choosing, or at least approving their ministers, and assenting to church-censures, as may become them in reason and conscience ; restore to *Presbyters* their privileges in such public counsel and concurrence with their Bishops as may become them. Lastly, restore to *Bishops* that primitive precedency and catholic presidency which they ever had among and above presbyters, both for that chief authority or eminency which they ever had in ordaining of presbyters and deacons, also in exercising such ecclesiastical discipline and censures, that nothing be done without them : I see no cause why any sober ministers and wise men should be unsatisfied, nor why they should longer stand at such distances and defiances, as if the *liberties* of christian people, the *privileges* of christian presbyters, and the *dignity* of christian bishops, were wholly inconsistent ; whereas they are easily reconciled, and, as *a three-fold cord*, may be so handsomely twisted together, that none should have cause to complain or be jealous, all should have cause to joy in and enjoy each other."

the eucharist, were willing, for questions like these, to disturb the peace of the religious world, and subject themselves to the same severities which they had previously inflicted on the episcopal clergy.

"With these men, whether in England, or Ireland, there were apparently only three lines of conduct for the ruling powers to follow.

"The FIRST was, the adoption of such a liturgy and form of church government as would, at once, satisfy the advocates of episcopacy and presbytery. This was attempted in vain; and was, indeed, a measure, the failure of which, a very slight attention to the prejudices and animosity of both parties would have enabled a by-stander to anticipate.

"The SECOND was that which was, at least virtually, promised by the king in the declaration of Breda; that, namely, uniformity of discipline and worship should, for the present, not be insisted on; that the Presbyterian and Independent preachers should, during their lives, be continued in the churches where they were settled; ejecting only those who had been forcibly intruded, to the prejudice of persons yet alive, and who might legally claim reinstatement; and filling up the vacancies of such as died, with ministers episcopally ordained and canonically obedient. In this case, it is possible that, as the stream of preferment and patronage would have been confined to those who conformed, as the great body of the nation were strongly attached to the liturgy, and gave a manifest preference to those churches where it was used; and as the covenanting clergy would have no longer been under the influence of that point of honour, which, when its observance was compulsory, induced them to hold out against it,—the more moderate, even of the existing generation, would have by degrees complied with their own interests and the inclination of their flocks; while the course of nature, and the increasing infirmities of age, must, in a few years, have materially diminished the numbers and influence of the more pertinacious. We have found, in fact, by experience, that the liturgy has, through its intrinsic merits, obtained, by degrees, no small degree of reverence even among those who, on other grounds, or on no grounds at all, dissent from the church of England, as at present constituted. And it is possible that, by thus forbearing to press its observance on those whose minds were so ill prepared to receive it, a generation would soon have arisen, to whom their objections would have appeared in their natural weakness, and the greatest and least rational of those schisms have been prevented, which have destroyed the peace and endangered the existence of the British churches.

"But, while we at the present day are amusing ourselves with schemes of what we should have done had we lived in the time of our fathers, it may be well, for the justification of these

last, to consider how little the principles of toleration were then understood by either party; how deeply and how recently the episcopal clergy, and even the laity of the same persuasion, had suffered from the very persons who now called on them for forbearance; how ill the few measures which were really proposed, of a conciliatory nature, were met by the disingenuousness of some of the Presbyterian leaders, and the absurd bigotry of others, and the reasonable suspicion which was thus excited, that nothing would content them but the entire proscription of the forms to which they objected.

"Nor can we greatly wonder, that, under such circumstances, the THIRD and simplest course was adopted,—that, namely, of imposing afresh on all a liturgy, to which the great body of the people was ardently attached, and the disuse of which, in any particular parishes, (when the majority of congregations enjoyed it,) was likely to be attended with abundant discontent and inconvenience. These considerations are, indeed, no apology for the fresh aggressions of which the episcopalian party were guilty, for their unseasonable though well-intended alterations of the liturgy, and the hostile clauses inserted in their new Act of Uniformity. Far less can they extenuate the absurd wickedness of the persecution afterwards resorted to, against those whom these measures had confirmed in their schism. But they may lead us to apprehend that, (though a very few concessions more would have kept such men as Baxter and Philip Henry in the church,) there would have been very many whom no concession would have satisfied;* and that the offence of schism was, in a great degree, inevitable, though a different course, on the side of the victorious party, might have rendered it of less wide diffusion, and of less deep and lasting malignancy."

IV. CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

HAVING given, in the preceding paragraphs, some account of the belligerent Calvinists of 1643, and of their immediate successors, I introduce my readers to Dr. William TWISSE, who has been called "a Puritan of *the Old School*," but to whom belongs the much more appropriate appellation of "a Puritan of *the New School*." I connect his personal history with the Synod of Dort, and relate at some length, (pp. 242—256,) the political consequences of the decisions of that Assembly in several countries of Europe. I afterwards (pp. 256—307) describe the hosts of Cal-

* This will be very evident to every one who has had an opportunity of perusing the very able pamphlets which were published by the Presbyterians, between 1660 and 1662. The answers of their Episcopalian brethren are likewise deserving of a perusal, on account of the moderation which many of them exhibit.

vinistic prophets that immediately arose to predict great things to Calvinism, and the resistance which Grotius, Hammond, and a few others gave to this prophesying humour. Without a brief exposition of this kind, the reader would not be able to form any conception of the origin of that fanatical spirit which was excited among the common people by a few artful Predestinarians, and which never ceased to operate till it had engendered civil discord in every European state in which Calvinism received encouragement. This subject is resumed in another part of the volume, (pp. 499—532,) in which it is shewn, that, when the interests of Calvinism were to be promoted by arts like these, the cool metaphysical head of Dr. Twisse could busy itself in auspicious predictions respecting the overthrow of the Arminians; and that, when the mild and ingenuous Joseph Mede would not sing to his sanguine tune, and prophesy smooth things to those whom he accounted "the Lord's people," the old Doctor became very wroth and renounced his acquaintance. From the whole of this minute recital I have shewn (p. 515) how "Divine Providence then permitted the experiment of a reputed holy republic to be made in this country, and undoubtedly intended that its disastrous issue should be a warning to the nations *not to infringe the royalties of Heaven, by assigning the precise time for the accomplishment of particular events predicted in God's Holy Word, to which perverse and designing men gave a plausible meaning, and under it concealed their own secular and corrupt designs!*"

After due reprehension of this perversion of Christianity through *pretended inspirations*, (pp. 307—377,) I subjoin a brief detail, from Dr. Heylin's *History of Presbyterianism*, of the seditious practices of the Calvinistic cabal in Scotland and England from 1637 till the murder of King Charles the First, a description of which catastrophe is quoted from Lloyd's *Worthies*. I then endeavour (pp. 379—391,) most impartially to decide between the Presbyterians and Independents, "respecting the degree of blood-guiltiness which attached to each of the prevailing parties," and have presented my readers (p. 387) with extracts from sermons delivered before the Long Parliament, by celebrated Presbyterian divines, only a few months prior to that fatal tragedy. The Assembly of Divines and their revolutionary labours at Westminster are afterwards described, (pp. 392—446,) when Dr. Twisse's personal history again connects itself with the public events of the kingdom.

In the language of Mr. Reid, one of the old Doctor's biographers, I give all the leading circumstances of his life, (pp. 452—472,) and some curious particulars concerning the arrangements and conduct of the Westminster Assembly, over which he was appointed to preside. The Doctor's famous Latin book against Arminius is the next subject, (pp. 472—494,) on which I have offered animadversions. Of his prophesying predilections I have

already made mention; and his correspondence with the Rev. Joseph Mede on this subject is introduced (pp. 494—546,) with the ulterior view of affording my readers a good opportunity of forming a judgment concerning the alleged innovations by Archbishop Laud in the public worship of the church. Mr. Mede had publicly defended *bowing towards the altar*, and other rites revived by Bishop Andrews, (p. 532,) long before Laud had attained any influence at Court: In the letters, therefore, which passed between him and Dr. Twisse, both of whom were accounted more excellent and moderate than their cotemporaries, the case of reputed novel ceremonies is discussed with the greatest coolness; and every thinking man will soon decide for himself, whether those innocent observances deserved to be represented in such an obnoxious light as they have generally been, or to be charged exclusively to the black account of one to whom they do not appertain. Mr. Mede's testimony on these topics is the more valuable, because he is generally depicted by modern Dissenters as A PURITAN, though, by a perusal of the notes in pages 741, 487, and 525, the reader will feel some hesitation about the particular class under which he ought to be ranged.

All this discussion about rites is preliminary to a history of FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES of Religion, the devising of which in that age engrossed the attention of the greatest and most philanthropic individuals in different Protestant communities. Omitting particular mention of those devised by the enlightened Catholics, Cassander, Erasmus, Wikelius, and others; I commence (pp. 546—809,) with a notice of the acts of pacification by Arminius, Du Moulin, M. A. De Dominis, Grotius, Laud, Dury, and Mede, and conclude with those of Cromwell's Committee of Fundamentalists, the Officers of the Republican Army, Milton, and the new race of Arminians in the depressed Church of England who were reproachfully called "Latitudinarians," but whose liberal and benevolent principles had taken deep root during the Interregnum. I have been purposely diffuse on this important topic, that I might demonstrate the extreme aversion of all the high Predestinarians to such broad foundations of Christian concord, and might contrast the narrowness of the most famous of the Calvinistic schemes of FUNDAMENTALS with those of the more liberal Arminians. It was with a feeling of well-founded confidence, that I knew I could take hold of one of the most objectionable of the reputed English Arminians, Archbishop Laud, and could prove the great superiority of his benevolent views to those of the most admired of his Calvinistic cotemporaries. Like every youthful student who knows nothing of Laud except what the most popular of our historians have delivered,* I had imbibed

* Thus, for instance, the Rev. John Wesley, with whose writings I was familiar when quite a boy, gave, in 1777, the members of the Established

early prejudices against him, and considered the following description of him and of his noble predecessor on the scaffold, though the composition of an eminent writer, as greatly overcharged: "The two ministers that stood in the gap betwixt the "conspiracy and the government, (and who were only cut off, "as appeared by the sequel, to clear the passage to the King "himself,) were the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud: So "that their first attack was upon the Earl, and their next upon "the Archbishop, under the notion of *evil councillors*. Upon the "common charge of POPERY and ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS, their "impeachments were carried on by tumults; and these brave "men were rather baited to death by beasts, than sentenced with "any colour of law or justice: And as they lived, so they died, "the resolute assertors of the English Monarchy and Religion— "the Earl of Strafford in May, 1641, but the Archbishop was kept "languishing in the Tower till January, 1644. And their crime

Church, and then the Dissenters, the following wholesome advice and reproof, in his *Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*, on the subject of the American war:—"How is it that any of you, who fear God, *are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, to speak evil of the Ruler of your people*, as well as of those that are put in authority under him? Do you believe, *that Michael the archangel durst not bring a railing accusation against Satan?* And dare YOU bring or retail a hundred railing accusations against your lawful governors? Now, at least, humble yourselves before God, and act more suitably to your character. Wherever you are, far from countenancing, repress the base clamours of the vulgar, remembering those awful words, *If any man among you seemeth to be religious*, (rather *be ever so religious,*) *and bridleth not his tongue, that man's religion is vain.*

"Are not you, who DISSENT from the Established Church, in whatever kind or degree, particularly concerned to observe this, *for wrath*, as well as *for conscience sake?* Do you imagine, there are no *High Churchmen* left? Did they all die with Dr. Sacheverel? Alas! how little do you know of mankind! Were the present restraint taken off, you would see them swarming on every side, and gnashing upon you with their teeth. There would hardly need a nod from that sacred person, [King George the Third,] whom you revile, or at least lightly esteem. Were he to stand neuter, in what a condition would you be, within one twelve-months? If other *Bonners* and *Gardiners* did not arise, other LAUDS and SHELDONS would, who would either rule over you with a rod of iron, or drive you out of the land. Know the blessings you enjoy. Let common sense restrain you, if neither religion nor gratitude can. 'Beware of the wrath of a patient man.' Dare not again to open your lips against your sovereign—[shall I say,]—*lest he fall upon you?* No; but *lest he cease to defend you.* Then, farewell to the liberty you now enjoy!"

I hope some of the succeeding pages of this volume will shew, that Archbishop Laud was deserving of a better and milder station, than that which is here assigned to him and to Sheldon: Both of them lived in troublous times, and had to restrain some most impetuous spirits.

But this extract is exceedingly valuable on another account: It exhibits the personal wishes and feelings of his late Majesty, on the subject of *an extended Toleration.* None of the biographers of King George the Third has given a prominence to this lovely trait in his character and conduct, though it is that for which all the godly part of the kingdom long held his royal name in veneration. By a diligent author, it would be found, that the materials are neither few nor meagre which serve to elucidate this interesting portion of religious history.

" was not, in truth, their being *men of arbitrary principles* them-
" selves, but for being *the opposers of those principles* in others."—
But my subsequent researches convinced me of my mistake, and taught me to venerate, though not always to admire, several of those sterner virtues which the state of this nation and of Europe called into exercise, and which have generally been exaggerated to the Archbishop's prejudice. But I refrain from all further allusions to this great Prelate, as I shall have another opportunity of adverting to him, and " to his good friend Hugo Grotius," in a succeeding part of this Introduction.—As the doctrine of FUNDAMENTALS and of a GENERAL RELIGIOUS PACIFICATION could not be introduced without some account of these two great men, and of the state of Europe at that period, I have made a large digression, (pp. 582—766,) in which I have presented the reader with many interesting particulars respecting Laud and Grotius, which have not been given by any preceding English writer.

The remaining contents of Appendix D, (pp. 800—830,) are soon specified. A brief allusion to the adulterated species of Arminianism which was imbibed and propagated by many of our English divines at the period of the Restoration, and which gave a tone to the public ministry of the English Clergy for some years afterwards,—and three extracts, from Professor Poelenburgh, Bishop Fleetwood, and Bishop Atterbury,—conclude the volume.

The various subjects which I have now cursorily enumerated, are further illustrated and explained by notes, consisting of slight original observations, but principally of extracts from scarce pamphlets and treatises Several of these elucidations are now, for the first time, translated into our language. When I commenced this part of my undertaking, I resolved to borrow no part of my relation of facts from the histories and remarks of Clarendon, Burnet, Eachard, Grey, Collier, Neal, Walker, Calamy, or from the pamphlets of L'Estrange, Dr. South, Heylin's Quinquarticular History, or any other similar authority that is supposed to be in the hands of every Englishman, and that might seem to be too partial to one side or to the other. Freed from these trammels, and having no worldly consideration whatever to cloud my understanding or to bias my judgment, I have produced a very impartial account of those transactions which I narrate, and a correct exposition of the principles avowed by the chief actors, and generally in their own expressions. I am quite aware, that violent partizans on all sides, who derive their information from more objectionable sources, may not be inclined to concede to me even the small praise of impartiality; and that I shall be blamed particularly for the strong opinions, to which I have given utterance, in favour of Episcopacy and of the Clergy of the Established Church. But when the reader has perused the conclusion

of this Introduction, he will discover reasons why my apparent bias in this last respect ought to secure me from undue censure.

V.—SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE NOTES.

I now proceed to advert to a few of those discussions which occur in the notes, and to which the title of this work will have called the attention of my readers.

A perusal of the long note (pp. 679—693,) on *the origin and progress of English Arminianism,* will convince every man of candour of the falsity of the proposition upon which I have ventured to animadvert, "that in England, Calvinism went along with Civil liberty, and Arminianism the contrary, and that in Holland it was at the same time the very reverse." The notes, in pages 704—709 and 780, respecting Bishops Hall and Davenant, and the note on 798 (in which an allusion is made to Dr. Hall as the Bishop of Norwich,) will add strong confirmation to the one already quoted, and will inject serious doubts into the minds of those who have been accustomed to reckon those two celebrated divines as rigid Calvinists to the very close of life.

In the account which Mr. Farindon has given of the conversion of "the ever-memorable Hales of Eton" from Calvinism to Arminianism, he has introduced a circumstance respecting Episcopius, which has exceedingly puzzled Mosheim, and other writers. The evidence adduced in pages 577—9, will prove, I hope satisfactorily, that Martinius was the individual, through whose reasoning Hales "bade John Calvin Good Night!"

The reputed Popery of Arminianism receives some explanation in pages 677—9, 267, and 526.—Some particulars respecting Arminius and his system are related in pages 466, 478—83, 548, 552, 621, 801, and 828.—Curious acceptation of the the term "Pelagianism," p. 780.—Remarks on unchristian rebellion, pp. 561—4, 364—6, 728, 385, and 270.—Conversions to Arminianism, 305, 394, 535, 577, 687—91, 704, 713, 780, 788, 800 and 803.

Contrasts are instituted—in page 285 between the death-bed scene of Grotius, and of Rivet his most acrimonius accuser;—336—341, between the execution of Archbishop Laud, and Mr. Love who exulted at that great Prelate's death;—753, between the conduct of Vossius, and that of the brave Grotius, towards Archbishop Laud in his troubles;—482 between the Divinity of the schools and that of the scriptures;—413—16, 790, between the tolerant views of Dr. Hammond and John Goodwin, and those of Dr. Owen;—761, 765—75, between the amplitude of Fundamental Articles of religion devised by the Arminians, and those of the Calvinists;—296—306, 512, 518, between the prophesying humour of the Calvinists, and the common sense of

the Arminians;—643, between extempore prayers, and written forms;—606, between the French Calvinists and Dutch Arminians;—223, between the Remonstrants, Du Moulin, Amyraut, and Twisse;—678 between the labours of the Conformists in the Popish controversy, and those of the Puritan Clergy;—674, between marriage and celibacy;—710—6, between the political principles of the English Arminians and Calvinists;—380—1, between the suppleness of Dr. Owen, and the firmness of Meric Casaubon;—and 636, between Grotius and Selden.

The genius and tendency of Calvinism are well portrayed by Grotius in page 271—8, and by Dr. Hammond 690—2.—Calvinistic Revolutionary reveries, 512, 515, and 528.—Westminster Assembly of Divines 400—9, 435, 443, 464—72.—Preparations for the Assembly by the Du Moulins 392.—Remarkable deficiency of the Calvinists in a knowledge of the Ancient Fathers, 430, 524, 534, 686.—The craft of the English Puritans, immediately prior to the civil wars, in joining the articles of the Irish Church with those of the Church of England, in argumentative array against the Arminians, 565.—Description of the Calvinists in those days, 271, 359, 463, 512, 528, 705, and 786.—Presbyterian discipline 445, and intolerance, 448, 467.—Contests between the Presbyterians and Independents, 313, 342, 386, 448, 606 and 733.—Dr. Twisse's curious Predestinarian arguments, &c. 476—81, 490—2, 406, 444; his obligations to the Jesuits, 477, 526; and his prophetical enthusiasm, 506, 510, 512.—A Parliamentary chaplain, described by himself, 457—8.—The Long Parliament 406, 444.—Scotch Presbyterians, 347—9, 365.—The French Calvinists, 265, 721.—Synod of Dort and its consequences, 425, 572, 587, 592, 710, 738.—The capacity in which the British Deputies appeared at that Synod, and their private disputes, 398, 565, 710.—Dury's pacific labours, 608—10, 617, 748; his prophesying humour, 617, 754—9.—Sir Henry Vane's prophecies, 513, 516—8.—Animadversions on some of Richard Baxter's assertions, 251, 294, 302, 323, 330, 352, 360, 379, 401, 640, 678, 747.—An almost universal and voluntary infliction of *self-punishment*, in the year 1662, on the high Predestinarian ministers, 788.

To general readers the following notes will probably appear the most interesting: Curious anecdote about Archbishop Tillitson, 785—7.—Difficulty of defining with accuracy Whigs and Tories, 812—5.—The desire of Grotius to be employed at the Court of England, and the reasons why his request was slighted, 634—6, 597, 600.—The family of Vossius, and his invitation to England and Ireland, 659—65.—Female branches of the family *De Medicis*, 719—731.—An account of Dr. Cosin's Devotions, 502:—The Elector Palatine and the Queen of Bohemia, 611—3, 734.—The Ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, and their great authority, 428—434, 413, 535, 685, 799.—Escape of Grotius from confinement, 582; and his fine letter on the death of his

daughter Maria, 603.—Dr. Featly's *trimming* conduct, 459—463, 403.—Selden's conduct in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, 470.—Bishop Atterbury on the advantages of a married Clergy, 644; and Archbishop Laud's opinion about celibacy, 674. —Ancient and modern ideas about Catholic emancipation, 693.— University learning, 369—71.—Critique upon Du Moulin's VATES, 281.

On the subject of Popery, abundant information will be found in the copious notes, pp. 549—784; and Cardinal Richelieu's *finesse* is exposed in pages 624—30, 734.

On various subjects connected with our national history, the reader will find some information in the following notes: King James the First, 307, 376, 510, 561, 649, 711.—King Charles the First, 376, 648, 716, 719—31, 734; and His Majesty's death, 323, 350, 377, 380, 387, 391.—King Charles the Second, 607, 820.— The Electoral Family, 336, 453, 611—3, 647, 724, 734, 740, 770, 817.

Moderation of the Episcopal Church, 435, 532, 545, 654, 798. Her rites and ceremonies, 527, 432—4, 543—4, 799.—At an equal distance from Puritanism and Popery, 656, 67.—Advantages of Episcopacy, 545, 698, 702, 422.—JUS DIVINUM of Episcopacy, and of other modes of Divine Worship, 792—5.—Episcopal Clergy prior to the Civil Wars, 302, 330, 333, 335, 525, 811.— Employment of Ecclesiastics in the great offices of State, 585.— Uniformity in Public Worship, 452, 575, 772.—Origin of Ecclesiastical Power, 436.—The observance of Christmas, 411, 419, 451; and of the Christian Sabbath, 287, 455, 542.—Baptismal Regeneration, 395.—Conformity, 543.

The principles of Toleration, 415, 448, 452, 607, 692, 704, 707, 729, 730, 783, 791, 796, 800.—Those who oppose Popery are the greatest lovers of Toleration, 783.—Fundamental Articles, 496, 552, 762. 772.—Those of the Bremen Divines at the Synod of Dort, 577.—Vile sycophancy and intolerance of the Romish Church, 496, 558—61, 621, 624, 628.

Some of the retributive acts of Divine Providence are briefly pointed out in the notes, pp. 302, 339, 512, 466, 528, 595, 706, 788, 826—8.—Confirmation of some of Mr. Mede's conjectures, 508.—Socinianism, 641—3, 782.—Progress of Independency in England, 451.

In addition to the notes now specified, some of which will be found extremely long, others are interspersed throughout the work concerning Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Rivet, Du Moulin, Servetus, Beza, Milletiere, Paræus, Dr. John Owen, Robert Baylie, Philip Nye, Judge Jenkins, Casaubon, Junius, Lightfoot, Selden, Sampson Johnson, Amyraut, Courcelles, John Goodwin, Feuardent, Marets, Bogerman, Du Plessis Marly, Daillée, Cassander, Castellio, Prince Rupert, Duke of Hamilton, Hugh Peters, Dr. Samuel Ward, Bishop Morley, Philip Henry, John

Archer, Joshua Sprigge, Bishop Burnet, Dr. Prideaux, Professor Poelenburgh, Archbishop Sheldon, Dr. Lloyd, Samuel Hartlib, Bishop Andrews, Herbert Thorndyke, Bishop Bedell, Gomarus, Bishop Morton, Gondemar, Archbishop Tillotson, Oliver Cromwell, Gerard Brandt, Archbishop Abbot, Martinius, Crocius, De Barneveldt, Chancellor Oxenstern, Gustavus Adolphus, Prince Maurice, Episcopius, Louis the Thirteenth, Sir Richard Browne, Peter De Marca, Bishop Atterbury, Vossius, Duke of Buckingham, Bishop Juxon, the Archbishop of Cologne, Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Archbishop Dawes, Dr. Hoe Van Henegg, Bishop Hoadly, the Elector of Saxony, John Durie, Tobias Conyers, Dr. Henry More, Bishop Fleetwood, Samuel Wesley, Sir Henry Wotton, &c. &c.

Numerous extracts are also given, in the form of explanatory notes, from Bray's *Life of Evelyn*, Twells's *Life of Dr. Pocock*, Fell's *Life of Dr. Hammond*, *Bishop* Hall's *Hard Measure*, *Lord* Clarendon's *Life by Himself*, Bates's *Lives*, *Isaac* Walton's *Lives*, Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, Jackson's *Life of John Goodwin*, *Bishop* Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, and other authentic and creditable biographical Memoirs. Several elucidations have likewise been borrowed from Burrish's *Batavia Illustrata*, Sanderson's *Preface to his Sermons*, Pierce's *Divine Philanthropy and Purity Defended*, Baker's *Chronicle by Phillips*, Dr. Hammond's *Sermons*, Mede's & Lightfoot's *Works*, *The Letters and Minor Treatises of* Grotius, Rivet's *Apology*, Dury's *Prodromus*, *Sermons preached by various Puritan Divines before the Long Parliament*, Twisse's *Vindication*, Bayle's *Dictionary*, Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, *Acts of the Dort Synod*, Baylie's *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, Curcellæus *De Jure Dei*, Burnet *on the Thirty-Nine Articles*, *&c.*

VI.—REMARKS ON SOME OF THOSE WRITERS WHOSE WORKS I HAVE QUOTED.

1. DR. PETER HEYLIN.

It was my intention to have given a concise character of a few of the most important of those works which I have now enumerated; but the execution of this task must be deferred till the publication of the second volume. One writer, however, Dr. Peter Heylin, whose *History of the Presbyterians*, and *Life of Archbishop Laud*, I have occasionally quoted, deserves in this place a brief notice. It has been said of him, "that, in some things, he was too much a party-man, to be an Historian:" He was undoubtedly a warm writer, yet in general exceedingly correct in his relation of matters of fact, and very sincere even on those doctrinal topics in which I conceive him to have been in error. But with

all his defects of temper, and his obviously low views of the economy of God's grace, I prefer his testimony, on every affair of importance, to that of his virulent revilers; some of whom, though eulogized as "moderate men," I have found to be guilty of the vilest misrepresentations.

I know only of a single fact in which Dr. Heylin's information is proved to have been essentially erroneous, and that is, the conversation which he reports between Archbishop Laud and "the Ever-Memorable Hales of Eton," and in which the latter is said to have been reclaimed from the errors of Socinianism. Mr. Des Maizeaux, in his "Historical and Critical Account" of that great man, has very satisfactorily controverted Dr. Heylin's premises and conclusion: Yet, after all, the two Socinian publications, of which Hales had then been wrongfully considered as the author, afforded strong grounds for Heylin's assertion. To those who have perused the collection of letters in Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, (Letter 181,) and similar publications, it will be unnecessary to say, that one of these pamphlets (written by Stegman, a Socinian Minister,) was charged to the account of John Hales. The other, written by Przipcovius, a Polish Knight and a great Unitarian, was also ascribed to him by common report; and in the virulent pamphlets and minor Church-histories of that period, his Patron the Archbishop was indirectly assailed as giving some encouragement to noted heretics. Knowing all this, Dr. Heylin, who appears to have been made very imperfectly acquainted with the substance of their conversation, naturally inferred that it had been on the charge of Socinianism then current against Hales, and seized that opportunity for vindicating the eminent Prelate against Socinian imputations.

The following paragraph from "the Life of Lord Clarendon," who likewise relates, in a different manner, the very interesting conversation which passed between him and the Archbishop, is in reality somewhat confirmatory of Heylin's suspicions: "He was chaplain in the house with Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague in Holland, at the time when the Synod of Dort was held, and so had liberty to be present at the consultations in that Assembly; and hath left the best memorial behind him of the ignorance, and passion, and animosity, and injustice of that convention; of which he often made very pleasant relations, though at that time it received too much countenance from England. He would never take any cure of souls, and was a great contemner of money; yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor people even to liberality, he had made a greater and better collection of books than were to be found in any other private library that I have seen; as he had sure read more, and carried more about him in his excellent memory, than any man I ever knew, my Lord Falkland only excepted, who I think sided him. He had,—whether from his natural temper and constitution, or from his long

retirement from all crowds, or from his profound judgment and discerning spirit,—contracted *some opinions which were not received* nor by him published except in private discourses, and then rather upon occasion of dispute than of positive opinion. And he would often say, his opinions, he was sure, did him no harm; but he was far from being confident, that they might not do others harm who entertained them, and might entertain other results from them than he did: And therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself, in those points in which he differed from what was received."—See a continuation of this character of Hales, in a preceding page, (xciv.)

On another subject, that of "the Christian Sabbath," I shall prove, in the second volume, that his information was essentially correct, and especially in relation to the open and allowed profanation of that sacred day by the early Calvinists at Geneva. Some vituperative remarks on the Doctor will be found in a succeeding page, (455,) and the reader will afterwards perceive that the ground on which the English Puritans argued this question, was the same as that assumed by the celebrated Independent, Robert Robinson of Cambridge, in his low and scurrilous tract, "The History and Mystery of Good Friday," which he wrote against that pious, mild, and excellent Prelate, the late Bishop Porteus.

2.—BISHOP GAUDEN.

This eminent man has furnished me with some good quotations, (pp. 540, 560, 655, 680, 700, 703,) which are the more valuable on account of his connection with some of the highest Puritanic families among the nobility. (Page 700.) At the commencement of the Civil Wars, he was nearly in the same predicament as Dr. Featly, (p. 463,) for he was a great admirer of the pacific method of Archbishop Usher; but he, as well as the amiable Primate, and other Episcopalians who were then moderate Calvinists, soon perceived the futility of such a plan of proceeding with those who hated peace, and they became sound converts to Arminianism and better friends to Episcopacy,* when both were

* In his *Liturgical Considerations*, Dr. Gauden observes: "A Liturgy is a great defence to true doctrine, and a means to prevent the spreading of corrupt opinions." To this consideration old Giles Firmin replies, "Not every Liturgy: Some may be bad enough. This was the first reason, (as some conceive, with laziness,) which first brought in Liturgies,—the Arian and Pelagian heresies. In which time yet ministers did compose and use their own prayers, though they were first reviewed. But, it may be, the Doctor hath an honest design in this: For, he knows well, that abundance of the Episcopal men, now preferred, are stout Arminians, of the same blood with Pelagius; and he fears these men will spread Pelagianism under a little finer dress, and so would have the Liturgy imposed, to keep them from doing this mischief. Ah, Doctor! This will not do! Such men call for the Liturgy more than any: But if this were your only intent, we thank you for your honesty."—Such were the sarcastic remarks, which the good Doctor was forced to endure from some of his former friends.

in their low estate, and when neither of them could confer any present earthly emolument on their professors. When the licentious soldiers had the murder of the King under contemplation, the Doctor wrote a bold Address to the Army, though it does not exhibit as great ability as that by Doctor Hammond. Whatever opinion may be formed of him, with regard to the part which he is said to have acted in the composition of King Charles the First's *Eikon Basilike*, his conduct in every other particular is unexceptionable, and entitled to high commendation.

He was intimate with those Presbyterian ministers who managed the dispute, with King Charles, concerning Episcopacy; and heard from their own lips the undissembled wonder to which they gave utterance at that unfortunate monarch's unanswerable arguments in favour of Episcopal regimen. Dr. Gauden was also privy to those "hortatory though concealed letters," which were addressed by "Diodati from Geneva and by Salmasius "from Leyden,* to the chief sticklers of late for Presbytery in "England, advising them to acquiesce in and bless God for such "a regulated Episcopacy, as had obtained, and might best be "retained, in England." Gauden took the Covenant. He also tells us, "I was as fully chosen as any to the Assembly of Divines; and never gave any refusal to sit with them, further than my judgment was sufficiently declared, in a Sermon preached at the first sitting of the Parliament, to be for the ancient and Catholic Episcopacy.† Although myself were, by I-know-not-what sleight

* For a larger account of these communications, consult the note in page lxxix.

† Cornelius Burges and Stephen Marshall had preached before the House of Commons, at their Solemn Fast, Nov. 17th, 1640; and, in their joint dedication of Burges's Sermon, they thus addressed the honourable members on the subject of Parliamentary assistance in the establishment of Calvinism: "The God of Heaven make you the most accomplished, best united, and most successful and glorious House of Commons that ever sate in that High Court; but chiefly in the perfecting of the Reformation of Religion; in the erecting, maintaining, protecting, and encouraging of an able, godly, faithful, zealous, profitable, preaching ministry, in every parish-church and chapel throughout England and Wales; and in the interceding to the King's Sacred Majesty for the setting up of a faithful, judicious, and zealous Magistracy, where yet the same is wanting, to be ever at hand to back such a Ministry: Without either of which, not only the power of Godliness will soon degenerate into formality and zeal into lukewarmness, but POPERY, ARMINIANISM, SOCINIANISM, PROFANENESS, APOSTACY, and ATHEISM itself, will more and more crowd in upon us and prevail against us, do you all you can by all other means."

On the 29th of the same month, "JOHN GAUDEN, *Bachelor in Divinity*," preached on a sacramental occasion before the Honourable House, from Zech. viii, 19. After severely animadverting on the undue stress which had been laid upon ceremonies, the preacher expressed himself in the following language, in which, without doubt, "his judgment was then sufficiently declared to be for the ancient and catholic Episcopacy," and could not therefore be relished by those who loved to hear such doctrine as Burges and Marshall delivered:

"Not that I am ignorant, how far *pious antiquity* did use these, and such like words *innocently*, without ill mind or meaning, and without offence to the church, as

of hand, shuffled out of that Assembly, yet the zeal of some men to put Presbytery into its throne and exercise was such, that I was twice sent to by some members of both Houses, and summoned by the Committee of the County where I live, to preach at the consecration and installing of *this many-headed Bishop*, the new PRESBYTERY: Which work I twice (and so ever humbly) refused to do, as not having so studied its genealogy and descent, as to be assured of the legitimation, right, and title of sole Presbytery to

then times were: Yet let me tell you: (1.) Such swerving from *the form of sound words* used in the primitive and purest times, occasioned, and strengthened after errors. (2.) They were not then engaged to maintain truth against such erroneous and pernicious doctrines as we now are of the Reformed Church: Which doctrines are now eagerly maintained by a proud faction, who seek to abuse antiquity, and patronize their own errors by using those names and words, to other intents and things, than ever was dreamed of by the ancient Church. (3.) By such dangerous symbolizing with them in words and some outward formalities, we do but prepare our minds, and sweeten them, with less distaste to relish their doctrines and tenets; and, as it were, in a civil way, we compliment ourselves out of our truth; giving the adversaries strong hopes and presumptions, as they have discovered, that we are inclining towards them: To be ashamed of frequent, serious, and conscientious preaching, which was the work of Christ and the holy Apostles, the honour and chief employment of the primitive and best Bishops, and Ministers in all ages,—as that deservedly famous Bishop Jewel, in his *Apology* proves out of the Fathers sufficiently against the Pope, and other idle bellies, which count preaching as a work below their *greatness*, as indeed it is above their *goodness*,—*Is this to love the truth?*

"Certainly, had divines both small and great been more busied in preaching and practising those great, weighty, and necessary *truths*, *that are able to save their own and others' souls*, they would not have had such leisure to have been so inventive and operative in poor beggarly toys and trifles, which neither bring honour nor profit to God, themselves, or others. Nothing,—I say nothing,—will restore the Church and Churchmen to their pristine honour, love, and authority in men's hearts and minds, but a serious setting of themselves to the study, preaching, and practising of Truth and peace in a holy life. These were the arts, these the policies, these the pious frauds and stratagems by which anciently they won people's hearts to love God, his truth, and of themselves the witness of it: To such a height of honour and ecstasy of love, that they received them as Angels of God, Embassadors from heaven, counting them dear as their right eyes! Humility, piety, and industry laid the foundation of all those magnificent structures, dignities, titles, places, revenues, privileges, wherewith Churchmen were ancient y endowed: What hath or is likely to waste and demolish them is easy to conjecture. *Iisdem artibus retinenda quibus olim parabantur.*"

Gauden, in those days, like his friend Archbishop Usher, considered himself a Cameronist; and, as the persons of that persuasion were accounted to be a kind of middle-men between Calvinists and Arminians, so may the former part of the following paragraph from this Sermon be recognized as partaking of the kindly nature of the quotation from Cudworth, in page lxiii, while the latter part of it savours a little of the persecuting spirit of the more resolute Calvinists, quoted in pages lxi, lxv:

"'*Contend then earnestly for the truth*;' (Jude 3;) but with '*the power of God*,' not man's arm of flesh; with a contention of *love*, not of *force*; such as may not destroy *men*, but their *errors*, which otherwise will destroy them. Truth

succeed, nay to remove, its ancient father Episcopacy, not as then quite dead, nor (I think) fully deposed. Yet such was the double diligence then of many English Divines, (men otherwise of useful abilities,) that they did as officiously attend on the Scotch Commissioners to set up Presbytery, and to destroy Episcopacy, as the maid is wont in pictures to wait on Judith, with a bag for Holofernes his head.—Besides this, Presbytery had then fortified itself with a special piece of policy, in order to its prevalency and perpetuity; which was, to engage the better sort of common people (or the Masters of every Parish, and so, in effect, the whole Populacy,) to that party, by indulging them, as Mr. Calvin did in Geneva, a formal or titular share of Consistorian or Ecclesiastical Power, under the glorious name of RULING ELDERS, on whom, as on *less comely members*, they were pleased to *bestow more abundant honour*, at least in words: For few of them could really be fit for, or even capable to use, any actual authority beyond that of Sides-men, Constables, Church-wardens, or Overseers for the Poor."

Such a valiant and disinterested defender, therefore, of Episcopacy and Good Order, in the worst of times, may assuredly be permitted to speak boldly in his own behalf, as he did, at the conclusion of his *Suspiria*, in 1659: "If what I have written may do any good to the present or after ages, I have my design; if not, I shall, by God's help, hereafter redeem this waste of time and labour, by applying to studies more suitable to my genius, spirit, and age, which may more improve those graces which are least in dispute among good Christians: Yet in this I have not wholly lost my labour; because I have hereby further discharged my own soul, my conscience and reputation, from any approbation of what I judge to be either the sins or imprudences, the wickedness or weakness of this age, in which I do not so much live, as die daily, weary that my soul finds so little hope of an happy rest or composure, unity or harmony, in our Church; which I had rather see and enjoy before I die, than to have the greatest preferment in the world. I envy no men that have wrapped up their worldly interests in their religious policies, and daily gain by the shrines of godliness they have made.

"Episcopacy is now far from being the object of any sober men's flattery or ambition; yet I cannot but look upon it with

is so sufficiently armed with its own power, that it needs not the assistance of the sword or canon, which reach not the minds of men, nor can divide them from their errors, nor batter down the strong-holds of prepossessed false opinions. That '*excellency of power*' which is in the Word of God and his Spirit, is only able to subdue the understanding. Yet must not the Magistrate so far be wanting to God's glory and the Church's good, as to fail to defend truth against those that by cunning or force seek to subvert it, setting up the just terror of those laws which may chase away those owls, and bats, and feral birds that love darkness and portend a night wherever they appear; that cannot endure the light, *because their works are evil*, as well as their doctrine false."

such an eye of pity and reverence, as primitive Christians were wont to do upon their Bishops, such as Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, and other martyrs, when they saw them *imprisoned, beaten, tormented, destroyed.*

"I plead for that reverend order, and those reverend persons, who have been made a spectacle to angels and men, such as to this present hour suffer both hunger and thirst, are naked and buffeted, having no certain dwelling-place; which being reviled do bless, being persecuted have suffered with patience, being defamed do intreat, and, being the glory of all churches, as to order, unity, and government in all ages, are now looked upon by many as '*the filth and off-scouring of all things:*' Yet am I one of those angels which attend Lazarus on his dunghill; I have chosen to follow the clear, though now more exhausted, stream of antiquity, rather than the troubled torrents of any novelties, which may be as short-lived as they have been suddenly started. I have looked upon all men's principles and pretensions, as to ecclesiastic affairs, with what candour, equanimity, and sincerity I could. If in any thing I was inclinable to be partial, it was neither for Presbytery nor Independency, I confess, which I never was catechized in, nor accustomed to, nor convinced of, as to any such piety or policy, wisdom or worth in them, which might make me see cause to desire or esteem them; but I was swayed against some things, not in the constitution, so much as in some men's administration of Episcopacy. I was originally principled to no small jealousies of Bishops' actions, when they were in their greatest glory and power; nor do I yet think but that some Bishops might have been greater Masters of pious Arts than they have proved: Yet I find now, that, in many things, people were more afraid than hurt.* For the main, I conclude, no Ministers or Governors, no Superintendencies or Presbyteries, in any Reformed way, exceeded the usefulness, merit, and excellency of our English Bishops and Presbyters; nor is any thing as to Church-government comparable to a primitive Episcopacy,

* This confession is manly, and tantamount to the frank acknowledgments made on the same subject, at an earlier date, by JENKYN, HUSSEY, and MANTON. (Pp. liii, lviii.)

In the preceding note I have shewn Gauden's "judgment to have been declared for the ancient and catholic Episcopacy," and in p. 535, I attribute "the complete change of doctrinal sentiments in Archbishop Usher," and in other Episcopal divines, among whom Gauden may be included, "to their deep and accurate acquaintance with the productions of the early Christian Fathers." The aversion displayed by Calvin, and by his early followers, to these ancient writings, is described in p. 430: and "the baneful effects of this principle of defection, in the Church of England," are briefly recited in a preceding page, (xlvi,) and, more particularly, in the long note, p. 686. After a perusal of the following quotation from Gauden's sermon before the Long Parliament, the reader will entertain a similar persuasion to mine, that unless the youthful preacher had received a friendly admonition from his aged friend Usher, or from some equally

which includes the just rights, liberties, or privileges both of Presbyters and People. I neither dispute nor deny any men's morals, intellectuals, devotionals, or spirituals, further than they seem much warped and eclipsed by their over-eager heats and injurious prosecutions against their antagonists the Episcopal Clergy and Church of England: But I absolutely blame those

wise man, he would, notwithstanding his real love of antiquity, have fallen into the snare of the Calvinian fowlers, to whose sentiments he was greatly inclined:

"Certainly God will severely exact of this church and nation, of prince and people, of preachers and hearers, an account for our long-enjoyed and undervalued truth and peace. Have we so long been a vine planted, and watered, and fenced, both to necessity and ornament, by an excessive indulgence of God, and do we bring forth sour grapes, that neither please God nor profit men? May we not justly fear (what we have deserved) to be laid waste and desolate, to be made a hissing and astonishment to all nations, that God should remove or extinguish the glorious lamp of the Gospel, in whose light we have not rejoiced, because we have not loved it?

"Do we love the truth, if we are weary of it, tediously and peevishly affected to it, willing to leave it and withdraw from it? The loathing and nauseating of this heavenly manna, as if we have had so much that it is necessary to recover and quicken men's appetites to it, by a more scanty allowance of it,—*is this to love the truth?* The tampering and essays of some to clip, or wash, or new coin, or alloy and abase, with some Romish mixture, the gold and purity of our doctrine,—*is this to love the truth?* that pure and refined truth, which hath passed the fiery trial, hath been baptized in the blood of many martyrs, sown in a field, made fruitful with their ashes, who loved not their lives so much as the truth! To set up lying vanities, pictures, and images, and to cry down praying and preaching, whereby those toils may be useful and necessary to the ignorant (because untaught) people,—*is this to love the truth?* To suffer idolatry, or superstitious formalities in serving God, to get ground upon our opinions and practices,—*is this to love the truth?* which, the less it hath of painting, the more it hath of true loveliness and native beauty. Are not the lengthening and increase of ceremonious shadows, a presage and sign of the shortening of our day and setting of our sun, or diminishing of our light?

"To quarrel at those truths which have been long ago determined by the Scripture, in the public confession of our Church, and in the writings or preachings of our gravest and learnedest Divines, Prelates, and others,—as in the points of Justification by Faith alone, of Transubstantiation, of Auricular Confession, of Prayer for the Dead, of Worshipping before Images, of Fiduciary Assurance, and the like, which some doting and superstitious spirits dare to question and retractate,—*is this to love the truth?* What hath been done by preaching and printing, by correcting, or rather corrupting, of books, (where the correctors themselves deserve to be corrected,) your piety and wisdom may best find out. Nay, such hath been the shameless impudence and effrontery of some ridiculous heads, that plain and honest minds shall be scorned, derided, and, in juggling fashion, cheated out of truth and the power of religion, (which is a holy life,) if you do not harden your faces, and confirm your resolutions, against the supercilious vanity of such men: Whether they have any intent to re-edify Babel's ruins, or no, I cannot tell: Some vehemently suspect it. Sure I am, there is such a confusion and novelty of language affectated by some men of *Altars*, *Sacrifice*, *Priests*, *Corporiety of Presence*, *Penance*, *Auricular Confession*, *Absolute*, that is, *blind Obedience*, *the Holy of Holies*, *and Adoration*, which must be salved from *a flat idolatry*, or at best *an empty formality*, by some distinction or notion that must be ready at hand, that most people know not what they mean, what they would have, or what they intend to call for next."

Ministers' want of politics and prudentials, who, by their Anti-Episcopal transports, have so far diminished not only themselves and their order as ministers, but the whole state of this Church, as to its harmony and honour, its peace and plenty, its unity and authority."—See pages lv, lvii.

3.—JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

One of the most valuable of the modern publications which I have quoted, is Bray's *Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.* Those passages in the Diary, which, to a common reader, will seem to be extremely trivial, are in reality of great consequence,* and have been selected with nice discrimination by the highly accomplished editor. No man of letters, who pretends to any acquaintance with the history of the interesting period in which Evelyn flourished, will neglect this important accession to the authentic records of the kingdom. In the composition of this "Comparison between Calvinism and Arminianism," I acknowledge myself to be under immense obligations to its instructive pages; and the intelligent reader will discover, especially in the second volume, that it has been my guide in some difficult passages of the Interregnum, in which no light is obtained from the cotemporaneous historians. Evelyn's intimacy and correspondence with all the principal Arminian clergy, render his artless accounts uncommonly affecting and instructive. A deep tone of genuine piety is heard in nearly every paragraph, and his style strongly reminds one of that of our old friend Isaac Walton. The conclusion of the following extract, from his polite and christian letter, addressed in 1664, to Lord Corneberry, is quite descriptive of the man: "In this one town of London, there are more wretched and obscene plays permitted, than in all the world besides. At Paris three days, at Rome two weekly, and at the other cities of Florence, Venice, &c. but at certain jolly periods of the year, and that not without some considerable emolument to the public; while our interludes here are every day alike: So as the ladies and the gallants come reeking from the play late on Saturday night, to their Sunday Devotions; the idea of the farce possesses their fantasies to the

* Thus, the subjoined brief notices, which occur under the several dates, in different parts of the Diary, are exceedingly important in serving to prove, that the famous *Continuator of Baker's Chronicle*, whose authority I have often quoted, was a man well-qualified, both by his talents and from his opportunities, to execute such an undertaking:

"Oct. 24, 1663. Mr. Edward Phillips came to be my son's preceptor. This gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's *Defensio*, but was not at all infected with his principles, though brought up by him.—Feb. 24, 1665. Mr. Phillips, preceptor to my son, went to be with the Earl of Pembroke's son, my Lord Herbert.—Sept. 18, 1677. I preferred Mr. Phillips (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlain, [Lord Arlington] who wants a scholar to read and entertain him sometimes."

infinite prejudice of devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reproachful blasphemers. Could not Friday and Saturday be spared? Or if indulged, might they not be employed for the support of the poor, or as well the maintenance of some work-house as a few debauched comedians? What, if they had an hundred pound per annum, less coming in! This were but policy in them; more than they were born to, and the only means to consecrate (if I may use the term) their scarce allowable impertinences. If my Lord Chancellor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gain both the King and his Lordship multitudes of blessings. You know, my Lord, that I (who have written a play, and am a scurvy poet too sometimes,) am far from Puritanism; but I would have no reproach left our adversaries, in a thing which may so conveniently be reformed. Plays are now with us become a licentious excess and a vice, and need severe censors, that should look as well to their morality as to their lines and numbers."

4.—GROTIUS AND LAUD.

A SKETCH of the personal history of these eminent individuals is given in pages 566—768.

Of Archbishop Laud I shall, in this place, say very little, since much concerning him will be found in other parts of the volume. In page 684, I have said, "Grant me but one small and not "unreasonable concession, similar to that which in our days is "demanded for the personal obliquities of every Republican Dema-"gogue, or petty Independent Pastor, under the Commonwealth, "—allow me to plead *a consideration of the aspect of the times, the "peculiar difficulties of his situation,* and *the inflamed state of parties,* "—and I will undertake to prove, that Laud's patriotism was in "reality purer and more disinterested, than that of any of his "Calvinistic cotemporaries, who had an opportunity of display-"ing the genuineness of their patriotism in their public actions." —The facts which I have adduced, and the epistolary correspondence which I have translated, will, I hope, stand in proof not only of the Archbishop's *transcendant love of his country,* but likewise of his *extensive philanthropy.*

I have already mentioned, (p. cxvi,) the antipathy against this eminent Prelate, which I had conceived early in life: This unfavourable impression, however, was afterwards removed by the high character of him which the famous LIMBORCH has given in the preface to that inestimable collection of letters, entituled *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Epistolæ.* In the year 1812, an intimate friend, to whom as a lover of learning I am under the greatest obligations, presented me with a fine copy of the first edition of Limborch's collection, which, both for the sake of the donor and of its Arminian contents, I perused with the greatest

avidity; and to that noble work I acknowledge myself indebted for many of those enlarged views of the ecclesiastical affairs of Europe, and particularly those of England and Holland, which I have obtained, and of which the reader will discover some traces in various parts of this volume. I had learned from LIMBORCH's correspondence with LOCKE, that our great countryman, during his exile in Holland, immediately prior to the Revolution in 1688, received from the liberal Dutch Professor ample encouragement to those Whiggish principles which he had imbibed, and which he afterwards so ably defended; and I knew, that a man so warmly attached to free institutions, as Limborch had proved himself to be, would never have written the following character of the ill-fated English Prelate, unless he had believed him to be what he has here depicted: "But the very reverend WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, on account of his religion, was beheaded by hot zealots, here shews himself entitled to the highest admiration. Though attacked with grievous accusations, and loaded with numerous calumnies, in his most familiar letters to Vossius he gives no utterance to curses against his ferocious enemies; but, imitating the example of his Saviour, when reviled, he reviled not again, and, when attacked, he threatened not, but blessed them who cursed him, and poured forth the most ardent prayers for his persecutors. In these letters, he is so fully acquitted of that monstrous accusation with which his most implacable enemies, openly before all the world and most invidiously, traduced him,—*as though his attempts had been directed to bring back the authority of the Pope into the Church of England*,—that it is not possible for calumny herself to discover any thing in him on which to fasten her talons. This volume contains his continued importunities, repeated at least ten times in his letters, for Vossius to undertake the province of confuting Baronius. Indeed, he never desisted from pressing him into that employment: In one of his letters he says, 'I am particularly desirous to behold Baronius [the Popish Annalist] 'falling under the force of your weapons, before the destinies 'open the tomb for me; you cannot therefore expect to receive 'any letter from me without a repetition of this stimulus.'"—See the preceding part of this letter in page 577.

Notwithstanding Bishop Burnet's unjust vituperations, this is not a solitary encomium from the pen of a man of acknowledged candour: I have subsequently met with other as ample and impartial testimonies in the Archbishop's favour, from eminent Whig Divines of the Church of England. Several circumstances respecting Laud, and the peculiar situation in which he was placed, receive elucidation from BRAY's valuable *Memoirs of Evelyn*; and though I shall introduce a further notice of the good Archbishop in the second volume, yet, from a perusal of what I

have now written, every man of piety and ingenuousness will, I am persuaded, be induced to conceive a still more exalted opinion of that great man and of his public measures.

Those who wish to behold the praises to which HUGO GROTIUS, or HUGH DE GROOT, is justly entitled, and which he has received in ample measure from admiring friends and reluctant foes, may consult Sir THOMAS POPE BLOUNT's *Censura celebriorum Authorum*. His well-earned reputation is founded on too durable a basis to be moved by such petty attacks as those to which I have alluded in a previous part of this Introduction, (p. xxxi,) or those of Mr. Orme in page 641.

That a man so accomplished, virtuous, fearless, and unfortunate, should have had many enemies among his cotemporaries, is not wonderful: But the number of those who evinced their hatred to him, or to his philanthropic labours, increased after his decease, when they could display it with impunity. "This very pious, learned, and judicious man," says Dr. Hammond, "hath of late, among many, fallen under a very unhappy fate, being most unjustly calumniated, sometimes as a SOCINIAN, sometimes as a PAPIST, and,—as if he had learnt to reconcile contradictories, or the most distant extremes,—sometimes as *both of them together!*"

One cause of the charge of SOCINIANISM being preferred against him, has been already mentioned, (p. xxxiii,) and it is more fully explained in pages 637—642. The reader will not require many additional reasons to convince him of the untenable ground for such an accusation, when he is told that VOETIUS, one of the most violent of his enemies, laid down this grand axiom—"to place the principal part of religion in *an observance of Christ's commands*, is RANK SOCINIANISM!"—To such *a practical observance of the requisitions of the Gospel*, by what name soever it might be stigmatized, Grotius pleaded guilty. He says, (p. 637,) "I perceive this was accounted the principal part of religion by the Christians of the primitive ages; and their various assemblies, divines, and martyrs taught, 'that the doctrines *necessary to be* '*known* are exceedingly few, but that God forms his estimate of 'us from the purpose and intention of an obedient spirit.' I am likewise of the same opinion, and shall never repent of having maintained it."

But as the charge of POPERY is of the utmost importance, I have discussed this topic at great length, (pp. 566—746,) and have proved, (pp. 549, 561,) that Grotius was as little attached to the principles or the practice of the Romish Church, as the most zealous of his accusers. Whatever tends to vindicate the conduct of Grotius in this matter, will operate still more powerfully in favour of Archbishop Laud. The design of Grotius is well described by Dr. Hammond in a *Digression* which he added to his *Answer to the Animadversions on his Dissertations;* in which he says:

"For the charge of Popery that is fallen upon him, it is evident from whence that flows,—either from his *profest opposition to many doctrines of some Reformers, Zuinglius, and Calvin, &c.* Or from his *Annotations on Cassander, and the Debates with Rivet consequent thereto,* the *Votum pro Pace* and *Discussio.*

"For the former of these, it is sufficiently known what contests there were, and at length how profest the divisions betwixt the Remonstrant and Contra-remonstrant; and it is confessed, that he maintained (all his time) the Remonstrant's party, vindicating it from all charge, whether of PELAGIANISM or SEMI-PELAGIANISM, which was by the opposers objected to it, and pressing the favourers of the doctrine of Irrespective Decrees with the odious consequences of making *God the Author and Favourer of sin,* and frequently expressing his sense of the evil influences that some of those doctrines were experimented to have on men's lives. And by these means it is not strange, that he should fall under great displeasure from those who, having espoused the opinion of Irrespective Decrees, did not only publish it as THE TRUTH, and TRUTH OF GOD, but farther asserted the questioning of it to be injurious to God's Free Grace and his Eternal Election, and consequently retained no ordinary patience for or charity to opposers. But then, still, this is no medium to infer that charge. The doctrines which he thus maintained, were neither branches nor characters of Popery, but asserted by some of the first and most learned and pious Reformers. Witness the writings of Hemingius in his *Opuscula,* most of which are on these subjects. Whereas, on the contrary side, Zuinglius and others, who maintained the rigid way of Irrespective Decrees, and infused them into some of this nation of ours, are truly said, by an excellent writer of ours, Dr. Jackson, to *have had it first from some ancient Romish Schoolmen,* and so to have had as much, or more, of that guilt adherent to them, as can be charged on their opposers. So that from hence, to found the jealousy, to affirm him a Papist because he was not a Contra-remonstrant, is but the old method of speaking all that is ill of those who differ from our opinions in any thing; as the Dutchman in his rage calls his horse an ARMINIAN, because he doth not go as he would have him. And this is all that can soberly be concluded from such suggestions, that they are displeased and passionate that thus speak.

"As for the *Annotations on Cassander, &c., and the consequent vindications of himself against Rivet,* those have with some colour been deemed more favourable toward Popery; but yet, I suppose, will be capable of benign interpretations, if they be read with these few cautions or remembrances:

"*First.*—That they were designed to shew a way to peace, whensoever men's minds on both sides should be piously affected to it.

" *Secondly.*—That he did not hope for this temper in this age, the humour on both sides being so turgent, and extremely contrary to it, and the controversy debated on both sides by those ' who,' saith he, ' *desire to eternize, and not to compose, contentions,*' and therefore makes his appeal to posterity, when this paroxysm shall be over.

" *Thirdly.*—That, for the chief usurpations of the Papacy, he leaves it to Christian Princes to join together to vindicate their own rights, and reduce the Pope *ad Canones,* to that temper which the ancient Canons allow and require of him ; and, if that will not be done, to reform every one within their own dominions.

" *Fourthly*—That, what he saith in favour of some Popish doctrines, above what some other learned Protestants have said, is not so much by way of *assertion* or *justification* of them, as to shew what reasons they may justly be thought to proceed upon, and so not to be so irrational or impious as they are ordinarily accounted; and this only in order to the peace of the Christian world, that we may have as much charity to others and not as high animosities, live with all men as sweetly, and amicably, and peaceably, and not as bitterly as is possible, accounting the wars, and seditions, and divisions, and rebellions, that are raised and managed upon the account of religion, far greater and more scandalous unchristian evils, than are the errors of some Romish doctrines, especially as they are maintained by the more sober and moderate men among them, Cassander, Picherel, &c.

" *Fifthly.*—What he saith in his *Discussio* of a conjunction of Protestants with those that adhere to the Bishop of Rome, is no farther to be extended, than his words extend it.—(1.) That there is not any other visible way to the end there mentioned by him, of acquiring or preserving universal unity.—(2.) That this is to be done, not crudely, by returning to them as they are, submitting our necks to our former yoke, but by taking away at once the division, and the causes of it, on which side soever; adding only, in the third place, that the bare primacy of the Bishop of Rome, *secundum Canones,* such as the ancient Canons allow of, (which hath nothing of *supreme universal power* or authority in it,) is none of those causes, nor consequently necessary to be excluded in the διαλλακτικον, citing that as the confession of that excellent person Philip Melancthon.

" So that, in effect, that whole speech of his, which is so solemnly vouched by Mr. Knot, and looked on so jealously by many of us, is no more than this, ' that such a Primacy of the ' Bishop of Rome, as the ancient Canons allowed him, were, for ' so glorious an end as is the regaining the peace of Christendom, ' very reasonably to be afforded him, nay absolutely necessary to ' be yielded him, whensoever any such catholic union shall be ' attempted ;' which, as it had been the express opinion of Me-

lancthon, one of the first and wisest Reformers, so it is far from any design of establishing the usurpations of the Papacy, or any of their false doctrines attending them, but only designed as an expedient for the restoring the peace of the whole Christian world, which every disciple of Christ is so passionately required to contend and pray for."

At the conclusion of the Doctor's *Continuation of the Defence of* Hugo Grotius, he thus expresses himself:

"As this is an act of mere justice and charity to the dead,—and no less to those who, by their sin of uncharitable thoughts towards him, are likely to deprive themselves of the benefit of his labours,—so is it but a proportionable return of debt and gratitude to the signal value and kindness which, in his life time, he constantly professed to pay to this Church and nation; expressing his opinion, 'that, of all Churches in the world, it was the 'most careful observer and transcriber of primitive antiquity,' and more than intimating his desire to end his days in the bosom and communion of our mother. Of this I want not store of witnesses, which from time to time have heard it from his own mouth whilst he was Ambassador in France, and even in his return to Sweden immediately before his death: And, for a real evidence of this truth, it is no news to many, that, at the taking his journey from Paris, he appointed his wife, whom he left behind, to resort to the English assembly at the Agent's house, which accordingly she is known to have practised.

"As far as the English Establishment is removed from Socinian and Popish, so far this learned man stands vindicated from both these aspersions; which makes me the less wonder, that some others, who have endeavoured to maintain their constancy of adherence and submission to the Church of England, are in like manner most injuriously aspersed by those who have departed from it. '*Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!*'"

With regard to the political principles of Grotius, the reader will discover, that, in advanced life, they were those of a man whom we should designate as "a Whig of 1688." In the *Concordia discors et Antichristus revelatus*, which the celebrated Samuel Marets, (p. 270,) published against Grotius, in 1642, it is said: "It is impossible to tolerate this, especially in Grotius,—his "sufficiently open avowal, *that kings are not of Divine Institution:* "For, he places those kings who are first chosen by the will of "the people, in opposition to those famous [seventy] judges who "were instituted by God, as is apparent from Numbers xi, 16." On this passage the witty Bayle remarks: "This, to be sure, is singular enough: For Grotius is always refuted upon *his having too much subjected the people to the royal prerogative.* After this, let nobody say that none but the Lutherans approve of Grotius's maxims: Here you see a Calvinist minister, who does not think that Grotius had spoken very favourably of Monarchy!"—When

a great man is thus blamed alternately for a bias towards *popular* and *regal* rights, we are not at a loss in what class to place him: He belongs to the class of persons who are governed by moderate principles. Those who are conversant with the nervous and manly writings on political subjects, in which some of the most famous of our countrymen indulged between 1660 and 1690, know, that Grotius was perpetually appealed to, not only by the advocates for POPULARITY, but likewise by those for ROYALTY. The truth is, Grotius had, by painful experience, known enough of the boasted LIBERTY of a Republic, and therefore retracted some of those unguarded expressions which he had formerly employed in favour of that form of government. Unlike many of his cotemporaries, however, he did not run into the opposite extreme and applaud all the appalling encroachments of tyrants; but his principles kept him at an equal distance from the LICENTIOUSNESS into which *liberty* too often degenerates, and from that fearful SERVILITY which is frequently produced by too ardent *a love of subordination and obedience.*

5.—RIVET AND DU MOULIN.

OF Andrew RIVET and some of his performances the reader will perceive, that I have said quite enough in the following pages, 230, 285—92, 745, 748—52. He was a most unfair and disingenuous adversary towards Grotius, whose ashes he would not suffer to rest in peace. I have said, in page 284, that "Rivet was the accredited organ of the French and Dutch Calvinists, and was aided," in the composition of his pamphlets against Grotius, "by the whole Calvinian phalanx in Europe:" The truth of this fact is well known to all those who are acquainted with the complexity of his virulent productions.

His brother-in-law, the elder Peter Du Moulin, has also received ample notice in this volume; (see pages 215, 223, 230, 231, 290, 392, 554, 580,) and those who are aware of the very iniquitous part which he and his family acted, in fomenting the public disturbances of this kingdom, in whose bosom they had been generously cherished, will not think my exposure of their malevolent spirit and pragmatical conduct to be at all misplaced. He had two sons, Louis and Peter, both of whom obtained preferment in England; and the latter of them, during our civil broils, became an exemplary loyal divine, while his brother Louis continued one of the most seditious firebrands in the kingdom. After the Restoration, Louis's indignation was aroused at the great defection from the ranks of Presbytery and Calvinism, in the persons of certain great men, whom he mentions, and who, having received their education at Cambridge, are some of the individuals described under the appellation of "Latitude-men" in page 798. The following are Louis's words: "From all these

hypotheses, I gather these conclusions, which naturally follow the aforesaid premises.—(1.) That several Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England, as Dr. Floyd, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, that are acknowledged by the Nonconformists to be persons of great learning, worth, and piety, but who are extreme admirers of the Episcopacy of England and all its consequences, and who have also preferred its government to all other establishments in Europe, have, by an unlucky accident, contributed more towards the reputation of the English hierarchy and its practices, and towards the perpetuating the feuds and quarrels between the Conformists and Nonconformists, than it has been possible for any other corrupted party to do by all their irregularities and advances towards Rome.

" (2.) That it may be said of these good Bishops and Doctors before mentioned, what the politic sages have observed of Anselme, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, John of Salisbury, and Gerson, ' that by their great repute of piety and learning, they ' have contributed more to the strengthening of the Pope's tyranny ' and religion, in the minds of the people, than a hundred such ' as Gregory the VIIth and Boniface the VIIIth were able to ' effect, by their tyranny and the wickedness and impurity of their ' lives, for the discrediting of the Pope and his religion.'

" (3.) That it is not to be believed how much the Nonconformists of England suffer in the esteem of our great men of the Protestant party in Europe, who, hearing people talk of the learning and piety of so many English Bishops and Doctors, all Conformists, and who resemble those four Doctors I have just before named, say aloud, ' that the Nonconformists must needs ' be very unreasonable, and of a very nice and fantastical piety, ' for refusing to conform to the Church of England, after the ' example of those four Doctors.'

" (4.) That how good soever the intentions of some of the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England may be that are of the same temper of spirit with these four Doctors, and what kindness soever they may have for the Nonconformists, it is impossible they should ever come over to them, and consent to terms of reconciliation and moderation, so long as they remain in this judgment and opinion, ' that of all the established ecclesias- ' tical governments in Europe, that of the Church of England is ' the most excellent, and the most Apostolical, and that there is ' nothing of defect in it;' and so long as the multitude of their benefices, and the great honour they are in in the world, blinds their judgment, there being no likelihood nor hopes, that those who are raised so high, and that live in honour and abundance, richly and fatly, (unless they will imitate good Dr. Floyd, who bestows most of his Church-revenues on the poor,) will diminish any thing of their greatness, both as to their retinue or their kitchen, and will descend from high to low; and that a Bishop,

who now goes before the Barons, will quit his place to be only a poor simple Moderator, and watchman over a small company of priests, such as were St. Cyprian and St. Austin. For this eminence of fortune and dignity does absolutely shut up the door to all the overtures of Reformation, which we learn from Monsieur CLAUDE in his *Defence of the Reformation of the Churches of France*, where he tells us, 'that the Cardinal du Prat, for this 'very reason, was the most violent of all men, and the most 'enraged against Luther's Reformation, because he was provided 'of five Bishopricks, and I know not how many other good and 'fat benefices.'"

In another part of the same work, he observes, with all the *naïvetè* of a Frenchman: "I will begin with the heat and passion of my friends against me, and with the judgment which they make upon *my Short and True Account*, &c. They say, 'that that 'book is altogether now unseasonable, when as persons of great 'learning, piety, and merit, and who, at the bottom, are very 'sincere and upright in the Church of England,—such as Dr. 'Floyd, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Patrick,* to

* In his *Advances towards Rome*, Du Moulin is particularly severe upon Dr. Patrick, for "joining hands with Sherlock, Bull, Bramhall," and other Divines, "in burlesquing upon the doctrine of *Imputative Righteousness*." For proof of this, he "cites some passages from the Doctor's book called *the Pilgrim*," an allegory which served as a foundation for the "Pilgrim's Progress" by Bunyan. He then makes the following remarks, some of which are exceedingly judicious:

"If Dr. Patrick, who resembles Gregory the First, the best of bad Popes and the worst of good ones, does in so erroneous a manner run away from the Church of England, as it was about a hundred years ago, and from all the Protestant Divines, as well Lutherans as Calvinists, as well English as French; what sinister judgment may be made of a hundred of his colleagues, who are much inferior to him both in the profession of holiness of doctrine and of life? I would take for example Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR, Bishop in Ireland, one of the most learned men that England or Ireland ever produced, but yet who is the same, or rather vies with Dr. Patrick, about the doctrines that are quite different from the first Reformation in the time of Edward the Sixth; for he denies *original sin*: He says, with the Poet,

———*Lex est, non pœna, perire;*

that death is a law of nature, and not a punishment of sin; that concupiscence is not a sin, neither in those who are baptized, nor in those who are not. He establishes the works of supererogation, and the conjunction of the grace of God with the strength of man, which give their mutual assistance to the working of man's salvation.

"But he has set forth a large book, where he strongly proves, that religion ought not to be established by persecution, for it is contrary to the very spirit and temper of Christianity. Wherein the Doctor's conduct has been diametrically opposite to the carriage of those who are joined with him in the design and endeavour of his getting near to Rome: For these, at the same time that they have made shipwreck concerning the faith, as the Apostle speaks, have broken off all charity towards their brethren, and have clothed themselves with the spirit of animosity, malignity, and persecution; and, after they have abandoned God his truth, they have revenged themselves of that loss, by that of love and affec-

'whom I might join Professor Burnet,—are making it their 'business, as they think it their duty, to re-unite the two parties, 'the Conformists and the Nonconformists, and when they are 'most industriously employed in reducing to practice the means 'of peace and concord, according to Mr. Richard Baxter's model; 'and that, instead of lending them my helping hand, and assisting 'them in so good a work, I am doing what I can to divide both 'parties, and to exasperate and embitter them one against the 'other.'"

The book to which he refers is a vile publication, entituled, "A short and true Account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome." Its design, he says, was "to disengage and free all honest persons, such as are the above "mentioned doctors, from the corrupt party of their Church, to "join and confederate themselves with that of the Noncon-"formists; that so those two parties might consolidate in one, "and consequently be more capable to act with greater zeal and "vigour against the third party, that are making their *advances* "*towards Rome.*"—This will appear a vain attempt, if the reader seriously reflect on the noble account which those truly great men have given (page 798,) of their well-grounded and mature attachment to Episcopacy and Arminianism, when neither the one nor the other had any preferment to bestow. They had imbibed all the Christian liberality of the system of Arminius, while the Church of England lay in ruins; and some of them had quoted HALES's tract *on Schism* with approbation. It was not therefore to be expected, that they would be induced, by such weak arguments as those of Louis Du Moulin, and "others

tion towards those whose purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, have been a continual reproach and eye-sore to them: Which is a thing that Doctor Taylor has never done. For how erroneous soever that Doctor was as to matter of doctrine, he was yet endowed with two very excellent qualities;—the one, *that he was of a most exemplary life*, as he did sufficiently testify it in his carriage and by his writings;—the other, *that he had an affectionate tenderness, and love, and pity, for those who did not agree with him*, either in the profession of the same doctrine, or in the practice of its ceremonies. In which he differed very much from his brethren in the work of the ministry, who satisfy themselves with the profession of a superficial piety; who easily do digest and swallow non-residency, plurality of benefices, and preaching by a deputy, and the divertisement of the play-house, or of a pack of cards; and who insult over such as Baxter, Owen, Annesly, Jenkins, Bates, Watson, Howe, and the rest, for driving men to desperation, and so to hell, by too rigorously pressing the practice of piety. That is the *irarum causa, et hinc illæ lachrymæ;* and why they mortally hate those holy persons. But I cannot but strangely wonder, why they do not put St. Paul amongst such desperate Divines, from whose mouth and pen issued forth more severe and thundering doctrines and menaces than ever came from Mr. Baxter, &c., and that they do not blot out of their bibles this holy Apostle's rousing saying, (2 Cor. v, 10,) '*That we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.*' And who tells us, that '*Those that live after the flesh shall die.*'"

of the Congregational way," to abandon the cause which they had deliberately espoused. His pamphlet, however, is a fair specimen of the indecent railing and ignominious treatment which Tillotson and the Latitudinarians were compelled to receive, from those who had at that æra chosen the road of Dissent. Du Moulin quotes the opinion which his elder brother Peter, the loyal divine, entertained of his scandalous conduct: "'I consider 'my poor brother as *a man raised by the evil spirit*, for the destruc-'tion of the Church: It would be a double fault in me to assist 'him to do evil.' I alledge these words, not out of any ill-will to complain of my brother, but to advance and extol his kindnesses to me, which are so much the greater and more obliging, in that he acts quite contrary to what he threatens me with."

To understand this sentence, it is necessary to know, that Louis had been deprived of the Professorship of History at Oxford, and, like many worthies of his class, was then practising medicine in the metropolis. His brother Peter, who enjoyed considerable preferment in the Church, augmented Louis's precarious income by his opportune bounty, to which he thus refers in his *Advances towards Rome:* "As I was just shutting up this discourse, Monsieur de l'Angle, Canon of Canterbury and Minister of the French Church in the Savoy, gave me an entrance into another, in which, after he had declared to me the good intentions that my elder brother had to bestow upon me his liberalities, he thought he was obliged, as a Minister of Jesus Christ, and as my near kinsman, to tell me in good earnest, 'that the reason of 'the diminution of my brother's bounty to me, proceeded from 'that enmity which I testified with so much heat and bitterness 'against the Church of England; that I, (more than all the men 'of the world amassed together,) had an account to make to 'Almighty God, for that my unchristian spirit and rude treat-'ment of it;' and hereupon, having represented to me that the time of my dissolution could not be very far off, being turned of seventy-four, he exhorted me, without any farther delay, 'to fall seriously to the work of making my peace with God, and 'getting my conscience into a calm and serene temper, by prac-'tising the duties of repentance, and by labouring to live and die 'in the persuasion of the pardon, not only of all my sins past, but 'especially of those which I had committed against the Church 'of England, which I had so much disparaged and scandalized, 'both by my writings and speech.'"

This exhortation to repentance was not unseasonable, for the pragmatical old physician died about six months afterwards; and the reader will perceive an exact similarity between the spirit breathing in the two productions which I have quoted, and that which was displayed by his father, than whom the Church of England had not a more insidious adversary.

6.—THE REV. WILLIAM ORME.

This gentleman's Memoirs *of the Life and Writings of* Dr. John Owen have been severely criticized by me in various parts of this volume: (See pages 91, 380, 389, 402, 416, 448, 504, 640, 747, 785.) I have more strictures yet to produce on a few other of his most glaring mis-statements, which (p. 787,) I have charitably imputed to Mr. Orme's *weakness* rather than to sheer *wickedness*. Indeed from "the getting-up" of his work, I perceive it to be one of the most easy literary enterprizes that was ever undertaken, to write the Memoirs of any eminent divine, who had distinguished himself early in life by his pragmatical and ambitious conduct, and afterwards by a forced kind of penitence, and by the composition of various devotional publications. When stubborn facts from all quarters, from Calvinistic friends and Episcopalian enemies, are marshalled in battle-array against such a character, the only thing necessary to repel the troublesome assailants, according to this modern practice of Biography, is, to substitute one's own unsupported denial of the circumstances adduced, and to say "*I believe*," or "*I am quite satisfied* to the contrary!" Another grand requisite in such productions seems to be, that of collecting together all "the thrice-refuted" slanders concerning other pious and accomplished individuals, whose misfortune it was to differ on some doctrinal or political matters from "the hero of the tale," and by a little address to make such censures bear the semblance of new and well-founded accusations. Petty tricks of this description, I might enumerate in abundance; but those to which I have alluded, sufficiently indicate Mr. Orme's style of writing, and the *extent* of his research, as they appear in his *Memoirs of Dr. Owen*.

In delivering such an opinion as this, concerning a cotemporary author, I know I am offending against very high authority: For the public has been somewhat ostentatiously informed, by a Review in the London Congregational Magazine for October 1822, (which Review, some of Mr. Orme's Independent associates rather shrewdly assert, was written by *a very friendly hand*,) that "in an article in the 71st number of the Edinburgh Review, generally ascribed to Sir James Mackintosh, who is himself a host on any question relating to British History, speaking of *the Memoirs of Owen*, it is said, 'In this very able volume it is clearly 'proved, that the Independents *were the first teachers of religious* 'liberty.'" If, however, Sir James should ever cast his eye on this Introduction, I would refer him to pages lxviii, and lxxxvi, in proof, that the Calvinistic part of the Independents were neither *the first* nor *the best* "teachers of religious liberty," but that "such honour" belongs in England to the Republican Statesmen, and the Arminians of the New School, nearly all of whom derived

their religion and politics from the free institutions of Holland and the liberal writings of the Dutch Arminians.—See pages 6 and 791.

7.—THE LATE REV. THOMAS SCOTT.

In this volume I have mentioned the Rev. Thomas Scott's name very seldom; (pp. xxxi, xlvi, 435, 573;) but several other passages will be found, which correct some of the egregious misstatements in his *Articles of the Synod of Dort*, to which he has prefixed *the History of Events which made way for that Synod.*—In the first volume of the *Works of* Arminius, (p. 510,) I made a promise, to give the public a refutation of the most glaring of Mr. Scott's errors, in a new edition of Bishop Womack's *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked:* But as it will be some months before I can commence that publication, I subjoin a few remarks on one part of Mr. Scott's performance.

I omit all animadversion on the curious circumstance, that an old gentleman, who had been nearly forty years employed in instructing mankind from the pulpit and the press *in the doctrines of Calvin*, should know so little about them as to be so absolutely ignorant of that grand modification of them which was astutely framed by the Synod of Dort. This fact, however, and its astonishing concomitants, will receive due attention at some other opportunity.

I. After informing his readers, in the Introduction, that he "makes no pretensions to any thing beyond *fairness* and *exactness* in giving the meaning of the original," Mr. Scott immediately subjoins, "Had I been disposed to aim at it, I do not think "myself competent to the office of translating in such a manner, "as to invest the Latin, fairly and fully, with the entire idiom "of the English language."—Mr. Scott's *incompetency* to do this "fairly and fully," or even to convey "the meaning of the original," is displayed in the first page of his translation, and, I think without a single exception, in each of the succeeding pages. The passage to which I allude stands thus, in Mr. Scott's English: "It pleased the illustrious and most mighty the States "General, that the Acts also of the same Synod, faithfully tran-"scribed from the public registers, (*tabulis,*) should be published "in print, for the satisfaction and use of the Churches. And as "in these (records) many things every where occur, which per-"tain to the history of the things transacted in the Belgic "Churches," &c. Some confused meaning might have been gleaned by the mere English reader, from this very bald translation, had Mr. Scott refrained from his parenthetical additions, which amount to *four*, before we arrive at the close of the lengthy sentence. In two of these additions, the words *tabulis* and *quibus* are rendered into English by "registers" and "records:" The

latter term, however, to which *quibus* refers, should have been "Acts." The translator was led into this error by his lamentable want of accurate information on the subjects which he undertook to elucidate. In the Introduction to this *Historical Preface*, he has given the following ample explanation of his very *original* views of the misconceived and mistranslated word: "In perusing "this Preface and the History contained in it, the reader should "especially recollect, that it was drawn up and published by the "authority and with the sanction of the States General and the "Prince of Orange, as well as by that of the Synod itself; and "that, in every part of it, the *Acts*, or public records in which "the events recorded were registered, are referred to with the "exact dates of each transaction. No History can therefore be "attested as authentic, in a more satisfactory and unexception-"able manner: For, whatever degree of colouring prejudices or "partiality may be supposed to have given to the narration, it "can hardly be conceived, that collective bodies and individuals "filling up such conspicuous and exalted stations would ex-"pressly attest any thing *directly false*, and then appeal to "authorities by which the falsehood of their statement might at "any time be detected and exposed."

I cannot anticipate the surprise of the impartial reader, when he is made acquainted with the plain facts of the case, which is thus artfully mystified. "The Acts," that Mr. Scott here attempts to magnify into "PUBLIC RECORDS in which the events recorded were registered," were nothing more than *those portions of the public proceedings of the Synod of Dort, which, after much polishing and alteration, it was deemed proper to publish*; and the word "*tabulis*" which Mr. Scott has rendered by the convertible terms "Records" and "Registers," were nothing more than *the written Journals of the Synod's proceedings, which were composed at intervals* BETWEEN *or* DURING *the different sessions, and which were afterwards abridged and modified with great labour, by the secretaries themselves, into what are here called* "THE ACTS!"—If, therefore, either of these, the *original* or the *copy*, had "attested any thing *directly false*," an APPEAL from the one to the other would only be an "appeal" from the *Synodical Journal* to its *Abridgment*, or *vice versâ*, and not "to AUTHORITIES by which the falsehood of their statement might at any time be detected and exposed." For, these Journals of the Calvinistic secretaries, which had been got up in a most objectionable manner, were by no means "PUBLIC RECORDS;" and no place was ever appointed in which they might be deposited for purposes of reference.

But every Latin scholar, on inspecting the language of Heinsius, which Mr. Scott has dreadfully mangled as well by his interpolations as by his attempts at translation, will at once perceive, that the original phraseology applies solely to the "Acts" themselves, that is, to the *ex-parte* account which the Calvinists

published of the proceedings of the Synod at each of their sessions; and that it cannot, without wilful force, be so interpreted as to relate at all to those "PUBLIC REGISTERS" or "RECORDS," which Mr. Scott has at last, by means of his artful comments, made to signify "the Historical Preface" translated by himself into English. This perversion of the obvious meaning of the Latin words will be evident even to a common English reader, after he has perused the subjoined sentence, which immediately follows that already quoted from Mr. Scott, (p. cxlii,) and in which the first mention occurs of this *Historical Preface*, here correctly said to be *an abridgment of the Brief Narrative of the affairs transacted with the Remonstrants, which Narrative had been at first composed by the deputies of the South Holland Churches*, that is, by the most rigid Supralapsarians in Europe. "And as in these" [RECORDS is Mr. Scott's interpolation, when the relative belongs solely to the SYNODICAL ACTS,] "many things every where "occur, which pertain to the history of the things transacted in "the Belgick Churches, and which could less advantageously be "understood or judged of, by readers who were ignorant of these "things: For which cause, even the National Synod (as it may "be seen in the different sessions,) sometimes enjoined, especially "on the deputies of the South Holland Churches, to write a brief "narrative of the affairs transacted with the Remonstrants: It "seemed good to prefix, in the place of *a Preface*, from it (that "History) some things which were publickly transacted, that the "foreign churches especially might for once know, with good "fidelity, what was *the rise and progress of these controversies*, and "*on what occasion and for what causes* the illustrious and most "mighty the States General convened this celebrated Synod at "a very great expence."—Such, in Mr. Scott's own version of "the Historical Preface," is the real origin of that document: What a difference between it and the splendid account which I have already quoted, (p. cxliii,) from his Introduction to the translation!

In elevating this obsolete PREFACE to a height to which, in all previous Calvinistic aspirings, it had never before been raised, Mr. Scott informs his readers, (p, cxliii,) "that it was drawn up "and published by the authority and with the sanction of the "States General and the Prince of Orange, as well as by that "of the Synod itself."—This assertion is not correct, as it regards even *the States General and the Prince of Orange*, in the sense in which Mr. Scott composed it. Every one conversant with that vast collection of Predestinarian documents, knows the mystery involved in the signatures of their High Mightinesses, and the reasons why they were appended to *the Canons of the Synod*, while they were purposely with-held from other equally-important portions: The verbiage of *the Historical Preface* itself, on this point, betrays the wariness of the Dutch rulers, who never gave it

the sanction of their names, and did not intend to render it such *an authentic exposition of their domestic occurrences* as its translator has been willing to suppose.—But the assertion is still more incorrect as it regards "*the Synod itself*," if this term include the *foreign* divines as well as the *provincial*. For it was the subsequent work of a very small portion of the hot-headed Dutchmen, who could not obtain leave, from the States General, for its being printed till it had been wonderfully softened down, and had undergone numerous emendations.—All these three parties, however, gave their sanction to another Preface, that prefixed to the Canons in the same work, which, it is scarcely possible, for a particular reason which will be afterwards mentioned, that Mr. Scott can have mistaken for their approbation of *the Historical Preface*. — The latter stands, therefore, as a violent political manifesto, drawn up at first by a few pragmatical divines, and abridged and polished in its style by Heinsius, to answer party-purposes among foreigners. Indeed, a gleam of Mr. Scott's native good sense, in the very next page, has given him a correct view of the nature of this Preface. Forgetting what he had previously said, about its being "A HISTORY" which could not be "attested *as authentic* in a more satisfactory and unexceptionable manner," he subsequently tenders us the following information: "It is drawn up with a degree of calmness and "moderation, far different from that fierce and fiery zeal which "is generally supposed to belong to all who profess, or are sus-"pected of, what many, in a very vague and inappropriate sense, "call CALVINISM. And though, according to the *fashion* of those "times, epithets are, in some instances, applied, both to men "and opinions, which modern courtesy, nay, perhaps, Christian "meekness would have suppressed; yet, if I mistake not, they "are more sparingly employed in this than in any contemporary "*controversial publication*."

This is a dreadful falling off indeed: Our AUTHENTIC HISTORY, "attested by collective bodies, and individuals filling up such conspicuous and exalted stations," dwindles all at once into a paltry "CONTROVERSIAL PUBLICATION!" But had Mr. Scott known the character of these "individuals in exalted stations," he would not have prided himself on "the authority and sanction of the States General and the Prince of Orange," if they had been really obtained in the sense in which he intended his assertion to be understood. By a perusal of the note in page 586, it will be seen, that Prince Maurice, and his newly-elected States General, then stood exactly in the same circumstances in Holland, as Cromwell and his mongrel Parliament afterwards did in England, with this single extenuating fact in the Dutchman's favour—that he had not murdered the *sovereign* as well as *the constitution* of his country.

II.—Like many other of his eccentric *illustrations*, Mr. Scott has inadvertently furnished his readers in the next page of the translation, with a proof of the increasing *ambition* of Prince Maurice, and of the *political subserviency* of his re-formed States General. It is in the shape of one of Maclaine's attempted corrections of Mosheim, in these words: "It was not by the au- "thority of Prince Maurice, but by that of the States General, "that the National Synod was assembled at Dordrecht." It is not improbable, that Mosheim derived his information from the Preface to the Canons; the first edition of which, under the title *Judicium Synodi Nationalis, habitæ Dordrechti, de Quinque Doctrinæ Capitibus in Ecclesiis Belgicis Controversis*, was printed separately, twelve months prior to the appearance of the bulky "Acts" of that Synod, though it also forms a part of their multiform contents, and was very ably translated into English, and published by King James's learned printer JOHN BILL in various sizes, exactly *one hundred and ninety-nine years* before Mr. Scott subjected himself to the thankless work of supererogation, which he has most unskilfully executed. In that Preface, the old English translator has well conveyed the sense of the original, thus: "When, in man's understanding, scarce any hope of "remedy appeared, God did put it into the minds of the most "Illustrious and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United "Provinces, by the *counsel* and *direction* of the most renowned and "valiant Prince of Orange, to determine to meet with these out- "rageous mischiefs by such lawful means as have been long time "approved by the example of the Apostles themselves, and of "the Christian Church following them," &c. The States General of that period could be *counselled* and *directed* by Prince Maurice to any enterprize whatever; and these expressions sufficiently justify the assertion of Mosheim. Subsequently, however, they shewed themselves less tractable, and the ambitious design of the Prince of Orange miscarried. See page 594.

As a sequel to this exposition of Mr. Scott's "Public Records" and "Registers," which dwindle into *the Journal of the Synod's proceedings composed by the two Calvinistic secretaries*, it may be proper to add "the cautelous words" of the five British Deputies, which they published in their "Joint Attestation" against Bishop Mountagu six years after their return from Dort. "It may be said, "(and so we ourselves say,) that the disposers and publishers of "these Synodical Acts had done more right to the Britain Divines, if "special mention had been made of that other matter not approved "by them, and of their particular exceptions against the Articles "which concerned church-government. But, it seemeth, (as in "most other vocal passages in this Synod,) the Actuary here "intended abridgment in what he set down, and meant not to "express in particular what was said by any concerning points "not propounded to Synodical deliberation, especially touching

"upon so tender a string as the open impeachment of their own "established discipline."—Such an excuse as this for "the Actuary's [the notorious Festus Hommius'] intended abridgments," from *friends*, is far worse than the open criminations of *enemies*.—Mr. Scott also asserts in his Introduction, that the measures of the Remonstrants "evidently tended to subvert the whole system" of the Presbyterian mode of church-government. On the contrary, the British Divines tell us, in their famous *Joint Attestation*, "In "the Netherlands, the party opposite unto that Synod, and most "aggrieved with the conclusions thereof concerning *the points* "*controverted*, are, notwithstanding, as vehement and resolute "maintainers of the *ministerial parity*, as any that concluded or "accepted the judgment of that Synod." In a subsequent part of this volume, it will be found that Grotius complains of the Dutch Arminians, that they had evinced no disposition to adopt the Episcopal regimen.

III.—Omitting many scores of Mr. Scott's intermediate mistranslations and errors, we find, in page 73, the following passage: "But that they [the Remonstrants] might the more easily obtain that Toleration by public authority which they always pressed, by the benefit of which they indeed hoped to be able, by little and little, to introduce their own doctrine in the churches, they employed this artifice: They sent over into England, by Hugo Grotius, a certain writing, in which the true state of the controversy was dissembled, a copy of a letter being also annexed; and they requested that he would petition from the most serene James, King of Great Britain, seeing this cause could not be settled by any other method than by a Toleration, that his most serene royal Majesty would deign to give letters, according to the form of the annexed copy, to the illustrious the High Mightinesses the States General; which he (Grotius,) having seized on an opportunity, surreptitiously obtained, and transmitted them to the illustrious the States General."

I do not stop to animadvert upon *literas* here translated "Letters," since it was but "one," as indeed the Latin word signifies; but I proceed to the affair itself, which will receive further elucidation in the second volume, Appendix H, when I display some traits of Archbishop Abbot's character, who, on that occasion, wrote an infamous letter to his creature, Sir Ralph Winwood, the King's ambassador at the Hague, in which he calumniated Grotius as "some pedant, a smatterer, a simple fellow, tedious, full of "tittle-tattle, full of words, and of no great judgment!" But Grotius, by the powerful aid of his friends Bishop Andrews and Overal, succeeded most satisfactorily with King James, who gloried in the office of *peace-maker*, which he officiously and without invitation assumed in regulating the domestic affairs of different States and Kingdoms in Europe. There can be little doubt, that the very wise letter which his Majesty addressed in

French to the States General, (dated, exactly as it stands in the margin of "the Historical Preface," *March 6th*, 1613,) was composed at the dictation of ANDREWS and OVERAL, both of whom have always been regarded, by all parties, as two of the most able and judicious Prelates that the Church of England ever enjoyed. Knowing the intentions of the States of Holland to issue the famous decree concerning *a mutual Toleration*, which Grotius had composed, and which I have cursorily described in page 432, the two Bishops, and probably others of their friends, might consider it to be their duty to point out to his Majesty the glorious opportunity which then presented itself of *the King of England being the first man to propose such a godlike expedient*, for composing the religious differences in the Low Countries. The King wrote the letter; and the States of Holland, as if touched with a magic wand, immediately passed their decree, a draught of which was transmitted to England for his Majesty's revision and emendation. The celebrated Isaac Casaubon, who was at that time the king's literary favourite, officially communicated to Grotius the high approval and encomiums of "his most Serene Majesty, of his Grace the Archbishop [Abbot,] and of other prelates of consummate erudition!" Extracts from the king's letter and from that of Casaubon, are inserted in *the Works of* ARMINIUS, vol. 1, pp. 411, 412.

The reader has now materials, from which he may form a tolerably accurate judgment of the alleged "surreptitious manner" in which Grotius, like a great Statesman, contrived through his friends to obtain the King's approbation, which was deemed of great importance in Holland, on account of the distant ties of affinity, which had just then linked together his Majesty and Prince Maurice, in the persons of the youthful Elector Palatine and his blooming and accomplished consort the Princess Elizabeth. The disappointed Abbot and his high Predestinarian friends would undoubtedly say, that his Majesty's approval was "*surreptitiously* obtained," because it was not procured through their influence, and was contrary to their wishes: But they found the King so pleased with the success of his pacific advice, that, after a little impertinent carping, Archbishop Abbot, who possessed more Calvinistic shrewdness than his admirers are in the habit of awarding to him, concurred in the united admiration of the Dutch Edict to which the other Court-divines had given utterance.

What is Mr. Scott's sage comment on this morsel of *ecclesiastical* or, rather, of *political* history? He employs it, as he has done more trifling incidents, to enhance the value of his reputed "authentic records."—"It should be noted," he says, "that this "narrative was published several years before the death of "James; who therefore, it must be presumed, was willing to "have it thought, that these letters were surreptitiously obtained

"by Grotius." Before Mr. Scott wrote this sentence, he ought to have studied the following definition, by Sir Henry Wotton, and the occasion upon which it was written:* *Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ,* "An ambassador is a good man, sent abroad to lie for the sake of his country." Many ambassadors employed by King James, beside Sir Henry Wotton, might have used the double meaning which the English

* The occasion is thus related by Isaac Walton:

"For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

"At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta; where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation,) with whom he passing an evening in merriment, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his albo, (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them;) and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words:

"*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.*

"Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"*An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to* LIE ABROAD *for the good of his country.*

"But the word for LIE (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn), was not so exprest in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially), so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

"This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him: And this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another apology to King James; which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it), could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, 'that Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.'

"And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

"And as that man of great wit and useful fancy, (his friend Dr. Donne,) gave in a will of his, (a will of conceits,) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: So those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen."

phrase "LIES abroad" implies, had they attempted to describe the nature of some of the services in which they were engaged.* But the nice distinction of the politicians of those days, "that an ambassador acts not in a *personal* but in a *ministerial* capacity," generally settled all qualms of conscience; and, in reference to this observation, every man acquainted with the private history of Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Dudley Carleton, consecutively ambassadors at the Hague during the religious dissensions in Holland, will lament that two men, so generally estimable and judicious, should have been placed, by their Sovereign or his confidential advisers, in circumstances, in which, on account of the part that they were expected to act, they could not possibly gain any accession to their characters or reputation.

Mr. Scott, however, has mistaken the cause of King James's *silence:* It was not a token of his *consent* to the imputation against Grotius, conveyed in "the Historical Preface;" but it was a token of greater prudence than his Majesty usually displayed. For Grotius and his friends were in possession of other letters from King James, which would have put the sincerity of the monarch in a shape somewhat too questionable, had they been contrasted with his subsequent cruel and despicable conduct towards the Dutch Arminians. But Grotius was too noble an adversary, and entertained too high a reverence for the *office*, if not for the *person* of his Majesty, to implicate him needlessly in matters in which he had granted his meddling humour an unbounded indulgence: In the "Apology" therefore, which, Dr. Bates tells us, (p. 589,) "was the first work published by Grotius after he had regained his liberty" in 1621, King James saw additional reasons for silence on this topic.

This circumstance will likewise serve to explain the cause of the silence about Mr. Scott's renowned "Historical Preface," which was maintained by Grotius's cotemporaries, the English Calvinists. On the publication of the APOLOGY, those eminent men who had been the British Deputies at the Synod of Dort, perceived that all the "authentic" and all "the public records," with which, in this late age of the world, Mr. Scott has been wishful of bedeck-

* In the letter which Archbishop Abbot sent to Sir Ralph Winwood, his Grace seems to have been aware of the existence of this qualification in the representative of Royalty. But King James did not bestow upon it so gross an epithet as Isaac Walton has done, in his translation of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin line: His Majesty called it "King-craft." After relating the private interview which Grotius and Caron had with King James prior to the departure of the former, Abbot says, "I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this information, "*whereout, I conceive, you will make some use*, keeping these things privately "to yourself, as becometh *a man of your employment.* When his Majesty told "me this, I gave such an answer as was fit; and now, upon the receipt of your "letters, shall upon the first occasion give further satisfaction."—In what an artful manner did this Calvinian Archbishop hasten the crisis of the religious differences in Holland! He was also the principal cause of this country being involved in bloodshed.

ing his beloved Synod's "Historical Preface," belonged exclusively to the elegant and unanswerable production of Grotius. I feel a satisfaction in bearing record to the real love of learning which then prevailed, and to the native force of truth, which prevented every man, whether Calvinist or Augustinian, that made any pretensions to literary eminence or even to common equity, from quoting the narrative of Dutch affairs out of "the Historical Preface," that was then in the hands of every one, in preference to the impartial account which Grotius had given. I never met with a quotation from "the Preface" in the authors of that period, except in one or two of no reputation. The most unexceptionable man, in whose works I have found a morsel of it, is that voluminous writer, Dr. Thomas Manton. I have also found it quoted in the margin of one or two of the intolerant sermons of the Presbyterian preachers before the Long Parliament, in which short extracts are introduced, as authorities for persecuting the English Arminians. If any men had felt the least inclination to produce the *overwhelming evidence* of Mr. Scott's "public records," they would have been the five British divines, who had been deputed by King James to the Synod of Dort, of which they formed no inconsiderable portion; they were, indeed, with all their failings, the brightest ornaments of that assembly. But they knew, better than Mr. Scott, the apocryphal origin and the prejudiced composition of that politic exposure, and were extremely shy about any allusion to it in their long controversy with Mountagu and his defenders. Some writers have been pleased to say, about other authorities, "that these good men *durst not* adduce them, lest they should give offence to the Court." But they who write in this strain, know little about the matter: For, in that controversy, the authors in the Calvinistic interest, though professing due loyalty to his Majesty, treated King Charles himself, on account of his supposed predilection for Arminianism, in a manner which modern courtesy would consider to be exceedingly indecorous.

IV.—My next quotation from Mr. Scott's astonishing production, is one of the most amusing attempts that can possibly be imagined, to enhance the reputed validity of "the Historical Preface:"—"Neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine, men-
"tion this history, while they refer to a variety of authorities on
"both sides of the question, in their narrative of these transac-
"tions: So that, it is even probable, that they had never seen
"it. Whether the severe measures by which the decisions of this
"Synod were followed up; and especially the strict prohibition
"of printing or vending any other account in Latin, Dutch, or
"French, in the Federated Provinces, during seven years, with-
"out a special licence for that purpose; did not eventually con-
"duce to this, may be a question. The measure, however, was
"impolitic, if not unjustifiable."

1.—Mr. Scott thinks it "probable," that "neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine, had ever seen this History." The truth is, both of them had seen it; and the silence about *its momentous contents*, which is observed by Maclaine, who was as determined a Calvinist as Mr. Scott himself, must have seemed very surprising to one who placed upon it such a high value, while, to every man besides, this fact will be an additional evidence of the low estimation in which all well-informed Calvinists hold that paltry production. The Ecclesiastical Historian and his excellent Translator "refer to a variety of AUTHORITIES, on both sides of the question, in their narrative of these transactions," but (sad oversight!) they never once formally "mention this History" as an AUTHORITY, because they knew they would in that case have exposed themselves to the derision of all the learned in Europe. Many are the palliations for the intolerance of the Synod, which Dr. Maclaine introduces; but not a single expression does he quote from what Mr. Scott calls "the public records," because such quotation would have destroyed the semblance of *impartiality*, which both he and Mosheim wished to preserve.

But Mosheim does mention it, with several other as important documents as those which he has quoted. It was Mosheim's manner, when he commenced the history of any large denomination of Christians, to refer his readers, (generally in the first note,) to some well-authenticated and common publication, in which a complete list would be found of the works relating particularly to that denomination. In the fifth volume of his History, from which Mr. Scott's information about the Arminians is derived, Mosheim has made such a copious reference respecting three or four other Churches. Had he not adopted this method, in some instances the mere enumeration of the title-pages of the several works written on that subject, would have occupied almost as much space as he has been able to devote to the history itself. According to his usual method, therefore, Mosheim, at the commencement of that part of the article on the ARMINIANS which relates to the Synod of Dort, refers his readers at once to an ample collection of documents in FABRICII *Bibliotheca Græca*,*

* Mosheim's note reads thus:—"The writers who have given accounts of the Synod of Dort, are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his *History of the Reformation in the United Provinces*; but, as this author is an Arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this Synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in two volumes in 4to, at Amsterdam, in the year 1705 and 1707, under the following title: *Eere van de Nationale Synode, van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de beschuldingen van* G. Brandt. After comparing diligently these two productions, I could see no enormous error in Brandt; for, in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes from whence they proceeded. The reader will

Vol. xi, p. 723. Now, I should consider it a dreadful imputation on a learned man's character, were it even insinuated that this work by Fabricius was not in the possession of such a diffuse commentator on the Holy Scriptures, as Mr. Scott has been, though his notes are said (by his admirers themselves) to be more remarkable for strong sense and fertile imagination, than for the sound learning which they display. In the exact page and volume of the work to which Mosheim despatches all his readers for information about the Dutch Synod, the first article that presents itself is, "DORDRACENÆ SYNODI ACTA," of which an able literary notice is there given.* Mr. Scott's famous "History" is the

do well to consult the Letters of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hales, of Eaton, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of this famous Synod, and who relates, with candour and simplicity, what he saw and heard."

* Having given a critical description of the various Councils which the Roman Catholic authors had collected, Fabricius presents the following account of the Synod of Dort:

"It commenced on the 13th of Nov. 1618, and continued to the 9th of May, 1619. Let no one look for *the Acts* or *Decrees* of the Synod of Dort among the collectors of Councils, although they have not hesitated to insert in their volumes also many small Councils of those whom they denominate *Heretics*. Yet,—since, from the dignity of the subject, and from the number and authority of those by whom the business was transacted, this may possibly seem equal or superior to many Synods,—and since it is even now confirmed by most of the Reformed Churches,—I was unwilling to omit the mention of it. It was held, in the ninth year after *the Conference at the Hague*, by the Reformed Calvinians against the Arminian Remonstrants, the latter of whom complain, *that it condemned them without a hearing.*

"For the publication of the ACTS, the Divines chosen out of various districts of the United Provinces were, John Polyander, Anthony Walæus, Anthony Thysius, Daniel Heinsius, Festus Hommius, Daniel Colonius, and John Laets: But Dr. Wm. Bates informs us in his *Life of A. Walæus*, 'that the chief merit 'of the publication is due to Festus Hommius, who was a ready and elegant 'writer, and, as secretary to the Synod, had noted with greater diligence than 'the others, the matters that had been transacted.'—These ACTS were published at Dort in the year 1620, in folio, in the neat types of the Elzevirs at Leyden; and were soon afterwards executed with greater correctness, in the same year, at Hanover, in quarto, with the addition of a copious index.

"Prefixed to the ACTS stand,—the EPISTLE of their High Mightinesses the States General, addressed to the Monarchs and Kings, to the Princes, Counts, Cities, and Magistrates, [of the Christian world], and vouching for the fidelity and authority of these ACTS,—and likewise the ample PREFACE of Daniel Heinsius, addressed to the Reformed Churches of Christ, concerning the origin and increase of the Dutch controversies, for the purpose of appeasing which, the Synod had been convened.

"The ACTS themselves consist of three parts: (1.) The rules for holding the Synod; the form of the Synodical oath; decrees and judgments concerning the translation of the Bible, catechizing, candidates for the sacred ministry, and concerning the removal of the abuses of printing; the Canons against the Five Points of the Remonstrants; the Confession of the Dutch Churches; the approbation of the Palatine Catechism; the judgment passed on the doctrine of Conrad Vorstius; a writing of the Remonstrants respecting the conditions on which the Synod ought to be held; the Theses of the Remonstrants on the Five Points,

Preface described by Fabricius, as the production of Daniel Heinsius, who had been lay-secretary to the Commissioners, chosen out of the States General to preside over the deliberations of the Synod. Not a word occurs in Fabricius concerning the *avouched* "fidelity and authority" of this *Historical Preface:* Those government-attributes are properly ascribed to the *Acts* alone, while "the ample Preface," lately extolled as such a precious morsel of *authentic* church-history, is awarded to its final reviser and polisher, Daniel Heinsius. Had Mr. Scott consulted the article in Fabricius to which Mosheim referred him, he would have found a list of ten Calvinistic publications in support of the Synod, and fifteen against it; some of the former of which were more worthy of being translated, than the universally-neglected document which Mr. Scott has, unfortunately for himself, chosen for the exercise of his powers.

2.—Had he consulted that article, he would not have committed the strange mistake into which he has fallen in the 112th page of his performance. He has there informed his readers of his former state of ignorance concerning "the real Articles of the Synod," and that his "literal translation of them" was made from a copy "contained in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxford, 1804."—He has afforded many proofs, beside this, of his knowing very little about the contents of the bulky volume, "the Historical Preface" to which he has so *painfully* tried to explain. In the Account of his Life, which has been lately presented to the world by his son John, and which is highly creditable to his talents and filial affection, it is said, "The translation [of *the Historical Preface*] is made from "*the Acts* of the Synod, published by authority, in a Latin *quarto* "volume." That is the edition which, according to Fabricius, and as every learned man knows, contains an index, accurately denoting the very page in which those *Articles* might be found. Unfortunately, however, they are there denominated "The Canons of the Synod concerning the Five Points of the Remonstrants;" and as Mr. Scott does not seem to have been aware, that they are indiscriminately (and in some respects *improperly*) designated by even good writers *Canons, Decrees, Articles,* [*Sententia,*] *Sentiments,* and *Judgment,* he could find no mention of Articles in the original work, but was compelled to look for them in the *Sylloge Confessionum,* in which they offered themselves to his perusal under the more intelligible and familiar title of *Sententia.*

and the various exceptions and protestations against the Synod; a writing by Simon Episcopius, in which he defends himself; the confession of the two brothers Geisteeren; and, lastly, the orations of those very celebrated men, Balthasar Lydius, Martin Gregory, Joseph Hall, John Polyander, John Acronius, and of the memorable Episcopius.—(2.) The Judgments of the Foreign Divines on the Five Points of the Remonstrants.—(3.) The Judgments of the Dutch Divines on the same Points."

A similar instance of his "woeful lack of information" respecting the volume in his possession, a part of which he too hastily undertook to elucidate, may be seen in one of his notes, in which he says: "The Five Articles of the Remonstrants, so often mentioned in this History, do not occur separately and all together in the authenticated documents of which I make use; but, comparing the detached accounts of them and the arguments used in the Synod of Dort concerning them, with the following statement from Mosheim, (Vol. v, pp. 444—5,) the latter appears sufficiently accurate for our present purpose:" He then quotes the abridgment from Mosheim. On the interpretation which the reader will give to Mr. Scott's two opposite terms "*separately* and *all together*," I do not pretend to offer even a conjecture; but *the Tenets of the Remonstrants* occur in the copy of the ACTS "of which Mr. Scott made use," *separately*, under each of the days in which they were presented, and in substance the same as those which Bishop Womack has translated and ably corroborated in the subsequent pages of this volume (93—150). Were modern Arminians as testy and querulous as Mr. Scott and Mr. Baxter have been, on reading this abridgment they might retort some of the *elegant* phraseology of these two good yet irritable and prejudiced men, about "bearing false witness against their neighbours,"&c. But Christian courtesy forbids such a course; and though the materials for a better account of the sentiments of the Arminians were actually in Mr. Scott's possession, at the time when he published this *scanty exposition of Arminianism*, they would not adopt the language which he employs, in page 121, "I own, I never before met with so gross, so barefaced, and *inexcusable* a misrepresentation as this, in all my studies of modern controversy. It can only be equalled by the *false testimony* borne against Jesus and his Apostles, as recorded in Holy Writ. But is that cause likely to be in itself *good*, which needs to be supported by so unhallowed weapons?" — I refer the reader, for further information on this subject, to *the Works of Arminius*, vol. i, p. 510. Bishop Womack's celebrated book, "THE CALVINISTS' CABINET UNLOCKED," was written for the purpose of shewing Richard Baxter, that the Abridgment of the Calvinistic Articles of the Synod of Dort, which the Bishop has inserted in the 39th page of *the Examination of Tilenus*, was virtually correct; and all impartial men, who examine the Bishop's authorities, will not charge him with want of success in that enterprize.

3.—But the most wonderful part of Mr. Scott's argumentation remains yet to be examined. In proof of "the probability that neither Mosheim, nor his translator Maclaine had seen this History," Mr. Scott adduces this singular reason: "Whether the severe measures, by which the decisions of this Synod were followed up,—and especially the strict prohibition of printing

" or vending any other account in Latin, Dutch, or French, in " the Federated Provinces, during seven years, without a special " licence for that purpose,—did not eventually conduce to this, " may be a question."—I will not now allude to " the severe measures, by which the decisions" of the Synod of Dort were enforced. The nature of the prohibition is here not correctly expressed; but, receiving it according to Mr. Scott's confused statement, was it ever before known, in the history of mankind, that an exclusive privilege, granted under the strongest penalties, *in favour* of a particular work, hindered its sale and circulation? The effect must, in the nature of things, be *exactly the contrary;* and it was so in this instance. As many copies of the Acts were transmitted, in the form of presents, to the different learned men of Europe, as would have amounted to a good edition by themselves. They had a free circulation, and were extensively pushed among *the trade,* by the company of industrious Dutch Booksellers to whom, under curious restrictions, the privilege was granted. Not merely in the Latin language were they sold; but, being translated into Dutch and French they were accommodated to the capacities of common readers, who, whether friends or foes, desired to obtain some account of the Synod's proceedings from the only documents which they could *lawfully* peruse. The most interesting portions of the Acts were also translated into English and German. The several editions of the original, and of these translations, gave a still greater extension to the Acts, the result of which is to this day perceptible in our own country, and in some other States of Europe. For, the Acts *of the Remonstrants,* which were published nearly at the same time, " are exceedingly rare, and very little known in England. Fifty copies at least of the Calvinistic Acts may be met with in the catalogues of the English booksellers, before one of the Acts of the Remonstrants can be found." I never inspected a respectable Dissenting Minister's library, in which the Dort Acts had not obtained a place: And that Mr. Scott, the grand expounder, to the Evangelical Clergy, of *what is* and *what is not* Calvinism, should have known nothing till the very close of life about *the doctrinal Articles* determined in that Synod, — is only another lamentable proof how boldly and ignorantly some (otherwise) good men can " *talk* without book!"

I have mentioned the adoption of the Decrees of the Synod of Dort, by the French Calvinists; (pp. 255, 290;) and " the Arminian Acts" with the other works of the Remonstrants, could not have been more effectually excluded from the members of their Churches, had their suppression been enforced by the Popish Inquisition. In England they did not meet with a better fate, according to the narrative of the old historian:

" But the Remonstrants had likewise some great enemies among the Bishops of that Kingdom, particularly Doctor Abbot, the

Archbishop of Canterbury, who not long before shewed his dislike of their opinions. For, when John Narsius, minister of Bommel and of the Remonstrant party, brought into England *the Synodical Acts of the Remonstrants*, some of the copies were stopped and taken from him, the Archbishop threatening *to burn them, and to cause the owner to be thrown into prison, for bringing into the nation and dispersing books written in defence of those errors which the Synod of Dort had condemned!* Those divines in England who adhered to the Doctrine of Calvin, being elevated at the ill fortune of the Remonstrants in Holland, stuffed their sermons continually with disputes about Predestination: But, the more furious they were, the more did the King's [James's] zeal, which had exerted and still did exert itself against the Remonstrants, begin to cool. He looked back upon what was passed, and by that means grew more and more sensible of the present danger from the other party."—Brandt's *History of the Reformation.*

4.—Perhaps this is the proper place to correct another of Mr. Scott's egregious mis-statements:—"The authenticated histories "of the Remonstrants concerning the Synod of Dort have, almost "exclusively, been noticed and credited by posterity, especially "in this country, to the neglect of the authentic records."—This assertion is repeated in different forms, throughout the pamphlet, also by his son, and by other writers who follow him as an oracle. What, then, are the facts of the case? Mosheim has said in a preceding page, (clii,) that "*the most ample account* of this famous Assembly has been given by Brandt." Three-fourths of that large narrative which, soon after its publication, was translated into English, were compiled from the Calvinistic Acts themselves, and from the letters and despatches of two unexceptionable witnesses, both of whom at that time were zealous Calvinists,—"the ever-memorable Hales of Eton," and Dr. Walter Balcanqual. Indeed, the Latin journal of the latter divine, after Hales's departure, was the chief document on which Brandt had to rely for information, respecting those topics of discussion about which the members quarrelled, and on which the Synodical Report observes a prudent silence or a studied brevity. That part of Dr. Heylin's History likewise which relates to the Synod, is compiled principally from Hales and Balcanqual, as well as from Bishop Womack's *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium.* Thus, the chief English narratives of the Synodical proceedings are almost entirely copied from Calvinistic authors.—On the Continent, the Predestinarian information which Hales and Balcanqual transmitted at least twice a week to the English Ambassador at the Hague, was so highly appreciated, that two separate translations of the English letters were published, by Limborch at Amsterdam, and by Mosheim at Hanover. The latter of these editions is elucidated by ample notes and "various observations," an excellent "Life of Hales," and interesting "Considerations on the Authority of the Synod of

DORT—*an Assembly destructive of Sacred Peace.*" If favoured with health and opportunity, I intend to give a translation of Mosheim's volume, as well as of Balcanqual's Latin Journal, neither of which has ever yet been published in English. So much for Mr. Scott's accuracy about "the neglect of *the authentic records,*"—a high-sounding phrase which, in the commencement of the same paragraph, he has applied to "the Historical Preface!"

V.—In the conclusion of my remarks on a few of Mr. Scott's radical mistakes and rash assertions, I cannot refrain from the expression of my unfeigned regret at beholding an aged and respectable clergyman spend some of the last days of his mortal pilgrimage, in attempting to communicate to an *intolerant* Dutch Preface an air of validity which it never possessed—except in his own imagination and in that of his admirers. If "the Remonstrants in general," according to Mr. Scott's declaration, (Preface, vii,) "were far more favourable to Pelagians, nay, to Socinians, than "to Calvinists," it was Mr. Scott's duty to have demonstrated the existence of this alleged PELAGIANISM and SOCINIANISM, since he had the full articles of those good men's belief in his possession. The members of the Synod, who assisted in the condemnation of the Remonstrants, formed a judgment of their doctrines—either from the Articles which had been presented by the persons cited, —or, (which was far more agreeable to the Dutch members,) from the *unaccredited* and *private* writings of a few pamphleteers, who had adopted some of the doctrines of General Redemption, but had not been admitted into the communion of the Arminians. Yet even this last class of Calvinistic Divines, highly culpable and disingenuous as was their conduct, never attempted, in that Synod, to fasten upon the Arminians the double charge of Pelagianism and Socinianism, from such a paltry and unauthenticated pamphlet as this "Historical Preface" by Heinsicus. I have already referred my readers to the *Tenets of the Remonstrants*, translated by Bishop Womack into sterling old English, (pp. 90, 150,) and those were the genuine points which should have attracted the theological or metaphysical skill of all the Dort Synodists, and of Mr. Scott their modern defender. But the good Bishop, in the title-page to his *Examination of Tilenus*, has very significantly described the conduct which the Synodists pursued: "The Five Articles were voted, stated and imposed, but *not disputed*, at the Synod of Dort." This was a safe and prudent course; for if those reverend divines had entered into a regular logical dispute on those Theses separately, in the hands of such a man as the youthful Episcopius, whose literary prowess all admired and the greater portion of them dreaded, they would have suffered such a defeat as would have been injurious to Calvinism, and would have paralysed the politic designs of the Dutch members. It was wise therefore in them, to drive the cited persons from the Synod.

The unguarded manner in which some pious yet ill-informed

Arminians praise Mr. Scott's "Christian moderation," has had the tendency to sanctify and perpetuate the gross and unfounded slanders which he has published respecting some of the best men that ever lived. His "Christian moderation" respecting Arminianism, I could never yet discover; on the contrary, I have given one instance, (p. clv,) out of many which might be adduced, of his unwillingness either to instruct himself, or to undeceive others, about the real "tenets of the Remonstrants," in that summary of their scriptural belief which they have always professed. If, in the preceding pages, I have shewn the extreme shallowness of Mr. Scott's acquaintance even with the history of his own favourite opinions, (and I could produce still stronger proofs of his woeful deficiency of knowledge on high Predestinarian matters, on which he has pronounced dogmatically, *quasi ex cathedrâ,*) I would ask, Was such a writer at all qualified to tender *correct information* to the public, respecting the character or conduct of those whom he accounted his *doctrinal adversaries?* His conduct will appear the more reprehensible, when it is considered, that the small work, in which these and many as palpable mistakes occur, boasts of being the result of *deeper research* and *more correct information* than had been displayed in one of his former publications. In the Preface, he says, "The author had erroneously "adopted, and aided in circulating, a gross misrepresentation of "the Synod and its decisions, in his *Remarks on the* REFUTATION "OF CALVINISM; and, having discovered his mistake previously "to the publication of a second edition of that work, he was "induced to do what he could to counteract that misrepresent- "ation, and to vindicate the Synod from the atrocious calumnies "with which it has been wilfully or inadvertently traduced." These traducers are said, in the Life by his son, to have "repeated "statements taken upon trust, in a manner little creditable either "to their DILIGENCE or their CANDOUR!" After a perusal of the preceding pages, I am afraid, all impartial readers will be inclined to award this censure to Mr. Scott and his son. Few of them, I am persuaded, would ever have written, against any of their opponents, such a severe sentence, as the following, which is the conclusion of Mr. Scott's Preface; and though the suggestion, *Palmam qui meruit ferat,* might arise in the minds of some of them, they would not have given it this form of expression: "The groundless charges brought by many against the "whole body, cannot be considered as excusable misapprehen- "sion: They must be either *intentional misrepresentation,* or the "INEXCUSABLE PRESUMPTION of writing on subjects *which the* "*writers have never studied,* and against persons, and descriptions "of persons, of whose tenets, AMIDST MOST ABUNDANT MEANS "OF INFORMATION, they remain *wilfully ignorant.* A fair and "impartial opponent is entitled to respect, but I can only *pity* "such controversialists.—THOMAS SCOTT."

I have called "the Historical Preface" *intolerant*, and the proof is to be had in every section of its multifarious contents.* Both the parties concerned were Presbyterians. The Remonstants were patronized by the chief men in the Republic, even by Prince Maurice himself: But a political difference, respecting a truce with Spain, separated Olden Barneveldt and the Prince, and made the latter their enemy. (Pp. 586, 594.) It should, however, never be forgotten, to the praise of the Arminians, that it was during the many years of their having the political ascendancy in the State, they requested their bigotted opponents to allow them barely a toleration.† This, "the Historial Preface" itself plainly intimates, they could with difficulty obtain while the rulers were in their favour: But as soon as Prince Maurice united himself with the Calvinists, and received promises of succour from our King James, the Remonstrants were no longer permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but were in every direction persecuted and tormented. An open avowal of the persecuting principle is frequently made in the work which Mr. Scott has translated; and it forms a part of his ingenious occupation in the notes, to shew, as usual, without any authentic *data*, how richly the Arminians deserved such treatment.‡

In a succeeding page (573) I have written a few remarks on one of Mr. Scott's unfounded palliations of Dutch Intolerance.

* Let the reader examine even the partial statements of the Historical Preface itself, in pages 67, 69, 72, 75, &c., and he will soon discover the native intolerance of Calvinism. So far only as any man recedes from the rigidity of that doctrinal system, so far, in general, his principles of Toleration seem to assume a milder and more Christian aspect.

† See, in page 567, the speech delivered by Grotius in the year 1616.

‡ Perhaps a worse instance cannot be adduced than the following, in which, by something beyond a tacit assent, Mr. Scott has identified his opinions on this subject with those of the Bishop of Peterborough, of which, however, all men of moderation grievously complain, whether such "inquisitions" be instituted by Calvinists or reputed Arminians. After relating the audience which the States of Holland granted to Uytenbogart, and in which "he had odiously traduced the "proceedings of the rest of the pastors as *the persons, who, by the demand* "*of a declaration, endeavoured to bring a new inquisition into the Churches, and* "*one by no means to be endured*, he obtained that the same persons should be "forbidden any more to demand this declaration from the Remonstrants," the HISTORICAL PREFACE gives some account of the proceedings of the Calvinists, who "explained in writing *their* counsel on the best way of peace, and concerning "the conditions by which they thought a Toleration should be circumscribed; "and that the proposed *Theses*, concerning which a declaration had been "demanded, were extant, in so many words, in the Confession and Catechism of "the Belgic Churches; and that the *Anti-theses* themselves had been delivered "in public writings, by many persons with whom the Remonstrants had much "communication in these regions."—These Calvinistic excuses are the same as are adopted by the friends of the Bishop of Peterborough. The reader will find a long note on this topic in *the Works of Arminius*, (vol. i, p. 512,) in which, much as I dislike this species of "inquisition," I have demonstrated the superiority of the Bishop's plan to that of the dominant Dutch Presbyterians.

He there says, that the Toleration, for which the Arminians pleaded in Holland when their friends were at the helm of government, "is entirely different from any thing known in Britain." I have briefly proved, that such a Toleration is exactly similar to that which is now allowed in the Episcopal Church of England; and I know it to be a fact, admitting of most abundant confirmation, that, in those days which, since the Reformation from Popery, have generally been depicted as the worst and most tyrannical, an Arminian sermon might frequently be heard, on a Sunday morning, from the vicar of the parish; while, in the afternoon of the same day, a Calvinistic Lecturer, was permitted to deliver to the parishioners a high Predestinarian discourse. The case of Travers and Hooker is one, out of many, to the point, and is thus related by Isaac Walton: "But Mr. Travers had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp, (and, with them, some opinions that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: For the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland, and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design. Mr. Travers had also a particular hope, to set up this government in the Temple; and, to that end, used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it: And his being disappointed, by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them, in their sermons. Many of which concerning the DOCTRINES* and CEREMONIES of this Church: Insomuch that,

* I am aware, that Mr. Scott has tried most ingeniously to prove HOOKER a Calvinist: But, by a far less display of ingenuity, one might prove ARMINIUS himself to have been a Calvinist! For every quotation which Mr. Scott has made from that able writer, in his "Force of Truth," I will engage to produce a corresponding one from Arminius, that shall equal it in evangelical purity and doctrinal correctness.

On this subject, Dr. WORDSWORTH'S *Ecclesiastical Biography*, (vol. iv, p. 269,) contains an excellent note, an extract from which I here subjoin:—"At the time when Hooker wrote, Calvinism, *doctrinal* as well as *disciplinarian*, had made considerable progress in England; and Hooker's, unhappily for his own peace of mind, were almost the only works of great extent which were calculated to arrest the progress of the doctrinal Calvinists. In the year 1599, a tract was published in 4to. entitled, *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfaigned favourers of the present state of Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hooker, requiring resolution in certaine matters of doctrine, (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion, and of the Church among us,) expresslie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Pollicie.* This book is one of the earliest productions of those mal-contents, who were afterwards called *doctrinal Puritans*. It is the *doctrines* of Hooker with which they quarrel; and they profess (in contradistinction to the abettors of the Geneva *Discipline*,) an unfeigned attachment to the external establishments of the Church of England. The work is further deserving of notice, as exhibiting, I believe, the earliest example, both in the matter and manner of the argument, of those numerous publications in which some Calvinistic writers have thoughtlessly and intemperately indulged themselves, from the days of this Christian Letter, and from Prynne and Hickman downwards, to Edwards, and Toplady, and Bowman, and Sir Richard Hill,

as St. Paul 'withstood St. Peter to his face,' so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, 'The forenoon sermon spake CANTERBURY, and the afternoon, GENEVA.' In these sermons, there was little of bitterness; but each brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous."—This was not a solitary instance, even in those days when Arminianism was not known by that appellation, though "the matter signified" was actually contained in the formularies of the Church, and preached by eminent divines. When acting in the capacity of a moderator between them, Archbishop Whitgift had a very delicate office to perform,—he had to decide between his love for Calvinism and his love for Episcopacy; but the latter eventually prevailed. Considering the great difference between that period and the reign of Charles the First, his Grace was a much stricter disciplinarian than Archbishop Laud. In the days of the latter, even when he was Bishop of London, Arminian and Calvinian doctrines were delivered, in the same churches, throughout the Metropolis, as frequently as they are at present. The eventful history of that period abounds in proofs of this fact; and we have a remarkable confirmation of it, in a preceding page, (liv,) in which a man well acquainted with city affairs, the Rev. William JENKYN, "Minister of Christ Church, London," communicates the following information to his noble audience, the House of Peers: "Painful zealous ministers, that will tell us of our sins, "are now looked upon as busy men, as those that meddle with the "State: They are bid *to keep to their texts;* as if that preaching "which is a coming close up to your lusts, were a going away "from our texts. In the Bishops' times, *we were suffered to preach* "*any thing so we came not near their sins:* And this Prelacy is still

and Overton.—Can it be believed, the Authors of the Letter in question tax the meek, the wise, the virtuous, the saint-like Richard Hooker, with betraying and renouncing the doctrines to which he had solemnly subscribed? They charge him with designs of bringing back Popery. They accuse him of a wanton attack on the memory of Calvin. They condemn him of unsoundness of doctrine respecting Grace, and Free-will, and Justification, and Predestination, and the *conditions* of the Christian Covenant, and the Sacraments of the Christian Church. It is curious to see the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, Bishop Jewel's Apology, Dean Nowell's Catechism, and the writings of many others of Hooker's Protestant predecessors, solemnly cited against him, and confronted in due form with extracts from the Ecclesiastical Polity, for the purpose of convicting him of deserting and denying the principles of that Church of which he was a Minister, in whose cause he toiled day and night, and in the defence of which, I believe, it may truly be said, that it was God's good pleasure that he should die."

The dispute between Travers and Hooker is another illustration of the remark in page 686: "With very few exceptions, the most violent Puritans and the greatest sticklers against the prescribed ceremonies, from the dispersion under the persecuting Mary down to the commencement of the reign of King James, were the highest Predestinarians; and their best and most successful opponents were generally learned and pious individuals, who were as conspicuous for their attachment to the doctrines of General Redemption as to the decent rites and observances of the Ancients."

"kept up among us." So much for the rash assertion of Mr. Scott, that such a Toleration was "entirely different from any thing known in Britain!"

This is a lamentable sight, and strongly indicative of the bigotry of which Calvinism, in some of its reputed mildest forms, seems to be the prolific parent. In page cxxv, I have said, concerning the moderate Calvinism of Dr. Gauden, "As the Cameronists were accounted to be a kind of middle-men between Calvinists and Arminians, so may the first sentence in the following paragraph, be recognized as partaking of the kindly nature of the quotation from Cudworth, in page lxiii, while the latter part of it savours a little of the persecuting spirit of the more resolute Calvinists, quoted in pages lxi, lxv." The observation is almost equally applicable to the following sentences, from Mr. Scott's Remarks at the conclusion of his translation: "How far some "kinds of blasphemers should be also exempted [from Tolera-"tion,] may be a question; but every species of profaneness or "impiety, is not direct blasphemy. Yet, if men outrage, or "expose to ridicule or odium, the most sacred services of the reli-"gion of their country, or if public instructors inculcate immoral "principles, they may, as far as I can see, be restrained, so that "that the mischief may be prevented; though perhaps without "further punishment, except for actual violation of the peace." There is not much of the semblance of liberality in these expressions. I should not wish to have my enjoyment of religious Toleration or of civil liberty dependent upon Mr. Scott's interpretation of *blasphemers;* for we have already seen him classing Arminians with Pelagians and Socinians, (p. clviii,) and we know his Calvinian predecessors during the Inter-regnum required no other proof than this of a man's complete disqualification for civil rights and religious privileges. In the subsequent sentence, the sole difference between Mr. Scott, and Archbishop Laud, would be in the meaning which they might severally attach to the phrase "the most sacred *services* of the religion of the country." It was only when "those most sacred services were outraged or exposed to ridicule," that Archbishop Laud considered himself engaged in the performance of his duty, by punishing the offenders, not contrary to the usage of his predecessors, but in exact accordance with established custom. Mr. Scott, indeed, like a man in a lower sphere who has not made an experiment at *enforcing obedience,* meekly says, that such offenders "may, as far as he can see, be restrained;" but respecting the infliction of "further punishment" on them, he adds a "PERHAPS!" This is not that liberal and more extensive doctrine of Toleration, on which our Arminian rulers in Church and State have generally acted during the last fifty years; and it is still more dissimilar to that which they have avowed and practised within the last twelve years.

Several as objectionable passages as the preceding might have been selected, from Mr. Scott's notes to his beloved "Historical

Preface;" but those which I have produced are quite sufficient, to indicate the spirit and character of his performance. It may here be expected of me, that I should make some attempt at apology for the strictures which I have passed on the unsuccessful Calvinian labours of this excellent clergyman, recently deceased. Such an apology, however, I consider to be quite unnecessary in this instance; for it must not be thought, that, in exposing the errors of a dead antagonist, I wish to imitate, even in imagination, the conduct of the Macedonian madman, of whom it is said,

> And thrice he routed all his foes,
> And thrice he slew *the slain!*

I have made no attempts to injure Mr. Scott's moral or religious character: I highly respect his memory for his conscientious attachment to, what he conceived to be, "gospel-truth;" though I think one of the anecdotes which his son has introduced into his LIFE, (p. 233,) will convey, to the minds of some readers, an appearance of *trimming*, or an undue compliance with the Calvinistic prejudices of his hearers.

All my observations relate to the historical errors which Mr. Scott has committed, and not personally to himself. They are mistakes of such a description, as may be exceedingly prejudicial to all youthful inquirers after the truth; and their exposure will serve to shew, that, on all subjects, "a *little* learning is a dangerous thing," and that caution and research are necessary qualifications in every one who pretends to elucidate the most common ecclesiastical occurrences of former ages. But there are men still living, who, by the applause which they have ignorantly bestowed on Mr. Scott's jejune performance, have virtually made his mistakes their own. I do not allude to those petty Calvinistic Reviewers, who are now very plentiful in the book-market, and whose reading, on all ecclesiastical matters brought for adjudication before their Critical Tribunals, seldom extends beyond NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, BURNET'S *History of his own Times*, or BOGUE *and* BENNETT'S *History of Dissenters*. To attempt to make any salutary impression upon these regular traders in misrepresentation, would be a hopeless effort. The parties to whom I allude, are of a more respectable class; yet they have praised and re-iterated Mr. Scott's misrepresentations, to the injury of their own reputation. That the Rev. JOHN SCOTT, the author's son, should have committed such a venial offence, is not wonderful, when it is considered, that filial veneration for his excellent father's acquirements would naturally prevent him from searching into the accuracy of any of his assertions. Such an excuse, however, is not available for others, whose names might be mentioned, and who, if their words were quoted, would be seen to have identified their own opinions on these subjects with the opinions of their reverend friend and the Patriarch of their body.

VIII.—CONCLUSION.

In the preceding article, I have been the more particular in exposing some of Mr. Scott's mistakes, because,—having been personally a sufferer from the want of accurate and extensive information on the part of some eminent writers, whom I venerated for their piety, and whose plausible assertions on ecclesiastical matters I received (when young) without due caution,—I have learnt to pity and assist those who may suffer from similar causes.

At a future opportunity, it is probable, I shall relate this chapter in my history with more minuteness. For the present, it may suffice to inform the reader, that I received my earliest religious impressions under the ministry of that apostolic man, the Rev. John Crosse, Vicar of Bradford in Yorkshire; who, for many years and with a fondness almost parental, watched over my progress in virtue and learning. When I was in my nineteenth year, and officiating as assistant in the school of the Rev. Thomas Langdon, (a most liberal and pious Baptist minister,) at the earnest request of Mr. Crosse, and by the advice and with the powerful recommendation of the late Rev. Joseph Whiteley, the highly-accomplished and much-lamented Head Master of the Free Grammar School in Leeds, I consented to become a candidate for the Second Mastership in the Free Grammar School of Bradford. This was preparatory to my obtaining a Title from Mr. Crosse, as soon as I should be qualified by age, for entering into Holy Orders. By his influence, with the kind exertions of Mr. John Blackburn, and that very respectable family the Skeltons, much interest was excited in my favour among the Trustees, who, out of above thirty candidates, selected me and another to be the competitors for the situation. My want of success on the day of examination, had the decision of the Trustees been founded on the principle of "*cæteris disparibus*," (which, happily, was not the case,) would not have been disreputable to one so young, since the gentleman, who was very properly preferred, became a teacher at the age of fifteen, and had been in Holy Orders above ten years at the time of his election. This last circumstance, according to the terms of Lady Elizabeth Hastings's endowment, is always decisive in favour of a clerical candidate who possesses the requisite qualifications.

The memory of the Rev. Joseph Whiteley I shall always gratefully cherish: To him I profess myself to have been under the deepest obligations, as my sedulous preceptor, my disinterested friend, adviser and patron. To this excellent clergyman, and to another esteemed friend who has likewise paid the debt of nature, I made a promise, that, if I did not succeed to the vacancy in the Free Grammar School at Bradford, I would accept the situation of private tutor to the four sons of a gentleman near Harewood. How frequently do circumstances, in themselves apparently trivial, seem to determine the future destiny of our lives! During a residence of three years in the respected family

of Richard Leak, Esq., I enjoyed frequent opportunities of visiting my friends in Leeds, and of associating with Christians of different denominations. On one of those excursions, when dining in company with two Dissenting Ministers, I was drawn by the younger of them, a remarkably clever man, into a declaration of my views respecting church-government: It is scarcely necessary to say, that, in the hands of one who had studied the subject, several of my arguments were turned against myself, and my principles shewn to be untenable. When I subsequently reflected upon the topics of our conversation, I at one perceived it to be my duty to have something better than a mere *prepossession* or *inclination* to offer, in behalf of my attachment to Episcopacy. "In evil hour," therefore, I betook myself to this unprofitable course of study, and began to peruse some of the best authors on both sides of the question.

Richard Baxter's incompetency to tender correct information on this subject, which ultimately turns on the practice of Antiquity, I shall prove at some other time: But to his writings against *Episcopacy and Prelacy*, and to Lord Chancellor King's *Enquiry into the Constitution, &c., of the Primitive Church*, I ascribe the bias which I then received in favour of the Presbyterian form of Church-government, and which was strengthened by a perusal of some of the treatises by Episcopal Divines that are mentioned in a preceding note, page cix. I had read several of Baxter's devotional works, with pleasure and edification; but, though in that line he was deservedly one of my favourite authors, I confess, the shock which his pertinacious arguments against Episcopacy gave to my mind, was exceedingly severe. That was the first time in my life, in which the discovery of what I deemed to be Truth was connected with painful sensations; and the remarks which I have made on the conduct of Arminius, (*Works*, vol. i, pp. 63—66,) were dictated by a remembrance of my own tortured feelings, when, from a different cause, I was placed in nearly similar circumstances. My course of reading was, for a considerable time, directed to works written in defence of Presbyterianism and Independency. But though my paramount desire was, to be devoted to the service of God in the Christian ministry among any denomination, my mental scruples would never allow me to become a Dissenter. Several easy methods of embracing that interest presented themselves; one of which was particularly captivating to me—that of Classical Tutor in a celebrated Dissenting Academy: But, "as my thoughts then stood," I could not conscientiously embrace the overture,—though the situation would have been highly gratifying to my wishes and congenial to my previous habits.

I was in this doubtful state of mind respecting the unedifying subject of ecclesiastical regimen, when I joined the society of the Wesleyan Methodists, in which my maternal grandfather had been one of the earliest Itinerant Ministers, and of which my

pious parents had long been members. Soon afterwards, a most liberal offer was made to me of a partnership in the bookselling business, by a person as ignorant of it as myself. But, as business of no kind had ever been in my contemplation, and as my pursuits had lain altogether in a contrary direction, I did not attempt to accept of it till I had consulted those of my friends on whose judgment and concern for my welfare I could safely rely: "Accept of the offer," was the kind but injudicious answer of all, except my prudent father, who, in words that proved ultimately prophetic, foretold the unfortunate issue of such an enterprize as that upon which I was about to enter. In justice, however, to those friends, whose advice I followed with a degree of reluctance and hesitation, I must observe that they were professional men, and almost as little acquainted as myself with those requisites which form a complete tradesman.

When I had contended about five years with the difficulties connected with the occupation of a retail bookseller, and with a large and unwieldy stock, and had, under the influence of a morbid sort of feeling, discarded all thoughts about the contending forms of church-government, my attention was once more unexpectedly attracted to them in the year 1811, by the Rev. Robert Cox, Perpetual Curate of Bridgnorth, at that time Minister of St. James's Church in Leeds. Although my doctrinal views differed from those of this philanthropic clergyman, yet he made me a generous proposal, to clear me entirely of all the incumbrances and engagements in which I was involved by my partnership, provided I would enter into Holy Orders. With an earnest affection, that is quite characteristic of the man of God, he tried to remove the scruples which I had unfortunately imbibed. Not satisfied with his own benevolent endeavours, he engaged his judicious and amiable friend, the Rev. John Merry, then Curate of Rawden in Yorkshire, but now of Chettle, near Salisbury, to argue the case with me. Though at that time my understanding was not convinced by their arguments, yet their endearing behaviour won my affections; and the manner in which these truly Evangelical Clergymen demonstrated to me, from their own experience, the mildness and liberality of the Episcopal Regimen, and the advantages of a national establishment, gave the first clue to my subsequent researches, which I pursued at such intervals as business would permit. It was not, however, till a short time after the unfortunate crisis in my affairs to which I have briefly alluded, that I became fixed and decided in my attachment to Episcopacy.

Having now been settled some years as a printer in London, and entirely unconnected with any other religious denomination than that of the Church of England, I entertain such old-fashioned prejudices as to believe, that the vows of God are still upon me; and that it is my duty, though in an inferior capacity to that of a minister, to do good to all men as often as I have opportunity. These my first-fruits and earliest offerings in behalf

of that Church in which I was first captivated with the loveliness of religion, may seem to be of too polemical a character to be acceptable. But those who are best acquainted with me, know, that controversy is not the element in which I delight. The rise of Arminianism, however, in the Church of England, and its subsequent obligations to that of Holland, could not be elucidated without controverting many of the reproachful and untrue accounts of its most bitter adversaries. Since, therefore, this page of English ecclesiastical History required the aid of one to whom Dutch affairs, and the constitution of the different States which composed that Republic, were familiar,—and my studies, especially in my youthful days, having been turned much in that direction,—I resolved to take this burden upon myself; and, amidst numerous impediments, have been enabled, by the kindness of Heaven, to finish the First Volume of my arduous undertaking. As its multifarious contents will require, from all parties, a long time for digestion; and as the Second Volume will, like this, consist at least of 1,000 closely-printed pages; the latter (also in two parts) must not be expected till I have completed the publication of the *Works of Arminius.*

A few of the reasons for giving this short account of myself, are here subjoined: I wish to shew,—that, though attached from principle to the doctrines and institutions of the Church of England, I am no bigot, but love and reverence good men of every denomination;—that, from my early scruples on ceremonial and minute matters, while I have learnt to respect those of other persons and to treat them with tenderness, I feel desirous to be instrumental in removing them;—that the indulgence and subsequent removal of my own scruples, (which, be it remembered, were never about *doctrinal* matters,) led me into a course of reading, that afforded me many advantages for the execution of the work in which I am now engaged;—that, I have no party or sinister purposes to serve by this publication, having nothing whatever to hope or to fear from men of any religious persuasion;—and that, on several important points, my evidence, corroborated as it generally is by more competent authorities, must be viewed as tolerably impartial and unprejudiced. Indeed, I may venture, with due humility and *in a qualified sense,* to adopt one of "the ever-memorable HALES's" expressions, and say: "The "pursuit of TRUTH hath been my only care, ever since I first "understood the meaning of the word. For this, I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me "and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this, I "have spent my money, my means, my youth, and all I have, that I "might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian, *suo vitio "quis quid ignorat.* If with all this cost and pains my purchase "is but ERROR, I may say, '*to err* hath cost me more than it hath "many *to find the truth*;' and TRUTH itself shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my *fault,* "but my *misfortune.*"

J. N.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΥΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΝ.

THE

EXAMINATION OF TILENUS

BEFORE THE TRIERS,

IN ORDER TO HIS INTENDED SETTLEMENT IN THE OFFICE OF A PUBLIC PREACHER, IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF UTOPIA:

WHEREUNTO ARE ANNEXED

THE TENENTS OF THE REMONSTRANTS,

TOUCHING THOSE FIVE ARTICLES

VOTED, STATED, AND IMPOSED, BUT NOT DISPUTED,

AT THE

Synod of Dort.

TOGETHER WITH A SHORT ESSAY, BY WAY OF ANNOTATIONS, UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL THESES OF MR. THOMAS PARKER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. ROYSTON, AT THE ANGEL IN IVY LANE, 1658.

REPRINTED BY JAMES NICHOLS, 22, WARWICK SQUARE, NEWGATE STREET,

1824.

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

Of the Life of Dr. Laurence Womack, the learned and ingenious author of "the Examination of Tilenus," the reader will find a brief sketch in the beginning of the second volume of "Calvinism and Arminianism Compared." I hope to procure materials for a more copious account of this excellent Prelate, to prefix to a new edition of his Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked, which I have in contemplation. He was one of many hundred divines, who, when through an attachment to Episcopacy they were ejected from their benefices, directed their attention, during the Civil Wars, to the important *differences between Calvinism and Arminianism*, which had been studiously depicted as one of the chief ostensible causes of the contest between the monarch and his people. Dr. Womack, in common with other great and eminent men of that age, had been full of zeal for the system of Calvin; and nothing more strikingly displays the beneficial results of the change produced in his mind, than a contrast between his sentiments in 1640 and 1660, in two works which he wrote at those periods in behalf of the Episcopal Church. Many eloquent passages, in praise of Episcopacy, I have had the satisfaction of perusing; but never any so eloquent and nervous as those of Bishop Womack.

Every man of feeling will be captivated with the simplicity of style in which he relates his secession from Calvinism, in one of the following pages, (10,) which was effected by his perusal of the writings of the persecuted Dutch Remonstrants: "The greater *the prejudices* were which had been "instilled into me against these doctrines, the greater you "ought to conclude *the light* to be which hath wrought this "my present conviction of their truth, and hath induced me "to embrace them, against all the charms of interest and "secular advantages, wherewith the world tempts us to the "contrary." This was the way in which multitudes of the Episcopal clergy became converts to Arminianism, during the

Inter-regnum; but Dr. Womack is the first man whom I have found openly acknowledging his immediate obligations to the writings of the Dutch Divines. In Archbishop Laud's days, popular as Arminianism is usually said to have been, no man would own himself to be an Arminian, or indebted to the Remonstrants for the change effected in his sentiments: The reason for this shyness I have given in the second volume, and an allusion to it will be found in page 688. Traces of this feeling may be seen even in that intrepid defender of the doctrines of General Redemption, John Goodwin, who had nothing to fear or to hope from his Republican brethren, and who, in all his previous writings, never once made a direct avowal of his obligations to the illustrious and amiable Professor of Leyden, till after he had read and admired Dr. Womack's manly account of his departure from the ranks of the Genevan reformer. In doing this, however, Dr. Womack did not risk any part of his reputation; for his pamphlet was published anonymously, and few of his intimate friends knew him as the writer. His enemies knew still less about the matter, and outrageously charged other two eminent men with the publication.

After a perusal of *the Examination of Tilenus*, it will be perceived, that its style is far superior to the common style of that age: It is exceedingly chaste, and does not abound in Augustinian "quips and quirks," the jocose allusions and double meanings, which sometimes disfigured and sometimes enlivened the productions of the eminent men who flourished in that and the preceding century. But though Dr. Womack had been educated in a knowledge of many of those doctrines which are as much the doctrines of the Gospel as of Calvinism, I regret to find, in this masterly exposition of high Predestinarian intolerance, the germs of those noxious errors which, arising from a spirit of revulsion to some even of the excellences of Calvinism, became distinguishing tenets in the creed of the succeeding English Arminians. Yet, in humorously animadverting upon the errors of the domineering Predestinarians, it was almost impossible to avoid the extreme to which I have here adverted; and such passages of the work as relate to experimental religion must be read with as much caution as

those which contain the specious arguments of *an Infidel*, and of *a Carnal, a Slothful, or a Tempted Professor*.

But this pamphlet was written for the purpose of exposing not only a few of *the doctrinal vagaries* of the Republican Calvinists, but likewise *the partial and cruel conduct* of Cromwell's Commission of "Triers," whom he had appointed to regulate the admission of persons into Holy Orders and consequently to ecclesiastical benefices. Of those Commissioners "the Independents formed the majority, and were the most active in the use of their delegated powers:" This therefore is an admirable specimen of the *illiberality* and *intolerant views* of that denomination of Christians.

The interlocutors in the Dialogue, though generally speaking in the same smooth style, were sufficiently distinguished from each other by the sentiments which they severally expressed, and were thus rendered objects of public vituperation. The peculiarities by which each of them was then known, not having been matters of cotemporary record, are now nearly lost to posterity. I think, however, it would not be difficult for a man of letters, accurately read in the singular lore of that period, to put his finger upon several passages in the Dialogue, and to say, "This is *verbatim* one of Dr. Twisse's curious assertions," and "This is in the phraseology of Dr. Owen, Stephen Marshall, or Jeremiah Burroughes." My reading qualifies me to pronounce, with any thing like certainty, only upon three of them: *Mr. Narrow-grace* was intended for PHILIP NYE; *Mr. Know-little*, for HUGH PETERS; and *Dr. Dubious*, for RICHARD BAXTER. If it be objected, "that Baxter was not one of the *Trying Commissioners*," it may be observed in reply, that this circumstance was not accounted essential to the author's design; for there is at least another dramatic personage introduced by name, who never had more than a *sentimental* existence in England: This is Dr. DAM-MAN, which was the significant name of one of the secretaries to the Synod of Dort, a person of the most rigid Calvinistic principles. If all the other portraits were as faithfully executed as that of Baxter, they must have been recognised by cotemporaries as striking likenesses. Baxter knew his own features in this faithful mirror; and the sight of them

roused all his latent querulousness, to which he gave abundant utterance in the Preface to his *Grotian Religion Displayed.* When I first read the Rev. Thomas Scott's *Articles of the Synod of Dort*, I was strongly reminded of Baxter's complaints concerning the abridgment of those Articles, which will be found in a subsequent page. (39.)

John Goodwin had been Womack's precursor in opposing the Commissions of Triers and Ejectors. In 1657 he published a pamphlet under the title of "The Triers, or Tormentors, tried and cast, by the Laws both of God and Men," &c. In my friend Mr. Jackson's fine *Life of Goodwin*, the reader will meet with copious extracts from this most spirited and interesting pamphlet. Mr. Hickman, a celebrated Calvinistic skirmisher in those days, found himself aggrieved by the contents of Dr. Womack's *Examination of Tilenus.* Whether, like Baxter, Hickman thought he had discerned his own face as in a glass, I have no means of ascertaining. If, however, he had made such a painful discovery, he was much too prudent to publish it to the world. But, for the sake at least of *the good old cause* itself, he published a pamphlet against *the Examination of Tilenus*, upon which Dr. Womack "let fall a few soft drops," according to the expression in the title-page to his *Calvinists' Cabinet Unlocked.* Having adverted to some of the railing names,—such as *Ethiopian, Scribbler, this poor Fellow*,—which he had "uncivilly" cast upon the assumed Tilenus, Dr. Womack informs his readers: "Master Hickman may pass muster for *a precious saint*, as the present accounts are made below; but I am sure he can gather none of those *flowers of rhetoric* from the discourses of the holy angels that converse above. He chargeth that author [Tilenus] with *impudence* in abusing the Triers: But I must tell him (on his behalf) when such *schemes of rhetoric* are used,—as they may be with wonderful advantage, being not only instrumental to illustrate and adorn a truth, but also to make it the more pungent and take impression,—the abuse imagined to result from them is ever, amongst *wise men*, ascribed to him that takes the impudence to make the application. And whereas he saith further, that the Synod of Dort, which Tilenus writes against, *is a man made up of his*

own ugly clouts; I must tell you, he shall find before he hath read these papers half way through, that those *clouts,* as *ugly* as they seem to him, are genuine parts of that *home-spun stuff* which was *warped,* and *woven,* and *milled* too, by that very Synod of the town of Dort. Neither hath Tilenus set this web upon the *tenter-hooks,* nor torn any part, to make *ugly clouts* of it; but only used that liberty which is allowed to all artists of this kind, fairly to cut out of the *whole piece* such proportions as might best serve to *clothe* his discourse, in that *fashion* it is now represented in."

But, not content with vilifying Tilenus, Mr. Hickman "fell foul of" John Goodwin. As the brief answer which that redoubtable Arminian returned to his rancorous assailant, contains a remarkable confirmation of Dr. Womack's fidelity of execution, in the portraits which he has here given, I subjoin a copious extract from it:

"I understand, by some of my friends, who have had the opportunity and leisure, (which I have not yet had,) to look into a book not long since published by one Mr. Hickman,—a gentleman altogether unknown to me, and not heard of until of late, casting mine eye upon a piece of Mr. Pierce his writing, I found such a name there,—that this gentleman, pretending in the said book only an answer to Mr. Pierce touching some things in his writings at which he made himself aggrieved, two or three several times in this pamphlet stepped out of his way to ease his mind, perhaps his conscience, in remonstrating unto the world what high Remonstrant misdemeanours he had found in me. In one place of his book, (as I had the passage, transcribed by a steady hand, sent unto me,) having charged the English Tilenus with *making the* TRIERS *to ask such questions, of those that come before them, as in all probability never came into all their thoughts to ask,* upon this his *probable* misdemeanour he advanceth this Rhadamanthine and severe sentence, both against him and me: *Which,* saith he, *is such a piece of impudence as no one hath ventured to imitate him* [Tilenus] *in, but that Ishmael of Coleman-street,* [Goodwin,] *whose hand, being against all men, hath provoked all men, even to the common pamphleteer, to lift up a hand against him.* The best is, in case

Mr. Hickman's reproach here could be admitted for true, that Jeremy of Jerusalem was 'a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth,' as well as *that Ishmael of Coleman-street*, and yet was a true prophet, and never the less like so to have been for the numerousness of his contests.—Noah also was 'a preacher of righteousness,' yet his proportion of opposers far exceeded mine; and the number of those who embrace my doctrine with their whole hearts, far exceedeth the number of those who, upon such terms, received his.—Yea, our Saviour himself testifieth, that, in the church and nation of the Jews, they who had the more general approbation and applause were the *false* prophets, not the *true:* 'Woe unto them, when all men shall speak well of them; for so did their fathers to the false prophets.' (Luke vi, 26.)

"Whereas, he chargeth me with *venturing to imitate* TILENUS, *in making the Triers to ask such questions, of those who come before them, as in all probability never came into all their thoughts to ask:* The truth is, that he chargeth me with the crime of such a courage or boldness whereof I was never conscious. I never made any venture to *imitate* Tilenus, in such an attempt as is here charged upon him; nor did I ever go before him in any such: I no where either challenge them or charge them with asking *such questions, of those that come before them, which in all probability never came into all their thoughts to ask.* If I charge them with asking any questions in the case, they are only such which themselves and their own consciences know, that they do or did ask frequently, and from time to time. And for the questions which Tilenus himself maketh them to ask, as far as I remember, if they were not the same formally *et in terminis*, yet they were the same materially and in reality of import, which they were wont to ask. And for a man in his own words to report another man's sense uttered in his, is no such *venturous piece of impudence!*"

Without further Preface, I introduce my readers to Dr. WOMACK's very able pamphlet.

JAMES NICHOLS.

THE

PREFATORY EPISTLE

VIRO PARI, ET FAMILIARI MEO

M. S. P.

My Dear and Good Friend,

These Papers come now to your hands, to give you assurance, that my many late discourses, upon the subjects here treated of, were in good earnest. Whatever it was that occasioned the forming of my conceptions into this shape, there is nothing in the world hath a greater hand, (if so it may be said of motives,) to give them birth, than your passionate opposition. For I am weary of those debates by word of mouth, wherein men of much zeal and prejudice grow so hot and so far transported, that instead of solid arguments advancing orderly under the command of sober reason, they can levy no other forces but froth and choler to assist them. That I may no more break the peace (in this kind) with you, nor endanger making the least flaw in that dear friendship that hath, by so long a conversation, grown up to so great a height betwixt us; I have resolved to take this calmer course,—to give an account of some grounds of my present persuasions, wherein I differ from your judgment. Perhaps they may some time or other find your affections so quiet, your understanding so well awakened, and your will so willing to stand neuter, till these truths have a fair and full hearing, that they may make a better impression, than hitherto they have had opportunity to do, upon you. And because I remember, (in some heat of dispute,) you have thrown some things upon me, (which were not so much faults in me, as prejudices and scandals taken up by yourself,) I shall briefly wipe them off, that such rubs being removed out of your way,

you may have the less objection to fright you from a further inquiry into the Articles under question.

And now, I beseech you, in the first place, to upbraid me no more with the errors of my education, (for so I must now account them,) because the greater the prejudices were which were instilled into me against these doctrines, the greater you ought to conclude the light to be which hath wrought this my present conviction of their truth, and induced me to embrace them, against all the charms of interest, and secular advantages, wherewith the world tempts us, to the contrary.

Unconstancy, (one of your other charges,) I confess, is sometimes culpable: But may we not say so too of *constancy* many times? which is therefore resembled (somewhere) to a sullen porter, who keeps out better company oftentimes than he lets in. Our happiness that will be unchangeable commenceth in a change; and it is our duty to turn from darkness to light, though we be called "inconstant" for it. We were not born with our eyes open; neither shall we ever see far, if we look no further than that prospect which some few admired writers have set before us. "The *new man*," which we are to "put on," is "renewed in knowledge;" * and if we receive our illumination regularly from heaven, that is given according to the capacity of the subject. We have a dawning first, but the progress of our light holds a proportion with the sedulity of our studies. We are never too old to learn in Christ's school.

"But the great scandal," you say, "is, to profess myself a disciple to such masters."—What masters do you mean? I call no man MASTER on earth, (in this sense,) nor ever will give any so great a dominion over my faith, as to swear allegiance to his doctrines. I would, others were as free from this yoke of bondage. But yet I know, it is not only a thing commendable, but a duty, to march after the standard of truth, what hand soever carries it before us. And who do you think were the bearers of it? If you enquire into their learning, (even their adversaries being judges,) they were as lights shining in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation; † and if you examine their lives, for piety and justice, they were blameless and harmless as becomes the sons of God; not more polite in their intellectuals than unreproveable in their morals, but very

* Col. iii, 10. † Phil. ii, 15.

eminent in both. And they have declared their virtues as well in a way of passive obedience as active. What professors were ever more constant and cheerful in their sufferings for the word of God and for the testimony which they held, (having been taught it, according to their full persuasion,) as the truth is in Jesus. *—They have been banished, imprisoned, &c; insomuch that one of them bespeaks his fellow soldiers (in this conflict,) after this manner: *Vos societatis nostræ decora ac lumina, quorum vincula jam non in Belgio tantum, sed penè ubique per totum orbem Christianum celebria facta sunt, qui patientiâ vestrâ jam per tot annos invicta atque infracta, adversariis totique adeo mundo fidem fecistis, conscientiam Remonstrantibus pluris esse, quam quicquid uspiam carum est in mundo. Ita pergite &c.*†—"You, the lights and glory of our society, whose bonds are famous throughout the whole Christian world, whose invincible patience hath given proof to your very adversaries and all the world besides, that the Remonstrants value their conscience, above all things whatsoever: March on with me," (saith he,) "to the mark, 'by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true: as unknown and yet well known: as dying and behold we live: as chastened and not killed: as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.'"—(2 Cor. vi, 8, 9, 10.) —Thus far he.

But you will say, "*Non pœna sed causa, &c.* 'it is not the suffering but the cause that makes a man a martyr;' and those men run after the error of Pelagius, who was condemned by the Ancient Fathers as an enemy to the grace of God."—To this I shall return Arminius's own solemn protestation: *Inspiciantur capita omnia Pelagianæ doctrinæ, prout illa in Synodis Milevitana, Arausicana, et Hierosolymitana enarrantur et condemnantur, etiam ut à Pontifice Romano Innocentio referuntur; et adparebit posse quempiam Pelagianam doctrinam improbare, et tamen doctrinæ isti (Gomari sc.,) de Predestinatione, non accedere:* ‡ And, a

* Ephes. iv, 21. † Apolog. pro Confess. in Prefat. ad finem.

‡ "Let all the articles of the doctrine of Pelagius be inspected, as they stand recorded and condemned in the Acts of the Synod of Milevia, [or Mela, in Africa,] Orange, and Jerusalem, and even as they are related by Innocent, the Roman Pontiff; and it will appear possible for any man to disavow and disapprove the Pelagian doctrine, and yet not make the least approach to this doctrine of Gomarus concerning Predestination, as it is expounded in these theses."—*Examen Thesium Gomari.* 156.

little after, *Profiteor interea me Pelagiana dogmata, quæ ipsis imponuntur à Synodis supra nominatis, ex animo detestari, et si quis commonstrare possit, ex iis quæ dico, quidpiam sequi, quod illis affine est, sententiam mutaturum et correcturum.* * If the protestation of this person be not sufficient to clear the innocency of these tenets, then take VOSSIUS's *Historia Pelagiana*, and GROTIUS's *Disquisitio* on that very argument, for their compurgators. Withal, let us remember the caveat, which Arminius gives, (*loco citato,*) *Neque id solum studio habendum, ut à Pelagiano dogmate recedatur quàm longissimè: Cavendum etiam ne in Manichæismum, aut quod Manichæismo est intolerabilius, ratione saltem consequentiæ suæ incidatur.* †

But you object further, that "these tenets are not agreeable to the doctrine of St. Augustine, THE MAUL OF HERETICS, as he is styled."—St. Augustine must give us leave to depart from him, where he takes leave to depart from all that went before him, and from himself also; (and which of you will follow him in all he held?) for it is observed, that he changed his batteries, as he changed his enemies; and employed other principles against the Pelagians, than those he used in combating the Manichees: And from the variety of his opinions in these points it proceeds, that his followers express themselves in such different terms, that, though taught in the same school, and of the same master, yet they seem, as he saith, not to have learnt the same lesson. And yet we must not deny what Arminius observed (*ubi supra*) "that St. Augustine might have confuted the Pelagians sufficiently, and yet have omitted that way of Predestination which he taught." And yet the doctrine of Predestination, as it is handled by Gomarus and the rest of his persuasion, differs much from that of St. Augustine, and lays down many things which Augustine would by no means grant, though the greatest adversary the Pelagians had.

* "In the mean time, I profess that I detest from my heart the dogmas of Pelagius, which are assigned to him and his followers by the beforementioned Synods; and if any person be able to prove, from any thing which I say, that such consequences ensue as are at all allied to those dogmas, I will instantly change and correct my sentiments."—*Ibid*, 157.

† "It is not only necessary, that we be desirous of receding as far as possible from the Pelagian doctrine; we must at the same time be cautious not to run into the opposite extreme of Manicheism,—or into that which is more intolerable than Manicheism itself, at least with respect to its consequences which are in these pages the subject of controversy."

And therefore your objection, that "these tenets are against the doctrine of the Synod of Dort,"—is of value; for, beside their dissent from all the Ancients and from St. Augustine himself, the manner of their proceedings, in carrying on that business against the Remonstrants, were enough alone to beget an aversation to their doctrine. Take it in their words, who had most reason to be sensible of the injury, *Scrip. Hist. Rem. (mihi p. 211,)*; where they refer us to their *Historica Narratio, et Antidotum,* in which they say, *Iniquitas (Dordrac. Synodi,) imprimis autem fraudes, imposturæ, et equivocationes in Canonibus Synodicis ad horrendam illam Absolutæ Predestinationis sententiam colore aliquo fucandam et incrustandam usurpatæ, clarissime deteguntur.* *—Tilenus, who was present there, an eye and an ear-witness of those transactions, could discover something: but he spares you. And yet he cannot but tell you, that the many pitiful shifts, and thin distinctions, and horrid expressions, which he observed to be frequently made use of, by persons of that persuasion, have contributed very much to the rectifying of his judgment.

Would it not startle a man, that were well in his wits, sadly to consider that opinion so stiffly maintained by Piscator, Maccovius, and divers others?, viz. † "That God hath so predetermined the will of every man to every action, that he cannot possibly *do any more good than he doth, nor omit more evil than he omitteth.*" What sad inferences may be drawn, and properly enough, from this doctrine? Will it not (in the consequence of it,) take off the wheels of duty, and furnish the careless with an excuse, and lay all sin at the door of the most Holy God? Some of you, indeed, to decline the *odium* of this assertion, do tell us the quite contrary; and affirm roundly, that men may do more

* "In which are most clearly disclosed the iniquity of the Synod of Dort, but particularly the frauds, impostures, and the equivocations which its members employed in their Synodical Canons, for the purpose of disguising by specious colours and plaistering over that horrid sentiment of Absolute Predestination."

† *In summâ se tueri fatetur Deum absolute decrevisse ab æterno et efficaciter, ne quispiam hominum plus boni faciat, quam reipsa facit, aut plus mali omittat, quam reipsâ omittit.*—Piscator ad Amic. Dupl. Vorstii, p. 175. —["In short, he confesses himself the defender of this doctrine,—that God has efficaciously and from all eternity decreed absolutely, that *no mortal man shall do more good than he actually does, or shall neglect the commission of more wickedness than he actually omits.*"]—See the doctrine of these Divines recited, ACT. SYNODAL. par. 2, pag. 36, 37.

good, and commit less evil, if they will. But (see the fallacy!) they hold withal, that for them to *will* either, the decree of God hath made *impossible*. You may as well say, that "a dog can fly, and a horse become an excellent philosopher, if they *will*." You cannot but take notice, when you are treating of these points, how your doctrines and uses do interfere; and when it hath cost you much noise and sweat to confute, what you account an error, in the *doctrine*,—how you are fain to court the very same opinion to come in, to help you at a dead lift, in your *exhortation*. You deliver it for sound DIVINITY, that "Christ died *only for a few*;" and yet you vehemently urge *all* men to believe in him, which they cannot rationally do unless they be persuaded of the contrary. Have you heard the preacher inveigh against *apostacy*; and yet, almost in the same breath, tell his audience, "the *Elect* can never fall away, and the *rest* never stood?" What is this but to take away the very *subject* of that sin? What construction have I known some men put upon those particles, in those texts,—"Let him that *thinketh* he standeth," (1 Cor. x, 12,) and "What he *seemeth* to have," (Luke viii, 18.)—as if they signified nothing but a bare appearance or misconceit, when it is most evident, they are either a redundance in the phrase, or imply reality! (Heb.iv,1.)

One while you cry Ω βαθος! and declaim against prying into God's secrets; anon you are as definitive, as if you had been of God's Counsel, and seem to be angry that others should pretend to have as good a key to open that cabinet as yourselves. You ascribe much to God's Omniscience, and yet you will not allow him to see future events but by the perspectives and optics of such decrees as yourselves fancy him to have made to that purpose.* You set up his Sovereignty to confront his other attributes, viz. his Justice and Mercy, and think you do much honour him in assigning him a power to *command* perjury, lying, blasphemy,† and a prerogative to cast poor inno-

* See the note in the 15th page, and particularly that passage, *Ideo præsciverit quia decreto suo sic ordinaverat*,—"The reason of his foreknowing is, because he had so appointed it by his decree."

† *Fateor et ipse, quod ad communem sentiendi consuetudinem crudum nimis hoc videri; Deum posse blasphemiam, perjurium, mendacium, &c. imperare: quod tamen verissimum est in se.*—Vid. Szydlovium apud STEPH. CURCELLÆUM, de jure Dei in Creaturas, p. 25, 26. This is bound up with ARMINII *Examen Thesium Gomari*, in octavo, of small price, and great profit.—"I myself acknowledge, that, according to the common custom

cent babes into hell-torments; a piece of doctrine which the great Patriarch certainly never dreamt of, when he expostulated

of thinking, it seems too crude or open to say, *God can command blasphemy perjury, lies, &c.: He can also command, that He shall not himself be worshipped, loved, honoured, &c.* Yet all this is most true in itself; and from our general question this necessarily follows as a special consequence, and it cannot be denied without admitting a number of absurdities."—SZYDLOVII *Vindiciæ Quæst. aliquot &c.*

In a preceding passage he says, "These are subjects of enquiry, *Is any thing antecedently good given to the will of God?* Or, *Are things just and good, on account of God having willed them?* Or, *Does he will them, because they are just?* It is denied that 'any thing antecedently good is presented to the will of God;' and it is affirmed, that 'things are just and good, on account of God having willed them,'—but not, on the contrary, that 'God wills them, because they are just and good.'"

In a subsequent paragraph he says, "Some one will object, 'It will 'therefore be possible for God to command blasphemy, perjury, lies, '&c.; which seems an absurdity!'—I answer, Even in those matters which relate to the worship of God, men are placed under obligation in no other way, than by command and through law: For if it had been God's good pleasure, then he might have ordered other worship, or another mode of it, to be performed to Himself. God, therefore, most freely commanded even those matters which relate to his worship, and in such a manner as it was possible for him to have commanded otherwise: and therefore it is only from the hypothesis of the Divine command, that these are vices. And it seems here to be presupposed, as though lies and blasphemy affected God in some measure,—which is entirely false. It is certain then, that it was possible for God to have commanded a contrary mode of worship to be performed to himself. For those things which he has once freely commanded, he could have commanded otherwise: But this it was not possible for God to do, on the principles of our adversaries, if this be essential and natural to him. For natural things are immutable, and always proceed in an uniform manner."

In the Eighth Chapter he says, "This question is asked, 'Can God 'command any thing contrary to all the precepts of the Decalogue,—but 'principally against the first, second, and third commandment?'—A certain famous Divine rejects the affirmative opinion of some of the school-men who say, *Offences against the Decalogue are evils, solely because God has prohibited them; and it is possible, therefore, for God to dispense with all the precepts of the Decalogue.* Yet, I confess, I am not only incapable of perceiving any strong reason in the disputation of that famous man, but, on the contrary, it is possible to produce solid reasons and principles by which that opinion may be refuted."

In the Ninth Chapter Szydlovius says, "It is objected, *It is repugnant to the Divine Nature to deny itself; and it follows, therefore, from the force of this proposition, that it is impossible for God to command that He shall not be worshipped, invoked, &c.*—I answer, We deny the consequence. It is one thing, *For God to deny Himself:* it is another, *For God to be able to command, that he be denied.* The *First* of these things it is, without doubt, impossible for God to do, without destroying his nature; but it is possible for Him to do the *Second.*"

with his Maker, and said, "Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" (Gen. xviii, 25.)—Indeed you seem to magnify the riches of Divine *Grace;* but when we come strictly to examine it, it is by a false glass. For when we look through the other end of the perspective, we find *that grace* infinitely extenuated, by the flat and absolute denial of it to the far greater number of mankind. And that you may have it the more *free* to yourselves, you render it very *illiberal* to the most part of Christians, who equally share with you in the common invitations and dispensations of it. And that you may make it serve your own turns in all cases whatsoever, you have laid the great excommunication (of Reprobation) upon the rest of Adam's posterity, to exclude them, utterly and for ever, from the benefit thereof. Nay, you think you cannot sufficiently extol, as to some persons, that *special grace* which is God's *free gift,* unless you extinguish, as to others, (as far as your opinions

These are extracts from a work entitled, *A Vindication of some Difficult Questions in Theology, that have been Subjects of Controversy*, which Szydlovius had published at Franeker, about two years prior to the appearance of Professor Curcellæus *De Jure Dei in Creaturas*, who adds, "I judged it proper to make these few extracts, from a multitude of other opinions, (not only absurd but blasphemous,) with which that pamphlet abounds, that they may serve as examples of the doctrine which resounds in the pulpits of the University of Franeker; and that I might shew what *large camels* the reverend Fathers of the Synod of Dort could *swallow* in their own MACCOVIUS, who was Professor of Divinity in that University, and from whose instruction Szydlovius imbibed these sentiments; while they *strained*, with tenacious scrupulosity, even *at the least gnats* in the Remonstrants. I congratulate the University of Saumur, [in which Amyraldus was Theological Professor,] such [doctrinal] monsters are banished from it, and I humbly pray God, that they may remain there buried in eternal oblivion. It is pleasing to me to hope, that Amyraldus will hereafter exert the force of his genius and the powers of his eloquence against those portentous doctrines, rather than against men [the Arminians] against whom he cannot frame any objection that is in the slightest degree repugnant to piety and the Divine Glory."

The Friezland University of Franeker was in those days the grand hotbed of the rankest Calvinism. It is only necessary to mention the names of three of the Theological Professors,—Sybrandus LUBBERTUS, John MACCOVIUS, and the English Puritan William AMES!!!,—and the intelligent reader will instantly recognize three of the greatest Calvinistic sticklers and most pragmatical Divines of that age. Bishop Womack has given a concise but just description of Maccovius and his opinions in his CALVINISTS' CABINET UNLOCKED,—a work which abounds with the most interesting religious information respecting the Predestinarian disputes that agitated the Christian Church at that period. For the character of Lubbertus and Ames, consult the English translation of *The Works of* ARMINIUS, Vol. I, pp. 452, 465, 469.—EDITOR.

can reach,) that *Universal Justice* which is his very *Nature;* to the dignity whereof it is not only disagreeable, but inconsistent, that he should (as you would have him,) procure himself glory out of the everlasting misery of his own poor innocent creatures, or take pleasure in it.—What think you of that passage, which a honest ear-witness told me from the mouth of one of your brethren?, "that God deals by Reprobates, as the rat-catcher does by those vermin, who stops up all their avenues and passages, and then hunts them with his dogs, that he may provoke them to fly in his face." Do such expressions become the pulpit, or that reverence which should govern our thoughts when we speak of the Divine Majesty? But this is one of your excellent artifices to salve the justice of God's decree of Reprobation, and because you dishonour him in the *first* act of it, (the preterition of those forlorn wretches, without any respect to sin,) you think to make him amends in the *latter*, by saying, in effect,* "that he does necessitate them to sin, that he may seem not to condemn them without justice." † For *thus*, some of your party say, his wisdom hath contrived it, and his will decreed it, and his power brings it to pass insuperably. I know you will shift this off, by saying, that "the Reprobates sin *voluntarily*." But will this plea more alleviate or aggravate the cruelty? That holy man could say, "It is better to be in

* *Reprobatio facta est nullâ habitâ peccati ratione.* (ANT. THYSIUS ad Summ. Baronis ex Piscatore.)—*Ibi demum infinitum βαθος est et abyssus est divinæ discretionis, quando sine peccati ratione quidam reprobantur.* (Idem ib. ex Wittakeri Cygn. Cant. p. 57.)—"Reprobation was decreed without any regard being paid to sin."—"It is the very abyss and infinite profundity of the Divine determination, when certain individuals are reprobated without any consideration of sin."

† *Quia reprobatio immutabilis est, &c. damus reprobos necessitate peccandi eoque et pereundi ex hac Dei ordinatione constringi, atque ita constringi, ut neque aut non peccare et perire.—Et Mox, Non dubitamus ergo confiteri &c.* (ZANCHIUS de Nat. Dei, l. 5, c. 2, de Præd. pt. 4, Respon. ad postremum arg. p. 571, Edit. Genev. 1619.)—"This is the answer which we return to the other reason drawn from 'that necessity of sinning by which reprobate men are constrained even unto death:' *First*, Because the reprobation is immutable by which reprobates are destined to be vessels of dishonour through wickedness, and on that account vessels of God's wrath: We grant that reprobates are constrained by a necessity of sinning, and therefore of perishing, through this ordination of God; and that they are constrained in such a manner as to be unable to do otherwise than sin and perish. The Apostle teaches this when he returns no answer to that question, '*Who hath resisted his will?*, but confirms it by his silence. St. Au-

hell without sin, than in heaven with it." If a man be cast into the gaol without fault, he carries the comforts of a good conscience to help to bear the burden of his durance: But when his judge contrives to draw him in to be a partner in some crime, that the guilt and remordency of his own conscience may make an accession to his misery, this leaves him nothing to reflect upon to mitigate his torments. I pray, by whose decree

gustine also often says, that the will of God is the necessitating cause of things; and that whatever he has willed, must necessarily come to pass,—in the same manner as those things will certainly occur which he has foreseen.

"We do not hesitate therefore to confess, that, through this immutable reprobation, an incumbent necessity of sinning rests on the reprobate, of sinning indeed without repentance even unto death, and therefore of being punished with death eternal. But we deny, that they are on this account forced to sin. For it is one thing, *to be constrained by necessity;* and it is another, *to be forced.* We are *forced,* when reluctantly and against our will, and therefore with some resistance, we are compelled to do or to suffer any thing: But we are *constrained by necessity,* when it is impossible for us to do otherwise,—although what we do is performed willingly, spontaneously, of our own accord, and with delight. Thus, a man who is oppressed with a violent thirst, is constrained by the nesessity of drinking, and necessarily drinks; he cannot do otherwise than drink,—although he does it willingly and with great pleasure, and therefore can on no account be said to do it *in opposition to his inclination,* or to be *forced to drink.*—But when the wicked commit sin, they do it knowingly, willingly, and with delight; so that if you be desirous of preventing them from committing iniquity, they are soon angry with you. Therefore, you did not speak correctly when yon said, 'They were FORCED to sin.' Yet, in the mean time, it is impossible for them to do otherwise; and they are constrained to it by a certain necessity through God's ordination or appointment. This necessity, therefore, is by no means an excuse for sin, which is committed by a free will,—that is, by a will which is neither forced nor reluctant, but is perfectly ready and agreeable. From this necessity, therefore, by which wicked men cannot do otherwise than sin, it is not to be deduced *that God punishes and condemns them with injustice:* For the cause of damnation is found in the reprobates themselves, according to that passage in the prophecy of Hosea, '*O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself!*' (xiii, 9.)"

What a mass of inconsistent sophistry do the tenets of Calvin require, to give them an air of plausibility! If the reader wish to behold a singular instance of the unprofitable expenditure of intellect and ability, on the hopeless attempt of saving the Divine Attributes from the open attacks which Fatalism makes upon them,—but which Calvin's disciples assert, cannot be justly charged on their system,—he may consult the (otherwise) admirable works of Zanchius. The concluding passage of scripture from Hosea, it will be perceived, is incomplete; for the remaining clause of the verse, (*But in me is thy help,*) which removes its applicability to the reprobate, would not suit the purpose of Zanchius, by whom it has for that reason been prudently omitted.—EDITOR.

comes it to pass that the soul of the Reprobate is polluted at the first? * Their first sin comes to them only by *imputation*, (as divers of your party do contend,) and that draws all the rest after it by an unavoidable and invincible necessity, as they acknowledge likewise. Upon which account, God should have been less severe if he had cast them into hell innocent, and without any sin at all, as (you say,) "He cast them off, or passed them by, at first, without any respect at all to it."

But you have one reserve behind, by the strength whereof you are confident, after all these disputes and foils, to win the field at last. Upon the matter you say, "God's decrees could be no other than they are; for *Decreta et liberæ Dei actiones*

* *Unde factum est, ut tot gentes, &c.* (Calv. Instit. l. 3, c. 23, sect. 7.) —"What other than *the good pleasure of God* is the cause why the fall of Adam involved in eternal and remediless death whole nations, with their infant offspring? I confess, that it is indeed *a horrible decree:* Yet no one will be able to deny, that God foreknew what end man would have before he created him; *and that he foreknew it, solely because he had so ordained it by his decree.*"—CALVIN'S *Institutes*, Book iii, ch. 23, sec. 7.

Et in RESPONSIONE *ad Calumn. Nebul. ad artic.* 1, *Interea hanc meam esse doctrinam agnosco, Non solo Dei permissu, &c.* "In the mean time, I acknowledge the following to be my doctrine:—Adam fell, not only by God's permission, but also by God's secret will, and drew by his fall all his posterity into eternal destruction.—If thou hast proposed to subject God to the laws of nature, thou wilt bring him in guilty of injustice, because on account of one man's crime we are all considered to be implicated in the guilt of death eternal. One man sinned, and all are drawn on to punishment. Nor is that the only circumstance, but from the crime [or vice] of one man all contract the contagion, that they may be born in a state of corruption, infected with a mortal distemper. What hast thou to do with this, my good censor? Wilt thou accuse and convict God of cruelty, because through the fall of one man he has plunged into destruction all his offspring? For though Adam has destroyed himself and his posterity, *yet we must attribute the corruption and the guilt to the secret judgment of God;* because the offence of one man would not have concerned us, unless the Heavenly Judge had condemned us to eternal destruction." —CALVINI *Responsio ad Calumn. Nebul. ad art* 1.

He hath also these words. *Liberi arbitrii fuisse dicunt* [Adam] *ut fortunam ipse sibi fingeret: &c. Tam frigidum commentum* (so he calls it,) *si recipiatur, &c.—Vide locum. Instit. ubi supra.* "They say, that 'It was at the option [or free-will] of Adam to shape his own fortune;' and that God destined nothing more than to treat him 'according to his deserts.' If such a dull and frigid contrivance as this be admitted, where will be that omnipotence of God by which he governs all things, according to his secret counsel which is independent of every other thing?" —CALVIN'S *Institutes*, Book 3.

sunt ipse Deus,—'The Decrees of God are God himself:'—and therefore to make a *conditional* decree, were to make a *conditional* God, and if Election and Reprobation should have respect to any *qualifications* in their objects, this would amount to a denial of God's *independency.*" And having resolved justification to be "an immanent act of God, and consequently God himself, it follows," you say, "from the same topic or principle, that it must be from all eternity, and that men's sins are remitted before they be committed; and that it is as impossible for all the most horrid sins in the world, to cause any interruption of a man's justification, as for Almighty God to become *mutable* in his nature and being; that faith serves not as a condition to qualify us for our actual justification before God, but only for a mean to procure the sense and feeling thereof in ourselves." These opinions, with many others of like import, you say, do unavoidably follow from that one position, which you think as certain as if you found it (*totidem verbis*) in the Gospel. But that the very foundation, upon which you build so many gross errors, is itself unsound, you may learn from your own Gomarus, who was once of that opinion with you; but, being afterwards awakened to a more clear sight and mature judgment in this point, he hath left arguments enough upon record in his own writings to confute you: To which purpose I shall subjoin his own words presently:

XXVIII. *Ex qua, efficientis decreti, explicatione, gravis illa et ad veri Dei notitiam ac cultum pertinens, controversia;* AN DECRETUM DEI SIT DEUS, NEC NE? *commodissimè dirimi potest. Siquidem spectata, cum* rei, *tum* Dei, natura, *negationis veritas perspicuè demonstratur.* *

XXIX. *Nam* à natura rei *hæc demonstratio est;* Nulla actio, à consilio et voluntate Dei, liberè agente dependens, est Deus: *Deus enim, à se, naturâ est: non vero, à consilio ac voluntate libere agente, dependet:* Atqui decretum Dei, est actio, à consilio et

* "XXVIII. From this explanation of the efficient decree, may be very exactly determined that weighty controversy relating to the knowledge and worship of the true God, which is thus stated, *Is God's decree* GOD HIMSELF, *or not?* For if regard be had to *the nature of the thing itself* and to *the nature of God*, the truth of the negative proposition is plainly demonstrated.

"XXIX. The demonstration from *the nature of the thing itself*, is the following: *No action dependent on the counsel and will of God when freely acting, is God himself.* For God is naturally from himself; and he is not dependent on his counsel or will when it is freely acting: But the decree of God is an

voluntate Dei, liberè agente dependens: Ergo decretum Dei, non est Deus.

XXX. *A* natura *verò* Dei *(ut causæ efficientis decreti,) altera etiam invicta demonstratio promanat;* Deus est ens, absolutè necessarium: Decretum Dei non est ens absolutè necessarium: Ergo decretum Dei, non est Deus.

XXXI. *Ex quibus etiam (ut alia omittamus,) clarissimum,* æternitatis Dei et decreti discrimen, *elucet. Nam ut Dei existentia sit æternitas ejusdem, absolutè necessaria est. Contra verò, et decreti existentia, à causa, liberrimè agente, dependet, sic ejusdem æternitas merè arbitraria est: ut quæ sic est, ut non esse potuerit:*

action dependent on the divine counsel or will when freely acting; therefore *the decree of God, is not* God.

"XXX. But another invincible demonstration emanates from *the nature of God*, as the efficient cause of the decree: *God is a being that is absolutely necessary.* But God's decree is not an absolutely necessary being: Therefore the decree of God is not God himself.

"XXXI. From these premises, omitting other arguments, is most luminously traced *the difference between God's eternity, and the eternity of the decree.* For it is absolutely necessary, that God's existence be his eternity. But, on the contrary, as the existence of the decree depends on a cause that acts with the greatest freedom, so the eternity of the decree is merely arbitrary; it being such as it might have been possible for it not to be,—which is evident from what has just been declared. The decree therefore is *analogically* called "eternal," not *synonymously*, or in the same respect as God is styled "eternal." Wherefore, from this argument *the Deity of the decree* is not established, but is completely overturned.

"XXXII. From the personal actions [of the Deity], that is, from the generation of the Son by the Father alone, and from the breathing forth [spiration] of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son, it is proved, that, *if every thing which is in God be not God himself*, such a simplicity of the Divine Essence as the Sacred Writings attribute to it, is not on that account violated.

"XXXIII. For it is clearer than the sun, that those personal actions are in God, in such a manner as not to be God himself, and this without any injury to his simplicity. For the Essence of God is, absolutely and simply, common to the three persons; but, on the contrary, a personal action, such as the generation of the Son, is not absolutely and simply common to the three persons, but is peculiar to an individual: Therefore a personal action is not the Essence of God.—Wherefore, God is predicated synonymously concerning each of the Divine Persons, but a personal action of God is not synonymously predicated of each of the Divine persons: Therefore, a personal action is not God.

"XXXIV. It is not therefore a matter of wonder, if the most free act of the will of God, in determining future things at his pleasure, may be in God, and yet not be God himself.—That the celebrated URSINUS was not entirely ignorant of this truth, is apparent from his Explanation of the Catechism, on the 58th question concerning life eternal; though he does not seem to have expounded it with any great accuracy."—GOMAR. *Disput.*

quemadmodum ex superioribus constat. Ideoque decretum, non synonymως , seu eadem prorsus ratione, qua Deus; sed analogως, æternum appellatur. Ac propterea ex eo, decreti deitas, non firmatur; sed evertitur.

XXXII. Neque *tamen,* essentiæ *divinæ* simplicitatem *(qualem Sacræ literæ ei attribuunt) ideo* violari, *si* non omne quod in Deo est, sit Deus, *ex actionibus personalibus (generatione Filii à solo Patre, et spiratione Spiritus sancti, ab utroque) evincitur.*

XXXIII. *Eas enim, sic in Deo esse, ut tamen, illæsa illius simplicitate, non sint Deus, sole clarius apparet. Essentia enim Dei, absolute ac simpliciter, communis est tribus personis: contra verò actio personalis, ut generatio filii, non est absolutè et simpliciter communis tribus personis; sed propria certæ: Ergo actio personalis, non est essentia Dei.* Deinde, *Deus synonymως prædicatur, de singulis personis divinis: actio personalis Dei, non prædicatur synonymως de singulis personis divinis: Ergo ea non est Deus.*

XXXIV. *Ideoque mirandum non est, si liberrima voluntatis Dei, in rebus futuris, pro arbitrio, determinandis, actio, in Deo sit, nec tamen sit Deus. Idque sanè non ignorasse, Clar. Ursinum, apparet ex Catechesis explicatione, ad quæst. 58, de vita æterna quæst. 1, etsi minus accuratè exponere videatur.*—Gomar. Tom. 3, Disput. 9, Thes. 28, et seqq.

In the mean time, if there be in any one word of this address, more asperity, than I ought to use, or yourself can well digest, I desire you to pardon it, for God's honour's sake, which I am zealous to vindicate from that foul impeachment, which something more than a mere jealousy prompts me to believe your opinion guilty of. "Nevertheless, (to conclude with the words of the great Apostle,) whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." *—I have two things which I must yet beg of you upon the score of our old friendship, viz. the continuance of your affection and your prayers; which, I will assure you, how freely soever you lay them out, shall not be cast away upon,

Sir,

Your true and faithful Friend,

N. N.

* Philip iii, 16.—Ephes. iv, 3.

THE EXAMINATION

OF

TILENUS

BEFORE THE TRIERS IN UTOPIA.

THE TRIERS.

Dr. Absolute, *Chairman.*
Mr. Fatality.
Mr. Preterition.
Mr. Frybabe.
Dr. Damman.
Mr. Narrowgrace, *alias* Stint-[grace.
Mr. Efficax.
Mr. Indefectible.
Dr. Confidence.
Dr. Dubious.
Mr. Meanwell.
Mr. Simulans.
Mr. Take-o'-trust.
Mr. Knowlittle.
Mr. Impertinent.

The Clerk examined Tilenus, [who is] a well-willer to some tenets of the Remonstrants, and [who becomes] by fiction of person,

1. Infidelis, *an unbelieving person.*
2. Carnalis, *a carnal profane person.*
3. Tepidus, } *a lukewarm slothful person.*
4. Tentatus, } *an afflicted despairing person.*

The Commissioners being all sate, and Tilenus presenting himself (with a Certificate and a legal Presentation) before them, the Chairman addresseth his speech as followeth:

Dr. Absolute.—The great prudence and piety of the governors of this Commonwealth, (considering how apt the people are to be influenced by the principles and examples of their constant teachers,) have been pleased, (out of an ardent zeal to God's glory, and a tender care of men's precious souls,) to think upon a course how their dominions may be made happy in the settlement of an able and godly Ministry amongst them; for which purpose they have appointed Commissioners to examine the gifts of all such as shall be employed in the office of public preaching. And seeing you have addressed yourself to us for our approbation in order to your establishment in that office, we hope you understand the nature and weight thereof.

You are to be a pastor, not of beasts, but of reasonable creatures, framed after God's own image, and purchased with his blood. Having undertaken this charge, it is incumbent upon you to watch for those souls under your inspection, as one that must give an account; and what shall perish through your default, will be required at your hands. And that we may not be found betrayers of the great trust reposed in us, we must receive some satisfaction, how you stand qualified for the carrying on so great a work as you pretend to be now called unto.

And because it is to be suspected that he who hath been so regardless of his own soul, that he is not sensible of the work of grace in himself, will not be very zealous in his endeavours to procure it to be wrought in others; therefore let us be informed, in the first place, what assurance you have that you are in the state of grace.

Tilenus.—Sir, I trust, you shall find, that I am no Reprobate.

Dr. Confidence.—Methinks you speak very doubtfully?

Til.—Sir, I humbly conceive, it becomes me not to be too confident, when the modesty of the great Apostle was content (upon occasion) with the very same expression which I used. (2 Cor. xiii, 6.)

Efficax.—But can you remember the time and place, when and where, that work of grace was wrought in you? By what means, and upon what occasion?

Til.—I suppose they are violent and sudden changes only, (from one extreme to another,) that fall under such a punctual observation.—Had I, with Mary Magdalene, been so notoriously lewd as to make the city ring of my crimes:—Or had I travelled with a design of blood, as Paul did, and procured a commission to execute it upon the Church of Christ, my conversion, if sincere, in that case must needs have been very remarkable:—Or had I committed adultery, and then tempted the injured party with so much artifice to cloak it, and because I could not with all the wicked charms of intemperance prevail to induce him to it, [had I] deliberately contrived and commanded his murder:—Or had I (though upon a surprise,) so passionately denied and foresworn my Lord and Master, (as you very well remember who did,)—the solemnity requisite to attend repentance for such offences, would have made as deep an impression in my memory, as the frequent inundation of tears did in those

transgressors' cheeks, and there would have been no need of *red letters* in my calendar to render such a time observable with me. But, blessed be God !, by whose providence it was, that, being dedicated to the service of Christ in mine infancy, the piety of my parents took an early care that I should not be alienated from him through the allurements of the world, for want of a religious education; and from a child having been acquainted (as Timothy was) with the holy Scriptures, "which are able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; herein I have exercised myself, through the assistance of his grace, to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men."

NARROWGRACE.—You speak as if regeneration came by nature and education.

TIL.—No, Sir; to say "regeneration comes *by nature*," were a contradiction.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—Do you not remember what the Apostle saith?, "We have all sinned and come short of the glory of God." (Rom. iii, 23.) And, "We are dead in trespasses and sins, and are by nature children of wrath." (Ephes. ii, 1, 2.) Can there be so great a change wrought in a man, as is a change from death to life, and he have no apprehension or feeling when such a change is wrought in him?

TIL.—When I reflect upon the exuberance of the Divine grace under the gospel, I persuade myself, there is some difference betwixt Christians, born of faithful and godly parents, and from their childhood educated and instructed in the ways of faith and piety;—I say we must make a difference betwixt these, and those Jews and Gentiles of whom the Apostle speaks, before they were made Christians. I know you will not allow Heathens to stand in competition with the servants of Jesus, devoted to him from their very infancy: neither is the law and discipline of Moses an equal standard to measure the dispensations of the grace of Jesus Christ by; and yet, if you consider Zachary and Elizabeth, (who were trained up under the pedagogy of Moses,) and date their practice of piety from their youth, * (as you ought to do,—for why should we make an exception where God makes none?,) you will find, that "being righteous before God, and walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless," (Luke i, 6,) they were

* 1 Kings xviii, 12.

not capable of answering your question, *When and where and how the work of grace was wrought in them.* Now, if the ministration of Moses (which was, in comparison, "a ministration of death,") "was thus glorious," how shall not "the ministration of Christ," which is the ministration of the Spirit, "be rather glorious?" (2 Cor. iii.) Under the gospel that covenant is fully accomplished, wherein God bound himself to Abraham by the sacred tie of an oath, to grant us a power "to serve him in holiness, and righteousness, all the days of our life." (Luke i, 74.) And the conveyances of this powerful grace being all put so freely into our hands, (this word and sacraments,) it is required of us as a duty, "to have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear:" (Heb. xii, 28.) And doubtless it is only our own inexcusable fault if we have not; for indeed (be it spoken with holy reverence!) the administration of our sacred baptism were no better than a piece of solemn pageantry, if grace were not conferred upon us in receiving that sacrament; for therein are begged, on our behalf, the blessings of Christ,—grace and pardon, with the renewing and assistance of the Holy Spirit. The church by prayer seeks for these, on our behalf, by virtue of that covenant wherein God hath promised and engaged himself to bestow them; "which promise he for his part will most assuredly keep and perform." Then upon this, we engage our vow, "to forsake the devil and all his works, and to keep God's holy will and commandments." Can we think, either that God, in goodness or justice, would require such an engagement at our hands, (under peril of a greater condemnation,) or that the church of God in prudence could oblige us to undertake it, without good assurance of sufficient assistance and power from his Gracious Spirit to enable us to perform it according to the tenor of the gospel?

FRYBABE.—It seems you are for universal grace, and you hold, that all the children of the faithful, (dying in their infancy, and before they have the use of reason,) are saved by virtue of that covenant* (made with us in the blood of Christ,) into which they are consigned at their baptism; as if all such were invested with some privilege to exempt them from the absolute decree of reprobation!

* Isa. xlix, 8.—Heb. xiii, 20.

Til.—This, Sir, is the faith into which I have been baptized and catechised; for I am taught to profess, that, in my baptism, "I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

Knowlittle.—But you know, that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." (Heb. xii, 14.)

Til.—That I very well remember: but withal I consider, that, besides that federal holiness which removes all obstacles in the children of the faithful, and renders them recipients duly qualified for the sacrament, I am instructed in my creed to believe "in God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth me," (that is, if I do not resist his work and quench his motions,) and am further directed to beg "by diligent prayer his special grace" to enable me to discharge my duty to God and my neighbour; of which grace (if I be not wanting to my duty,) I have reason to assure myself, upon the strength of our Saviour's promise. (Luke xi, 13.)—The short is, baptism being styled "the laver of regeneration," (Tit. iii, 5, 6.) and the children of the faithful being in no capacity of putting a bar against the efficacy of it, the learned Davenant (one of the Divines of the Synod of Dort,) concludes, that therein they are truly justified, regenerated, and adopted; and, by this means, a state of salvation is conferred upon them suitable to the condition of their infancy; and, arriving to the use of reason, if they walk in the strength of Divine grace, under the command and conduct of the Holy Spirit, and fight under Christ's banner, as generous soldiers should do, [who are] engaged by solemn covenant and armed with assistance from above to that purpose,—we are assured, that "sin shall not get the dominion over them;" (Rom. vi, 14.) "for he is greater that is (engaged) in them (for their assistance) than he that is in the world," (against them.) (1 John iv, 4.) Whereupon the same Apostle is confident to conclude, "We know that whosoever is born of God, sinneth not: but he that is begotten of God, keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." (v, 18.)

Knowlittle.—You speak as if a man might live without sin, and so be saved without Christ.

Til.—Sir, I believe it is the duty of the children of God, and therefore possible, "to be blameless and harmless, without rebuke, shining as lights, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation," (Phil ii, 15.) "that at Christ's coming they may be

found of him in peace, without spot and blameless." (2 Pet.iii,14.) But this is done, not without Christ, but through the power of his grace, rescuing them from the pollutions that are in the world through lust, and from all the carnal invitations that do so earnestly solicit them. Yet this is not, to live without sin; for there are sins of ignorance and inadvertency, which, many times, through the levity of the matter, insensibly steal from us; sins of infirmity, wherein we are surprised on a sudden; and sins wherein we are overtaken through the daily incursion and tiresome importunity of temptations: But these, upon a general humiliation and petition, being put upon the accounts of Christ's cross, and pardoned (as it were) of course to the regenerate, do not interrupt his estate, nor impeach his interest in God's favour: And hereupon such men are reckoned by our Saviour in the accounts of "just persons which need no repentance," * (Luke xv, 7,) or [need] no more washing, save of their feet, †

* The reader is desired to advert to the introductory remarks, at the beginning of this pamphlet. But since the reasoning of the assumed Tilenus in this place may be mistaken by the unlearned, it seems requisite to state, that his application of the phrase, "just persons which need no repentance," is sufficiently explained by the sentence immediately preceding, in which the same persons have all the marks of true penitents ascribed to them by the author. His words are, "But these [sins], upon a general *humiliation* and petition, being put upon the accounts of Christ's cross, and *pardoned*," &c. Without some such necessary qualification as this, the phrase in its common acceptation can never be applicable to any man living, as long as the following passages, and others of like import, remain constituent parts of the revealed will of heaven:—"But now GOD commandeth *all men* every where to repent.—There is no difference: For, ALL have sinned and come short of the glory of God." (Acts xvii, 30.—Rom. iii, 23.)

No employment can be more inconsistent with the principles of the man who espouses the benevolent and scriptural doctrines of General Redemption, than that of endeavouring to narrow the evangelical obligation, which is binding alike on all men, to repentance, faith, and holiness. Yet there are individuals, who, while they would shudder to set bounds to the illimitable mercy of God, can deliberately fritter away by their carnal comments the essence and glory of the gospel, and reduce it from its Divine and powerful elevation to as low and inefficient a condition as that of a system merely ethical.—Such a course of conduct is only another proof of the great obliquity of which the human intellect is occasionally seen to be capable. But Bishop Womack was too wise a master-builder in Israel, to engage in such a desecrating occupation; and accordingly, in the very passage which has elicited these observations, he carefully guards against any popular misapprehension of his meaning, while he states the advantages of baptism and of a religious education in as strong and pointed a manner as the scope of his argument required.

† John xiii, 10.

which is ordinarily performed in the daily use of their prayers and other holy offices.

Take-o'-trust.—But we see, by daily experience, that the dearest of God's children do frequently complain of their corruptions, and bitterly bewail them, and groan under the apprehension and burden of them: "O wretched man that I am!" &c.

Til.—No doubt, it is fit a Christian should entertain such a holy jealousy over himself, as may make him humble, and keep him upon his guard, vigilant and industrious. "Blessed is the man that feareth always." (Prov. xxviii, 14.)

Narrowgrace.—Yea, but we find also, that the most eminent of the saints of God have fallen foully.

Til.—We must walk by precept, not by example; especially we should take heed we do not transcribe a foul copy, though written by the hand of the greatest saint in heaven, who, we know, had never been admitted thither, had not that hand been washed in the streams of repentance and the blood of Christ. But the truth is, such is the frailty of our human nature, and the lubricity, the flexible and wax-like temper of youth, so apt to receive the impressions of vice, and such the precipitancy of our passions,—that, if we be not bridled by the benefit of a more severe and holy institution, and taught to improve our talents of grace and nature for our own preservation, the deceitful paintry of pleasures, and the snare of occasions, and the witchcraft of ill company and examples, with the sundry stratagems of that politic enemy, (who manageth all the rest to his best advantage,) will surprise, and foil, and most miserably wound us. But as *to deny the possibility of preventing this mischief*, were a huge disparagement to the power of the Divine grace; so, having that grace so abundantly administered, (as it is under the dispensation of the gospel,) to prevent, and assist, and follow us, *not to co-operate therewith*, but to let loose the reins unto our lusts, and give way for sin to abound, that grace may much more abound to the working of a remarkable repentance, that, having such a signal experience of sin and misery, we may be able to give a punctual account of the time and manner of our conversion,—what were this but to grow desperate and tempt God!, a ridiculous folly joined with a most execrable impiety. Like a man that sets his house on fire, that he may make light for others to read his evidence by

which he holds it, he turns God's grace into lasciviousness, and ventures upon a certain evil for an uncertain good; "whose damnation is just."

Dr. Confidence.—If a man should do so, wilfully and of set purpose, I grant it: But if you cannot satisfy our question concerning your certainty of being in the state of grace, how will you be able to obey that of the Apostle?, "Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear." (1 Pet. iii, 15.)

Til.—That you may not think I have a desire to wave your question, by telling you, "that I perceive you do many times allege Scriptures very impertinently," I shall shape my answer directly to what I conceive to be your meaning. We must consider therefore what our Saviour Christ saith, (very applicable to our purpose,) "The kingdom of God" (in the work we speak of,) "cometh not (always) with observation:" (Luke xvii, 20.) but (many times) it is "as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring, and grow up, he knoweth not how." (Mark iv, 26, 27.) And therefore, I observe, our Saviour and [his] Apostle do direct us to make our judgment *a posteriori*, "from the effects:" "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and "let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another." (Gal. vi, 4.) The children of God are called "Saints of light;" (Col. i, 12.) and the wise man saith, "The path of the just is like the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." (Prov. iv, 18.) It is only the conscience loaded with guilt, and fear, and horror, that, having fire put to it, like a gun charged with powder and shot, makes a bounce when it is discharged. Experience teacheth, that the natural day breaks, without a crack to report it to us; and so does the day of grace too, in many souls. Though the sun rise under a cloud, and so undiscernibly, and the clock of conscience do not strike to give us notice of the hour, yet we may be assured he is up, by the effects; viz. if his influences have dried up the dirt, and made the plants and herbs to spring out and flourish. *Grace is more discoverable in the* progress *than in the* dawning *of it.*

Impertinent.—But the Apostle saith, "He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his."

Til.—And I say, as the same Apostle to another purpose, "I think also, that I have the Spirit of God." (1 Cor. vii, 40.)

Dr. Confidence.—You said well even now from our Saviour, that "the tree is known by the fruits;" can you give us a good account of the fruits, that the Spirit of Christ hath brought forth in you, so as we may be able to distinguish them from counterfeit, and discern that they proceed from the Holy Spirit, and not [from] a lying one?

Til.—That I may not deceive myself nor you herein, I think the surest way is, not to go by the common Inventory of the world; whereby I find men pretending to godliness, to be generally very partial in their reckoning. If they abhor idols, they think it tolerable enough to commit sacrilege and sedition; and if they be not drunk with wine or strong drink, they think it is no matter though the spirit of pride and disobedience stagger them into any schism or heresy. I choose therefore to follow the Apostle's catalogue, and (if I can find that in myself,) I hope I am safe: "The fruit of the Spirit," saith he, "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law:" (Gal. v, 22, 23.) That is, (as I conceive,) "the love of Christ in sincerity," as it is in Ephes. vi, 24; which sincerity discovers and approves itself, in a constant and uniform observation of all his commandments. (John xiv, 15.)

Efficax.—How did the Spirit of God bring forth these fruits in you, if you find them? Did you ever feel it offer a holy violence to your will and affections, so that you were not able to resist the power of it? You have read how Paul was surprised in the height of his rebellion, his spirit subdued and forced to yield, and he cast down to the earth in great astonishment.

Til.—Though I have intimated mine opinion in this particular already, yet I shall add, that the conversion of St. Paul was not according to the common way and rule, but extraordinary, in regard whereof he may very well style himself "an abortive." (1 Cor. xv, 8.) For the ordinary course is not for the kingdom of heaven *to offer violence to us*, and *to take us by force;* but for us to do so by it. (Matt. xi, 12.)

Efficax.—You speak as if the grace of conversion were resistible; and so you would make man stronger than God: But the Apostle tells you, that God exerts and putteth forth a

power for the conversion of a sinner, equal to that "which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead." (Ephes. i, 20.) And indeed there is a necessity of such a power, for the accomplishment of this work; because the sinner is as a dead person,—"dead in trespasses and sins." (Ephes. ii, 1.)

Til.—It is a rule we have learned in the schools, that *Theologia Symbolica non est argumentativa*, "Metaphors never make solid and cogent arguments." Sinners are like dead men; but no like is the same. If they were absolutely dead, then it were impossible for them to make any opposition or resistance at all, to any the least dispensation of grace. Resistance implies reaction; but the dead have no power at all to act: And yet it is acknowledged, that the sinner hath a power to resist, and doth actually resist. But that which is maintained generally by that side, is, that the power of grace is so prevalent and invincible that at last it will subdue and take away the resistibility of man's will. And therefore man is not dead in every sense. We find him sometimes resembled to one half dead; (Luke x, 30.) and sometimes to one asleep: (Ephes. v, 14.) So that you cannot certainly infer the conclusion desired, from such figurative expressions. Besides, [that passage in] Ephes. i, 20, speaketh of God's power towards those that were already believers, and not of his power that works belief in them.

Impertinent.—It is said of those that disputed with Stephen, that "they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake." (Acts vi, 10.)

Til.—He speaks of that conviction which the force of his arguments (dictated to him by the Holy Spirit,) made upon their understandings, so that they were not able to answer him in disputation. But he speaks not of any irresistible impression that the internal Divine grace made upon their wills; for there was no such effect wrought in them, as appears in the following verses: but rather the contrary, as you may conclude from St. Stephen's word, "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost!" (Acts vii, 51.)

Efficax.—By *resisting the Holy Ghost* there, Stephen's meaning is, that they opposed the outward ministry, which was authorized and sent out by the Holy Ghost.

Til.—The words are plain in themselves, and so they are literally clear against you. But that this evasion may not

serve your turn, we find the WORD and the SPIRIT both together, in Zach. vii, 12.* Yet it is said, "they hardened their hearts like an adamant," and resisted both. (Isa. lxiii, 10.) But (2) men may, and do resist that power of Divine grace which doth effectually and eventually convert others; yea, [they resist] a greater power than that which doth it. "The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonah: and behold, a greater than Jonah is here!" (Luke xi, 32.) And as much is implied in those other words of Christ: "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, *they would have repented* long ago in sackcloth and ashes." (Matt. xi, 21.)—Those Heathen cities would have been wrought upon by these gracious dispensations; but you, to whom they are so freely and earnestly administered, do resist them. And why should our Saviour work so many miracles to their senses, to induce them to believe and be converted? *Ad quid perditio hæc?* "Why so much pains lost?" For, if that had been the way, that one superlative miracle,—the irresistible operation of internal grace,—had superseded the necessity of all others, and made them utterly superfluous.

IMPERTINENT.—What say you to that text in Luke xiv, 23?, "Compel them to come in." Doth not that imply an irresistible power upon them?

TIL.—This place in St. Luke speaks of a charge given to a minister, whose office it is to call, invite, and importune, (to say nothing, that it is a part of a parable;) and I remember even now, when you were urged with that in Acts vii, 51, ("ye always resist the Holy Ghost,") then you could allege, that *that* was spoken concerning the outward ministry of the word, which, you confessed, might be resisted. But now, you produce a text yourselves, which, though it doth most evidently belong to the outward ministry, yet because it hath the word COMPEL in it, and will serve your interest, it must needs signify

* The passage in Zechariah reads thus: "Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the LAW, and the WORDS which the Lord of Hosts hath sent in his SPIRIT by the former prophets."

The next passage from Isaiah is, "But they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit: Therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them."—EDITOR.

"irresistible." So that, in the Acts, "the Holy Ghost" must, according to your interpretation, signify *the outward ministry*, and *that* must be the only thing resisted; but, in St. Luke, *the outward ministry* shall signify "the inward working of the HOLY GHOST," and that shall be *irresistible.*

EFFICAX.—The Apostle saith, "It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure." (Phil. ii, 13.)

TIL.—The Apostle doth not say, that "God doth this *immediately* and *irresistibly;*" for if he did, that would evacuate the force of his exhortation, (which is both a mean and suasion,) to the duty of "working out our salvation," &c.; for the enforcing whereof that is rendered as the reason, which is "the cord of a man." He speaks not of the *means* or *manner* of God's working. * And that he works *the ability*, I grant; but not *the very act itself* of our duty, (which if he did, it would be *his act*, not *ours*, and so *not obedience*, for he hath no superior,) much less doth he work it immediately and irresistibly.

EFFICAX.—The Prophet acknowledgeth, that the Lord "worketh all our works in us." (Isai. xxvi, 12.)

TIL.—If the text were to be read "*in us*," there were some small colour for your pretension; but in the original, it is "for us;" and, therefore, rejecting the sense which you would put upon the words, some understand "all the benefits, which God nad bestowed upon them," answerable to the former part of the verse, "Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou hast wrought," &c. Others understand it of "their afflictions and distresses," in opposition to that former branch of the verse, and agreeable to the verse following, "Other Lords have had dominion over us." But if you would have the meaning of that (or any other place of scripture,) to be this, "that God doth *immediately* and *irresistibly* produce all our spiritual works," (which are works as well of DUTY as of GRACE in us,) and "that he hath tied himself by covenant and promise so to do," (as is affirmed by some,) then it will undeniably follow, that God himself, being so engaged, ought *to believe, and repent, and pray, and do all other necessary good in us:* As Servetus said, "The fire burns "not, the sun shines not, bread nourishes not: but that God "alone doth immediately all these things in his creatures, with-"out having given them such properties." And then, sure, it were

* 1 Pet. i, 22.—1 Cor. xv, 10.

fitter for the preacher to direct his admonitions to God alone, that he would perform his undertaken work in men's hearts, by his omnipotency, unto which they may never find ability to make resistance. But the truth is, it standeth not with God's wisdom, neither doth he ever use to work upon the will of man after this manner, and that for *three reasons.*

Dr. Dubious.—I pray, let us hear them clearly from you.

Til.—First, then, Though (speaking of his absolute power,) God can compel and necessitate the will of man, (and so we do not make him stronger than God, as is very weakly concluded by some,) yet he will not; because he will not violate that order which he hath set in our creation. He made man after his own image, invested him with a reasonable soul, having the use of understanding and the freedom of will. He endowed him with a power to consider and deliberate, to consult and choose; and so, by consequence, he gave him dominion over himself and his own actions; that, having made him lord of the whole world, he might not be a slave to himself, but *imprimis animi sui possesione regnaret,* "might first exercise his sovereignty in the free possession of his own mind," saith Tertullian. To force his will, were to *destroy* the nature of his creature, (which grace is not designed to do, but only to *heal and assist it,*) and therefore God deals with man as a free agent; by instructions and commands, by promises and threatenings, by allurements and reproofs, by rewards and punishments. So true is the saying of that father, *Nemo invitus fit bonus.** With this accords the Son of Syrach: "God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel. If thou wilt keep the commandments, and perform acceptable faithfulness, He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt. Before man is life and death, and whether him liketh shall be given him." (Ecclus. xv, 14—17.)

Knowlittle.—That text is Apocryphal, and therefore will not serve your turn, if you produce it to confirm a point of faith.

Til.—My Second Reason shall confirm it out of the authentic canon, and it shall be this: viz., because God will have our faith and our repentance, and his whole service wherein we engage ourselves, to be a work of our own choice,—as it is

* "No man is made good in opposition to his own inclination."

said of Mary, "she had *chosen* the good part;" and hereupon our Saviour propounds the query, "*Wilt* thou be made whole?" (John v, 6.) And so the Prophet Jeremiah before him, "O Jerusalem, wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be?" (xiii, 27.)—God doth not necessitate nor irresistibly determine his people's will, but only directs, and conjures, and assists them to make the best choice. "Behold I set before you this day a blessing and a curse;" (Deut. xi, 26.) and more fully, "See, I have set before thee, this day, life and good, death and evil;" (xxx, 15.) and, "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life." (verse 19.) And this is rendered as the reason of man's rejection, "Because ye did *not choose* the fear of the Lord." (Prov. i, 29.)

NARROWGRACE.—By this reason you make man to have FREE-WILL.

TIL.—Under favour, Sir, it is not I, but it was God that made him to have it: and he that denies all freedom of will to man, deserves no other argument than a whip or a cudgel to confute him. Sure, the smart would quickly make him find liberty enough to run from it. Our woful experience tells us, we have too much free-will to do evil; and Scripture teacheth us plainly, that we have liberty in moral things;* and for the service of God and things spiritual, our Saviour Christ saith, "If the Son shall make you free," (John viii, 36,) (and he doth so by the ministry of his gospel,) "ye shall be free indeed;" (verse 32.) and "sin shall have no more dominion over you,"—unless ye yield yourselves up to the power of it. (Rom. vi, 14, 16.) Joshua was so well assured hereof, that he puts it to the people's choice,† (which implies their liberty,) to serve the Lord or other gods.‡ Yourself acknowledged even now, out of the Philippians, that "God worketh in us to will and to do," which signifies a liberty, else it could not signify an ability; whereupon St. Paul saith, Ισχυω, "I am able to do, or suffer, all things." (Phil. iv, 13.)

NARROWGRACE.—The Apostle addeth in that place, "through Christ strengthening me;" for "without Christ we can do nothing." (John xv.)

* Nunb. xxx, 13.—1 Cor. vii, 36, 37. † Jos. xxiv, 15.

‡ Yet were they not under so great means as we are.

TIL.—Nothing spiritual, that puts us into possession of heaven, or accompanies salvation. But, observe, it is not "through Christ FORCING," but "through Christ STRENGTHENING me." The grace and the ability are from Christ; but it is our part and duty to actuate that ability, and co-operate with that grace: And therefore it will be worth your notice to observe, that what God *promiseth to do himself* in one place, He *commands* the very same things *to be done by us* in another; to intimate, that, although *the power of acting* be derived from his assistance, yet *the act itself*, as it is *a duty*, depends upon our co-operation. Thus, "Circumcision of the heart" is promised, as from God, in Deut. xxx, 6; but commanded, as to be done by us, in Deut. x, 16, and in Jer. iv, 4.—"A new heart and spirit" promised in Ezek. xxxvi, 26; but commanded in Ezek. xviii, 31.*—"I will be your God," promised in Jerem. xxxii, 38; but commanded Exod. xx. 3; and "if ye forsake him, he will cast you off for ever." (1 Chron. xxviii, 9.) "One heart and one way," promised in Jer. xxxii, 39; yet commanded, Ephes. iv, 3, 4. 1 Cor. i, 10.—So in Jer. xxxii, 40, it is promised, "I will put my fear in their hearts;" yet in Prov. i, 29, [it is said,] "because *they did not choose* the fear of the Lord," and 1 Pet. ii, 17. —So it is promised, "I will write my laws in their inward parts, and they shall be all taught of God." (Jer. xxxi, 33, Isai. liv, 13.) Yet, in other places, it is commanded, "Be swift to hear; take heed how you hear; as new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word." (1 Pet. ii, 1, 2. See Prov. vii, 1, 3; and Rom. x, 8, 17.)—So it is promised in Isai. i, 25, "I will purge;" yet, in 2 Tim. ii, 21, "He that purgeth himself."—So it is promised in Jer. xxxiii, 8, "I will cleanse them from all their iniquity;" yet in James iv, 8, Isai. i, 16, 18, it is commanded, "Wash ye, make ye clean."—And it is evident, that God many times fulfilleth his promise and performeth his part, when man altogether neglecteth his part and duty. "I have purged thee and THOU WAST NOT PURGED." (Ezek. xxiv, 13.) —See Matt. xi, 21, Luke vii, 30.

DR. DUBIOUS.—Enough of this! You promised us a THIRD REASON, why God doth not (as you pretend,) work man's conversion and his faith, by a power of grace irresistible: I pray let us hear that also.

* Ephes. iv, 23.

Til.—Sir, you shall have it in a few words, and it is this: Because he will not save us, (I speak of the adult, who have the use of their faculties,) but in a way of duty. "If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted?" (Gen. iv, 7.) "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and honour, and immortality," (Rom. ii, 6, 7,) to them, and to them only, will he render "eternal life;" and therefore He is said to be "the Author of eternal salvation, only to them that obey him." (Heb. v, 9.) Now, observe, that which is not wrought by the omnipotent impulse and irresistible motion and operation of God,—that cannot be the duty of a poor frail creature. Or thus, what is a work of *Almightiness* in God, cannot be a work of *obedience* in us; if it were, it would conclude us to be omnipotent. Besides, the act could not be an act of duty; Christ could do nothing, that was duty for us, till he had submitted himself to the condition of our nature;* because God, supposed to be the doer of it, is not under obedience. But repentance and amendment of life, &c., are required, as a duty, of us, and as part of our obedience. "Amend your ways," (Jer. vii, 3, 5,) "and make you a new heart and a new spirit." (Ezek. xviii, 31.)

Knowlittle.—By this doctrine, you seem to make a man his own saviour.

Til.—If I should, not only seem to do so, but do so in good earnest, (so it be in a way of *subordination to Christ,*) I see no harm in it. St. Paul saith, "Work out your salvation." Yea, St. Peter, exhorting to repentance, saith expressly, "Save yourselves." (Acts ii, 40.) To our safety our own sedulity is required, according to that trite saying, "He that made thee without thyself, will never save thee without thyself."

Dr. Absolute.—Methinks, this doth hardly sound like that doctrine which the Apostle labours so earnestly to establish, to shut the creature for ever out of all ground and occasion of boasting. Rom. iii, 27.

Til.—For a man to boast himself in his *riches* is vanity,—in his *wickedness* is impiety,—in his *works*, performed in obedience to the law of Moses, or out of the strength of nature, (as if they could justify and save him,) is arrogancy:—But to glory *in the Lord,* and rejoice *in his salvation,* is not only allow-

* Phil. ii, 7.

ed,* but also enjoined,† and practised. "Our rejoicing (or glorying) is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not by fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." (2 Cor. i, 12.) "Let every man prove his own works," (performed in the faith of Christ, and through the power of his grace,) "and then shall he have rejoicing, (glorying, boasting,) in himself." (Rom. xv, 17.—Gal. vi, 4.)—It is the same word in these two places, with that in the text objected, Rom. iii, 27.

Dr. Damman.—Are these your tenets consonant to the *Articles of the Synod of Dort?* What opinion have you of that, and the doctrine held forth by the Divines in that assembly?

Til.—I have had as great a reverence for that Synod as any man living; the principles, therein delivered, being instilled into me from my youth. But, I thank God, studying the best method for the cure of souls, and the opportunity of reading better books, have already altered my judgment quite.

Dr. Damman.—Do you think you have changed so much for the better, that you have reason to give God thanks for it?

Til.—Yes, truly; and, I persuade myself, you would be of that mind too, if you would patiently attend to my objections against their doctrine, and weigh them without prejudice or partiality. But, before I propound those objections, it will be requisite that we take a brief view of that doctrine; which I shall therefore concisely, yet truly and clearly, sum up in these *Five Articles* following:

They hold,—1. *That God by an absolute decree hath elected to salvation a very little number of men, without any regard to their faith or obedience whatsoever; and [hath] secluded from saving grace all the rest of mankind, and appointed them by the same decree to eternal damnation, without any regard to their infidelity or impenitency.*

2. *That Christ Jesus hath not suffered death for any other, but for those elect only; having neither had any intent, nor commandment of his Father, to make satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.*

3. *That by Adam's fall his posterity lost their free-will, being put to an unavoidable necessity to do, or not to do, whatever they do or do not, whether it be good or evil; being thereunto predestinate by the eternal and effectual secret decree of God.*

* Rom. ii, 7. † 1 Cor. i, 31.—Phil. iv, 4.

4. *That God, to save his elect from the corrupt mass, doth beget faith in them, by a power equal to that whereby he created the world and raised up the dead; insomuch that such unto whom he gives that grace, cannot reject it; and the rest, being reprobate, cannot accept of it, though it be offered unto both by the same preaching and ministry.*

5. *That such as have once received that grace by faith, can never fall from it finally nor totally, notwithstanding the most enormous sins they can commit.*

Dr. Damman.—I confess you have done the Divines of that Synod no wrong in setting down their tenets. But what objections have you against the doctrine.

Til.—I shall insist only upon this, (and it is so comprehensive I need mention no more,) It doth not only evacuate the force and virtue, but quite frustrateth the use, of the ministry of the word, and all other holy ordinances instituted by our Saviour Christ, and commanded to be continued, for the edification and benefit of his church, to the world's end.

Dr. Dubious.—How can you make that appear?

Til.—For the ministry of the word, it is employed either about the wicked or the godly. *The wicked* are of two sorts,—either *infidels* despising, or *carnal persons* professing, the holy gospel. *The godly* are of two sorts, or two tempers likewise, or we may consider them under a two-fold estate,—either as *remiss and tepid,* or else as *disconsolate and tempted:* so that the ministry of the word is designed to a four-fold end, in respect of man:

1. The conviction and conversion of an infidel.
2. The correction and amendment of the carnal.
3. The quickening and provocation of the tepid and slothful.
4. The comfort and consolation of the afflicted and tempted.

But the former doctrine of the Synod of Dort, is so far from being serviceable to any of these four ends, that it is directly repugnant to them all, and therefore not consonant to that *holy Scripture given by inspiration of God, which is profitable* for all those ends, as the Apostle saith,—"for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God, who is a helper of the people's joy,* may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." (2 Tim. iii, 15, 16.)

* 2 Cor. i, 24.

That this may the more evidently appear, I desire you with whom that doctrine is in so high esteem, to make a *practical attempt* of it: Herein I desire you to be true to your own principles, and not to shuffle, as usually in your popular sermons, wherein *the Synodical and Calvinian principle* in your DOCTRINE, is always confuted by an *Arminian exhortation* in your APPLICATION. In the mean while, I am content to personate successively those four sorts of men; and, for method's sake, I pray address your discourse, FIRST, for the conversion of TILENUS INFIDELIS.

I. TILENUS INFIDELIS.

DR. ABSOLUTE.—Most gladly will we undertake this task; that we may convince you of the errors in which we see you are immersed; provided you do not study to be obstinate, nor allege any other reasons to justify your recusancy and averseness to the Christian faith, than what you clearly deduce from the doctrine of the Synod and the Divines thereof.—To begin the work then, we will take it for granted that you acknowledge a Deity; and [we] demand of you, with what attributes this Deity is, according to your apprehension, invested and clothed.

TIL. INFIDELIS.—The school of nature hath determined that question by so many irrefragable arguments, that I am convinced long since, that there is a Sovereign Power called GOD; and when I consider such beams and characters of wisdom and knowledge in the soul of man, such impressions of truth and justice upon his conscience, with so great a variety of goodness in all creatures, I must conclude, that God, the Maker of all these, is an Eternal Being, *infinitely wise, good, and just.* I believe further, that this most wise God in communicating so much goodness unto man, intended hereby to oblige him to pay, according to his ability, such homage and service as is due to his sovereign excellency and bounty, and in performance hereof we may be confident to find protection and reward.

SIMULANS.—The God whom we profess and worship, and he alone, is such a God as you have described; but *more merciful and gracious, infinitely,* than you have been acquainted with; to whose service, therefore, we do most earnestly invite you.

TIL. INFID.—I thank you for your pretended kindness. But if you can produce no fairer glass to represent the nature of your God, than the doctrine of that Synod, I must tell you, I shall have no temptation or inducement at all to believe in him: For that doctrine is so far from exalting the attributes of

wisdom, goodness, and justice in him, that it doth in a high measure impeach them all.

Fatality.—You will never be able to make that good.

Til. Infid.—I beseech you, hear me patiently. For his wisdom first: I conceive that is extremely eclipsed, in that he hath made choice of no better means to advance his own honour, but hath stooped to such mean and unworthy designs to compass that end, as all but tyrants and bankrupts would be ashamed of.

Dr. Dubius.—How so?

Til. Infid.—Your doctrine, if it does not belie the Majesty you profess to worship, supposeth him to have made a *peremptory decree*, whereby his subjects are *necessitated* to trade with hell and Satan for sin and damnation, to the end he may take advantage out of that commerce *to raise an inconsiderable impost* to augment the revenues of his own glory.

Preterition.—We have his own word for it, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" (Matt. xx, 15.)

Til. Infid.—(1) Your Scripture must not conclude me, while I personate the Infidel.—But (2) We are not now arguing what God may do by his *absolute power* and right of dominion, but what is agreeable to his infinite *wisdom*.—And (3) Your text speaks of a free disbursement of his favours: but our discourse proceeds upon the account of appointing men to sin and punishment. Now I hope you will not call sin "God's own," though your doctrine concludes him fairly to be the Author of it; and for the punishment,—he is pleased to call that *opus alienum*, not his own but "a strange work." But if your God, *for his mere pleasure only*, and to make demonstration of his absolute power, hath appointed to eternal torments the greatest part of his noblest creatures *without any respect to sin*, as some of your Synod do maintain, not regarding his own image in them,—what is this but to play the tyrant? and where then is that *infinite goodness*, which you profess to be in your God, and which I expect to be in that God whom I fear and honour? "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast;" (Prov. xii, 10.) yet his mercy is to be but a a copy transcribed from that original in God.* But if your God be of that temper, the righteous man may very well be a precedent of mercy unto him.

Preterition—Indeed some of the Synod do maintain that rigid way, but the Synod itself determined otherwise, viz. that

* Luke vi, 36.

Almighty God, looking upon mankind *as fallen in the loins of Adam,* passed over the greatest part of them, leaving them in that *lapsed estate,* not affording them sufficient grace for their recovery, ordaining finally to condemn them.

Til. Infid.—If for the sin of another man, and that pardoned to him that did wilfully commit it, but imputed to his posterity, (who never were in a capacity to taste the pleasure of it, to consent unto it, or protest against it,) your pretended God deals thus cruelly with them, depriving them for ever of his grace which should enable them to repent, and sealing them up by an irrevocable decree under an irresistible necessity continually to sin and then to perish everlastingly for so sinning;—where is that infinite justice, accompanied with that superabundant mercy and graciousness, [which] you affirmed to be in him? I have heard, that the God whom Christians do adore, is so infinitely merciful, that he "will have all men to be saved, and none to perish;" and [that] not able to swear by a greater, [he] swears by himself, that he "wills not the death of a sinner, but that he may repent and live;" that he protesteth the sufficiency of his own applications, and bewaileth their wilful obstinacy, and expostulateth most earnestly: "What could have been done more that I have not done? O that there were such a heart in you! Why will ye die?" Indeed there is so much grace and sweetness in these expressions, they would bring a poor wretch presently upon his knees to such a God.

Dr. Dubius.—These are all the very expressions of that God whom we serve, into whose gracious arms and bosom we so earnestly desire to bring you.

Til. Infid.—If you could teach me how to reconcile these expressions to the doctrine of your Synod, I should say something: but I conclude that impossible.

Simulans.—I shall willingly undertake that work, as hard as you make it, and a great deal more too, to gain your soul out of the state of infidelity. There is a three-fold distinction used amongst our Divines, that will untie the knot presently. (1) Mr. Calvin (in Ezek. xviii, 23,) hath very learnedly observed, that God hath two wills: One *outward and revealed,* whereby he doth most sweetly invite sinners to his grace, and most graciously calls them to repentance, seeming as though he were most earnestly desirous of their salvation. The other will is *inward and secret,* which is irresistible and takes effect infallibly;

and by this he brings, through ways unavoidable, to an estate and course of sin here, and then to eternal damnation and punishment hereafter." Now, to apply this; you must understand those places of scripture, forementioned, of God's outward and revealed will which is uneffectual, not of his inward and secret will which is unresistible.

TIL. INFID.—A very useful distinction, and tending much to the honour of your God, as you have applied it! I see you have not your name for nought, Mr. Simulans! But for my part, I think Homer was much more honest than you and your God, when he says, that Εχθρος μεν μοι, &c. "Who speaks contrary to what he means, ought to be held as a common enemy, and hated as the very gates of hell." But perhaps your second distinction may be more satisfactory. I pray let us have that.

SIMULANS.—We must make use of distinctions to clear our doctrines from contradiction; and if that doth not like you, we have another which cannot be denied. When it is said, that "God would have all men to be saved," the word "all" is to be understood, *non de singulis generum*, but *de generibus singulorum*: "not for all of every kind," but "for some few only of every sort and nation."

TIL. INFID.—Methinks, Sir, if this be the meaning of the words, the Scripture might have said with far more reason, that "God will have all men to be damned," since of every nation and condition the number of the damned do so far exceed the number of the saved, according to your doctrine; and reason requires, that the denomination should be made according to the major part. But perhaps your third distinction will help this out.

SIMULANS.—The will of God is either *approbans tantum*, or else *approbans et efficiens simul.** God, we say, will have all men to be converted and saved *approbativè, non effectivè*: "he approves of it and likes it well in himself that all men be converted and saved, but he wills it not effectively;" that is, he hath decreed the contrary, not to give them means necessary to the attainment of it.

TIL. INFID.—This distinction I conceive no less unreasonable and absurd than the former. That your God should appoint by

* God's will is either that of *approbation alone*, or that of *approbation and efficiency together*.

a secret, absolute, and irrevocable decree, that those things which he doth naturally hate and abhor should be most practised, and those which he naturally loves and likes should be omitted ;—this is so inconsistent with that infinite wisdom and goodness, which you proclaim to be in him, that I cannot find myself, in any measure inclined to acknowledge him the Governor of the world. I suspect rather, that you have a design to make me become a proselyte to the Manichæans, who profess two principles,—a wicked one as well as a good one ; and having acknowledged my persuasion of a good God, who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity, you tempt me to believe a wicked God also, which is the Author of all evil, and in perpetual hostility against the former. It were so great an impeachment of his sincerity, that no civil person would endure to have his words so interpreted as you interpret those of your gospel ; the unavoidable consequence whereof is, that your God is the true Author of all the sins and wickedness of this world, both past, present, and to come.

Fatality.—We say, *Deus est causa cur peccatum existat, sed non cur sit,* "God is the cause of the existence, but not of the essence, (if I may so speak,) of sin ;" as he that drives a lame horse is the cause of his halting, but not of his lameness.

Til. Infid.—This distinction will hardly help the lame dog over the style : For, he that drives a horse unavoidably into that motion, which necessarily causeth his first halting, is certainly the cause of his lameness : and so did your God drive Adam (according to your own doctrine,) into the first sin ; which made him and his posterity halt ever since.

Fatality.—You must distinguish the *materiality* of sin from the *formality* of it ; or the *act* from the *deformity*. God, we say, is cause of the *act*, or the *materiality :* but not of the *formality*, the *defect*, or *obliquity* of it.

Til. Infid.—I reply, (1) That there are sins of omission, which happen (according to your doctrine,) by reason the offender is deprived of *necessary and sufficient grace* to perform the duty, and these sins are not capable of that distinction ; and if the *deficient* cause in things necessary be the *efficient*, you know to whom such sins are to be imputed,—(2) There are sins of commission not capable of that distinction neither ; as in blasphemy, murder, adultery, wherein the *act* is not to be distinguished from the *exorbitancy ;* were such a distinction allowable

before God, (and if it be not, sure it is not to be alleged on his behalf,) every transgressor might shew a fair acquittance, and justly plead NOT GUILTY. The adulterer might say, he went in to his adultress *as a woman*, not *as she was married to another man;* and that he humbled her *for procreation, or for a remedy of his concupiscence, not for injury to her husband.* The blasphemer might say, what he spake was *to make use of the faculty of speech* which God had given him, and *to keep his tongue in use*, not *to dishonour the Almighty.* And so (might every offender have leave by virtue of this distinction to separate his *sinful act* from the *enormity of it,*) every sin would become a miracle, that is, it would be an accident without a subject. If your God stands in need of this logic himself, there is all the reason in the world, that (when he sits in judgment) he should allow the benefit thereof to others.—But (3) the greatest Doctors of your Synod have written, that "God doth predestinate men as well to the means as to the end:" but the natural act (granting your distinction,) is not the cause of man's damnation, as it is an *act*, but only as it is *sin;* and therefore those unfortunate, forlorn wretches whom the absolute pleasure of your God hath invincibly chained to the fatal decree of Reprobation, can no more abstain from following sin (the means,) than avoid damnation (the woful end,) to which they are so peremptorily designed.

FATALITY.—We do not desire that you should launch out any further into that unfordable abyss of horror and astonishment,—the decree of eternal Reprobation. It is more for your comfort, to "make your calling and election sure;" to get an interest in Jesus Christ through faith; by whose means the eternal decree of mercy may be accomplished to you.

TIL. INFID.—If the decree of God be really such as you propound it, my endeavours would be to as little purpose as your instruction is like to be: For if every man be inrolled from all eternity, (after such a sort as your Synod hath determined,) in one of those two fatal books of LIFE or DEATH, it is as impossible to be blotted out of either, as for God to deny himself. To what end then serves all your importunity?

IMPERTINENT.—It were too great an arrogance in us to pry into God's secrets. "Till he gives us a key (of his own making) to unlock that cabinet, we must not undertake to read the mysteries [which] he hath locked up in it. There are visible

marks by which we may discern the Elect from the Reprobate, and those we must reflect upon, to the making out of our assurance: And because our vocation is the next saving benefit that results from our Election, and it is altogether uncertain when God will vouchsafe it to us, whether at the third, or at the sixth, or at the ninth, or at the last hour of our lives; therefore every one ought to keep himself in readiness, to answer when God knocks, and to obey when he calls. What you utter in your ignorance and unbelief is capable of so much alleviation that it proceeded from you in such a state; otherwise I should tell you it savours much of a spirit of Reprobation, to say, "that, since such as God hath elected, are elected to the means as well as to the end, men work in vain to believe, and do the exercises of piety, as well as to be saved; and to perform these in order to their salvation."

Til. Infid.—If it be so great an arrogance to pry into these secrets, why do you so positively define in them, and so peremptorily obtrude your definitions upon others?—But (2) If all men be infallibly enlisted under one of those two regiments, of Election or Reprobation, and we be not able to distinguish to which we do belong, till God be pleased to call us over and give us our special marks and cognizance; and if that vocation be not in our own power to procure, all our works and endeavours that are brought forth before it, being born in sin and children of wrath, (as your doctrine teacheth,) and so not conducible to that purpose,—sure it were a piece of improvidence at least, if not a huge presumption, to attempt thus to prevent the will of God and anticipate the decrees of heaven; notwithstanding, it is a part of our faith, (as you define it,) that we must needs stay till that saving call of God doth ring so loud in our ears, that it is impossible we should be deaf or disobedient to it.

Dr. Confidence.—None but a Reprobate would argue after this manner.

Til. Infid.—If you be of that opinion, I will hear no more of your instructions: For I understand, it is one of your tenets, that "the gospel is preached to the greatest part of the world, to no other end but to aggravate their condemnation;" as it is recorded by a chief professor of that doctrine, called Mr. Calvin, that God doth direct his word unto such, "that they may become the more deaf; and that he doth set his light before

them, of purpose to make them the more blind." (Instit. III, chap. xxiv, sec. 13.) And if this be the infinite WISDOM, GOODNESS, and JUSTICE of your God, those at whose ears there never arrived any intelligence of him, are the more happy, or at least the less unfortunate and miserable, than those who are brought into some acquaintance with him and yet cannot believe, because the notice they have of him, through his own unprovoked restraint, is not attended with grace necessary to work belief in them.

IMPERTINENT.—We advise you to betake yourself to your prayers, "that these thoughts of your heart may be forgiven you," and that God would put you into a better mind.

TIL. INFID.—I am weary of these absurd contradictions: for if the best works of the unregenerate be not only unfruitful, but noxious and hurtful, (as they are accounted by the test and scale of your doctrine,) and if it be "impossible to please God without faith" in Christ, and that faith not to be ushered into the soul but by the dead-awakening call of the Almighty, my prayers in this state of infidelity will rather provoke and exasperate that God unto whom you advise me to pray, than propitiate and appease him. That philosopher, therefore, gave those wicked passengers whom the violence of a tempest had stormed into a fit of devotion, a great deal better counsel, when he said, *Silete, ne dii vos nebulones hic navigare sentiant*: He bid them "hold their peace, lest their cries should give the Gods warning to take their advantage to shipwreck and destroy them."

By this, gentlemen, you see with what success you are able to manage your plea (according to your Synod's principles,) in behalf of your God against an INFIDEL; perhaps you may come off better in your attempt to correct a wicked Christian: I desire, therefore, in the next place, that you would make proof of your discipline upon Tilenus CARNALIS.

II. TILENUS CARNALIS.

FATALITY.—Herein, methinks, I should make no great difficulty to prevail, if the power of reason can but fasten upon your understanding, or the tie of religion upon your conscience, or the sense of gratitude upon your heart and affections. Do but reflect upon those obligations which Almighty God hath laid upon you, in your creation and redemption. He hath a fair title to your best obedience by right of dominion, in regard of that excellent nature and being which he freely conferred upon

you; but a stronger title, (if stronger may be,) by the right of a dear purchase, made by no lower a price than his own blood. These obligations, as common equity hath drawn them up, so (with respect to the benefit that would accrue to you hereby,) your own ingenuity hath drawn you on to subscribe and seal them. You have been solemnly devoted unto God and listed a sworn soldier under the banner of your Redeemer. Are you under his pay, and fight against his interest? Do you wear his livery, and eat his provisions, and expect his reward,—and yet spend your time and strength and talents in the service of his mortal enemy? How execrable is the sacrilege of this ingratitude and rebellion! Remember, it will not be long ere the justice of God sends the trumpet of the law, (which will be so much the shriller if it be sounded by the hollow lungs of death,) to give your now-secure conscience a hot alarum. And when you are once awakened with the terror of those dreadful threatenings, you will be amazed at the horror of that apprehension, when you shall behold all those shoals and swarms of sin (you are guilty of) mustered up in their several ranks and files to charge and fight against you, for the momentary and trifling pleasures whereof you have so improvidently forfeited all the comforts of a good conscience and refreshments of the Holy Ghost, with your portion in heaven and your interest in God's favour. In exchange whereof, like a foolish merchant, you have procured nothing but the coals of eternal vengeance and the flames of hell, which the crowds of your condensed sins have thrust wide open, ready to swallow up and devour you, unless you presently prevent it, by an unfeigned repentance and universal reformation.

Til. Carnalis.—Sir, I beseech you, suffer not your zeal of a holy life to transport you beyond the rule of sacred truth; lest, while you pretend to honour God on earth, you cast reproach upon his eternal designs in heaven. I am jealous, Tilenus Infidelis hath so disturbed your passions, that you know not where you are: For you have quite forgotten your Synod and your principles, and (I think) your own name too, and seem to have lost your creed in your commandments. Recollect your senses, and recal your wandering phantasy, and awaken your judgment to consult the oracle of your belief, (your Synod,) and speak accordingly, for "whatsoever is not of faith will be sin" in you. And is it not one of the articles of that creed which

you profess?, that "all the good and evil whatsoever that happens in the world, doth come to pass by the only immutable and ineluctable decree of God, and by his most effectual ordinance; that the FIRST CAUSE doth so powerfully guide and impel all second causes, and the will of man amongst the rest, that they cannot possibly either act or suffer sooner than they do, or in any other manner." I am sorry I am no more master of myself and my own actions, that I am so divested of my liberty and carry a nature about me so debauched, that I cannot choose but suffer myself to be carried captive under the power of those sins that reign in me: But, my comfort is, I am assured, by the judgment of such sound Divines as yourself, that *the secret will* of God (which procured Judas's treason no less than Paul's conversion,) hath so decreed it. And you know it is not in my power to procure a writ of ejectment, to cast out that sin which came in and keeps possession by the uncontrollable order of the Divine Predestination. I cannot get grace, when God will not give it me; nor keep it, when he is pleased to take it away from me. I have no lure to throw out, that the Dove of heaven will vouchsafe to stoop unto. *The Spirit blows where He pleases, inspires whom He pleases, retires when He pleases, and returns when He pleases.* And so if it comes with an intent to amend me, it will be as impossible then to put him back as it is now to draw him on. It were an intolerable presumption in me, to make myself so much a taskmaster over the Holy Spirit, as to prescribe him the time and hour when he shall effect that work for me, whereunto I am able to contribute no more than to mine own birth or resurrection. * I can affirm with confidence, I never was so much an Atheist as to entertain the least distrustful thought of the Divine Power. When he hath been four days dead and lies stinking in his grave, Lazarus may be raised; and the more putrid I am in my corruptions, the triumphs of the Divine grace will be so much the more glorious in my restitution; but

* *Atque hæc est illa tantopere in Scripturis prædicata regeneratio, nova creatio, suscitatio e mortuis, et vivificatio, quam Deus* SINE NOBIS *in nobis operatur.*—Can. 12, Art. 3 & 40, Synodi Dordracenæ.—"And this is that regeneration, second creation, raising from the dead and quickening, (so often inculcated in the Holy Scriptures,) which God worketh IN US, but not WITH US."—*Old English Translation:* Printed by JOHN BILL, 1619,—the very year in which the Synod of Dort was held.

it may be the last hour of the day with me, before the Day-spring doth thus visit me. In the mean while, to shew my detestation of that arrogant doctrine of the Arminians, I will not strive to do the least endeavour towards piety; lest, by attributing some liberty to myself, I should eclipse the glory of God's grace, which I acknowledge [to be] as well most free in her approaches, as unresistible in her working. I confess, for the present, my sins have brought such a damp upon my grieved spirit, that he doth not afford me so much grace as to cry, "Abba, Father!" Nevertheless I can call to mind, I have sometimes heretofore had such heavenly motions and gracious inspirations in my heart, as could be breathed from no other than the Spirit of the Almighty, and hereby there hath been begotten in me a faith in Christ's merits, not only true (which can never be lost,) but so firm also, that I am even now "persuaded nothing shall be able to separate me from the love of God towards me in Christ Jesus." This faith is rooted in a rock, which all the powers of darkness are not able to root up, though to your present apprehension (for want of the fruits and blossoms of piety and devotion,) it be as trees and herbs in winter, which seem dry, dead, and withered, but are not so. Besides, being one of God's Elect (as every one is bound to believe, according to the doctrine of the Synod of Dort, or is declared "foresworn" by that of Alez,) it follows, by the same doctrine, that my sin, though never so abominable, doth co-operate to my salvation; yea, and that my pardon is sealed already; and this, Mr. Fatality, you intimate yourself, in your exhorting me to repentance: For repentance (you know) is of no worth without faith, and faith itself is defective except it believes the forgiveness of all sins, past and to come. However, if I be a Reprobate, (which no temptation shall induce me to believe, contrary to my duty, as I am instructed by the doctrine of the Synod,) yet, unless you have a commission to disannul the decrees of heaven, your threatenings and exhortations cannot avail me: but may do me this disadvantage, that they may anticipate my hell-terrors, and beget a worm in my bosom to torment me before the time.

Take-o'-trust.—I like it well, you are so fully persuaded of the All-sufficiency of the Divine grace, and that you profess so much averseness to the proud conceits of the Arminians, (not daring to ascribe any thing to your own endeavours,) and that

you are so careful to avoid the comfortless suspicion of your being under the state of Reprobation. But I much bewail your dangerous error in one thing, and must endeavour your correction in that, as the most likely foundation of all your practical miscarriages.

Til. Carnal.—I beseech you, what may that be? I should be glad to have it discovered to me.

Take-o'-trust.—Because (as you argued very well according to the mind of the Synod,) the Holy Spirit doth immediately produce repentance in the sinner's heart, therefore you seem to set light by the ordinance of the word; and this is a very dangerous error in you: For the word (preached especially) with threatenings and exhortations, are the means and instruments by which the Holy Ghost worketh, to the conversion and correction of a sinner.

Til. Carnal.—When we take our principles, without any examination, upon the credit of our admired authors, we are apt to embrace their contradictions as points of faith, and their absurdities as parts of our belief. And so it hath happened to yourself in this particular: For you must observe, that *that* manner of working only is called "immediate" wherein no means do concur. Now, if the repentance and conversion of a sinner be attributed to the *immediate* working of the Holy Ghost, it implies a manifest contradiction to say, that "exhortations and threatenings are the *instruments and means* thereof." Besides, the very essence and being of an instrument is placed in the aptitude and fitness which it hath for the use and office to which it is designed: so a knife is a knife, in that respect only —that the quality and form of its matter give it an aptitude to cut: an eye is therefore an eye, because it is apt to see. So every instrument hath a suitable fitness to that office for the performance whereof it is designed to be an instrument; and therein lies its subserviency to the principal efficient.

Take-o'-trust.—By this very reason I conclude, the ministry of the word to be the means and instrument of the sinner's conversion and repentance: For it is most apt to inform his understanding of his duty, and to quicken his will and affections to pursue and follow the same.

Til. Carnal.—Sir, you are much mistaken; indeed if a moral efficiency would serve the turn, there are most excellent arguments of persuasion to work upon a reasonable creature:

But this is the very thing that the Arminians do plead for. Our Synod, and the Divines thereof, teach us otherwise,—namely, that "the conversion of a sinner cannot be wrought but by a physical or hyper-physical action; an impression of grace that is irresistible; to which effect the ministry of the word (as exhortations and commands, promises and threatenings,) can no more avail, (having no more aptitude thereunto,) than to the raising of the dead, or the creation of the world."

IMPERTINENT.—We do read, at the raising up of Lazarus, and the creation of the world, that "God spake the word and it was done." (Gen. i, 3, 6.—John xi, 43.)

TIL. CARNAL.—THE WORD that produced those effects, was not *the word of exhortation*, such as we speak of; no, nor yet that outward word consisting of sound and syllables, which did but signify what God was about to work by his irresistible omnipotency. But it was *the word of his power*,* which is said to be his SON.† And as there could be no resistance made against that power, exerted and put forth for that creation and resurrection; so your Synod teach us to believe, that "that power, which is employed to effect the conversion of a sinner from the error of his ways, is equally irresistible;" but that the ministry of the word hath no such power or energy, appears too manifestly, in the frequent and almost general contempt and frustration of it. This therefore having no aptitude to such an use or office, (which nothing but an irresistible force can accomplish,) it can with no propriety of speech be said to be *the means and instrument thereof.*

KNOWLITTLE.—Then you will allow the ministry of the word to be of no use at all in the Church of God.

TIL. CARNAL.—One function it hath, and no more, according to the consequence of the Synod's doctrine; it serves for a sign or object, to represent outwardly what the Spirit works inwardly, as well in the will as in the understanding. But, because it is like the raising of the dead and the creation of the world, it requires an omnipotent and irresistible operation; therefore the Scripture, though it represents and urgeth conversion so many sundry ways, (as by way of command, exhortation, promise, and threatening,) yet, to speak congruously to our principles, it can imply and signify it but *as a work of God's*, not *as a duty*

* Heb. i, 3. † Ibid. verse 2, compared with Col. i, 16, 17.

of our's. And then, why should we trouble ourselves about it, any more than Adam troubled himself about the creation of Eve, or Lazarus about his own resurrection?, especially seeing we must believe it is nothing in our power to help it forward, and that God, in pursuance of his own decrees, will infallibly perform it, though we be cast into as deep a sleep (of security) as Adam was, or lie stinking in the grave of our corruptions (though insensible of it) as did Lazarus.

Dr. Dubius.—Do you then think the use of the ministry a thing indifferent, and purpose to decline it?

Til. Carnal.—Seeing the most the word can do, is, *to make us moral men,* (if yet it can do that!) which are of no great esteem in God's kingdom, as our Divines generally have resolved; seeing the Spirit is no more bound to wait upon the preaching thereof, than to be at our command; and seeing when He does come, He needs none of those *auxiliary* forces to atchieve his *irresistible* conquest over our rebellions; and yet God hath been pleased, (out of his unsearchable wisdom, and to shew his own dominion and liberty,) so to order the matter, that, although the word cannot really promote our spiritual good, (which is a work far above the sphere of its power and activity,) yet, receiving it in vain, (though it be not in our power, confessedly, to receive it otherwise,) it will aggravate our condemnation;—for this cause I think it prudent to avoid the certain danger, which the no-probable good that, according to those principles of the Synod, will accrue by it.

Narrowgrace.—If you be of that mind, we must leave you to the mercy of God and the use of your own prayers, which are the only reserve we can commend to your assistance and benefit.

Til. Carnal.—Alas! Sir, you are as much out of the story now as ever: For *the grace* of prayer (without which the duty will be a vain oblation, if not abominable,) must be derived from the same Supernal Fountain; and we cannot pump it up ourselves, it comes freely; and when it comes, it is so impetuous, and overflows the soul with such inundations of the Spirit, that it is impossible to resist it. And since you see me altogether silent to this office, you may conclude, that *this silence begins in heaven,* and that God will not have me pray, in that he denies me his grace to that effect. But, Sir, you do well to take your leave of me; for it is evident that God hath not employed you,

as intending my amendment by your ministry; since I find the confusion of your doctrine more apt to furnish a cushion for the secure and careless, or a halter for the doubtful and despairing, than any SACRED AMULET against the charms and poison of impiety. And yet because, when the wheel is once in motion, a little strength will be sufficient to continue it, and the fire is easily blown up after it is once kindled; therefore you may please to make your third experiment upon Tilenus TEPIDUS. I am afraid you can produce no argument to quicken his remissness into a more thorough-pace of devotion, which the dexterous use of that buckler (of the Synod's doctrine) will not be able to put by. Let us hear therefore how you will urge him to a further progress in piety.

III. TILENUS TEPIDUS.

EFFICAX.—Do but reflect upon Peter's redoubled exhortation, 2 Pet. i, 4. He supposeth, that "they had escaped the (foul) corruption that is in the world through lust." And, "Besides this," saith he, "giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue," &c.; and "give diligence to make your calling and election sure." (verse 10.)

TIL. TEPIDUS.—If Saint Peter had understood "our calling and election" in the same sense [as that in which] the Synod understands them, his exhortation had been to little purpose: For (in that sense) it is as sure already, as the wisdom, truth, and power of God, or as the blood of Christ or the seals of the Divine decrees, can make it. "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, *The Lord knoweth them that are his.*" (2 Tim. ii, 19.) It were arrogance to go about to lay any other foundation; and a folly to imagine we are able to fortify it by our endeavours.

SIMULANS.—But, Sir, we should make a conscience of the duty, though there were no other necessity of it, but *necessitas præcepti*, "because it is the will of Almighty God."

TIL. TEPID.—I perceive, Sir, you have forgotten your own distinction, though it is so little while since you used it. You told us, God hath a two-fold will,—an outward revealed will, and an inward secret will.—His outward will is signified by *his commands:*" "But," saith Piscator, "they are not properly God's will, for sometimes he nills the fulfilling of them. As for example,* He commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac, yet

* Gen. xxii, 2, 12

he nilled the execution of it." But his secret will is *the will of his good pleasure,* which he hath therefore decreed shall ever come to pass. Whereupon, one of your Divines concludes, "there is a kind of holy simulation in God," *Unde percipitur esse simulationem quandam sanctam, &c.* Now, whereas you urge me to *give all diligence* that I may grow in grace, if this were *the will of God's beneplaciture* he would move and impel me indeclinably to effect it. But if it be only *his outward will,* and improperly so called, (He having, by an irrevocable decree, *predetermined my not doing of it,* though it be outwardly commanded,) then my not doing his outward will, is the performance of his secret will; and *this* being his proper will, wherein consists *his good pleasure,* my compliance therewith must needs be the more acceptable; especially since to *this* he affords me his providential concurrence, which he denies me towards the accomplishment of *the other.*

Knowlittle.—We are taught, that there are degrees of glory,—"One glory of the sun, another of the moon, and another of the stars;" and so there shall be in heaven. (1 Cor. xv.) Now, grant that you are secure (as you presume) as to the estate of glory; yet you should be earnest in your endeavours to capacitate yourself for the highest degrees of it.

Til. Tepid.—There are some [who] have made a question of those different degrees of glory. In the parable, every one at the end of the day received his penny, as much they that had wrought but one hour, as they that had "borne the heat and burden of the day." And the righteous shall *all shine as the sun* in the kingdom of the Father; and *every one shall enter into the joy of the Lord,* which is "fulness of joy." But, beside this, "if a sparrow falleth not to the ground without God's providence," and if "the hairs of our heads be all numbered," (as our Saviour saith they are,) shall we not think as well, that every degree of happiness and every beam of glory and spark of joy, are likewise apportioned and predetermined for all the Elect?

Dr. Absolute.—It is true, the state of eternal bliss, as to all the degrees of joy and glory in it, is firmly and irreversibly decreed to all the Elect; but yet, through your remissness, and especially if that betrays you to any wasting sin, you may damp your hopes, and lose the sense and comfortable apprehension of the influences and effects thereof, which, you know, was David's case: "O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger,

neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak. O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed. My soul is also sore vexed; but thou, O Lord, how long? Return, O Lord, deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercies' sake, and restore to me the joy of thy salvation!" (Ps. vi.) "For in death there is no remembrance of thee." (Ps. li.) From hence, you see, there is ground enough for the Apostle's exhortation: "We desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence, to the full assurance of hope firm unto the end." (Heb. vi, 11.)

Til. Tepid.—I know, Mr. Diodati, in his *Annotations* upon the fifth verse of that sixth Psalm, saith: "Hereby is shewn the fear of God's children, anguished and pressed by the feeling of his wrath, lest they should die out of his grace unreconciled; and by that means be excluded and debarred from their desired aim, to be everlastingly instruments of his glory." But it is probable David had no intelligence of that comfortable doctrine, (defined by the Synod in this last age,) as appears by his fearful complaint and expostulation, (if that Psalm were his,) in the Seventy-seventh Psalm: "I remembered God and was troubled. I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed: My soul refused to be comforted. Will the Lord cast off for ever, and will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?" There could not have been this conflict of diffidence and anxiety in him, if he had been established in the principles of the Synod: For, annexing the Lord's public declarations, (by the mouth of Samuel touching him,) * to the conscience of his own integrity, he might have collected a certainty of his present regeneration, (when he was anointed king,) and from thence have concluded undeniably *his election from all eternity*, and consequently the impossibility of his rejection from God's favour. But there is some likelihood, he thought, that in the designation of his everlasting mercy towards them, God considered men *as faithful*, (according to the way of the Arminians,) *and as persevering in their faithfulness*. For he saith, "Know that the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself." (Ps. iv, 3.) If that text will not serve the turn, yet

* 1 Sam. xiii, 14, & xvi, 6, 7.

there is one unavoidable: "The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting, upon them that fear him: to such as keep his covenant: and to those that remember his commandments to do them." (Ps. ciii, 17, 18.) And "to him that ordereth his conversation aright, will I shew the salvation of God." (Ps. l, 23.) And governing his persuasions by these principles, there is no wonder he was so exceedingly transported with a fear of God's displeasure. And that such were his principles, may be collected also from hence, in that, when the paroxysm of the temptation was somewhat over, he doth not make his recourse to *the immutable decree of God's Election*, to cure the remanent palpitation of his spirits; but only to former experience of God's merciful dispensations towards his people. "I will remember the works of the Lord: Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, &c. Surely I will remember thy wonders of old: &c. Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary. Who is so great as our God?" (Ps. lxxvii, 11—15.) But since the clearing up of this soul-settling doctrine by the great judgment and piety of the Synod, he that hath once tasted the graciousness of the Lord *in his effectual vocation*, and firmly believes "that the things concerning his everlasting happiness are so established and carried on by *the irresistible power of an irrespective decree*," (as is there taught,)—he may cast away all anxiety and care, and repose himself with confidence under the wings of that security.

Dr. Absolute.—But the Synod declares, *Fidelibus perpetuò esse vigilandum et orandum, ne in tentationes inducantur, &c.* "That the faithful must watch and pray, lest they fall into temptations; and that when they grow remiss and torpid, quit their guard and neglect their duty, (as you do,) they are many times surprised of the flesh and the world, and carried captive into heinous and enormous sins; whereby they offend God, and grieve the Holy Spirit, and incur the guilt of death," and the like.

Til. Tepid.—It was well you stopped there, Mr. Doctor. But I had thought your worship had been better versed in this point. For my part, such Mormoes and bug-bears never trouble me. I am taught by the Synod to believe, "that ALL THE SINS IN THE WORLD *shall never be able to separate an elect person from the love of God;*" but [shall] rather make for his greater advantage.

INDEFECTIBLE.—But, suppose by your sins you should provoke God to anger, so far forth that he should cut you off, as our Saviour threatens the Jews: "Ye shall die in your sins." And, "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and doth according to all the abominations that the wicked man doth, shall he live? All his righteousness that he hath done, shall not be mentioned: in in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned,—in them shall he die." (Ezek. xviii, 24.)

TIL. TEPID.—I did not expect such a supposition or objection from you, of all men living: For, to speak properly, God is never angry but with the Reprobates; and I know it is your avowed opinion, "that the Elect can neither fall finally nor totally,"—and all the Synodists are of the same judgment. They distinguish, therefore, of righteousness, into *that which is inherent* or the righteousness of works, and *that which is imputed* or the righteousness of faith. And they confess, the Elect may forsake his *inherent righteousness,* and fall into the most foul and horrid sins, but yet he doth not fall from his *imputed righteousness,*—the righteousness of Christ, which he hath by faith.—They do also distinguish between *death temporal,* and *death eternal;* affirming that the sins of the Elect, though never so many or heinous, do not incur the guilt of *eternal* death, but only *temporal,*—which is never inflicted upon them, neither as a curse, nor before their restitution: For if you ask them, *What doom had David lain under, if death had surprised him in his murder and adultery?* they will tell you roundly, "It was impossible he should die without repentance."

DR. DUBIUS.—I suppose David's case was extraordinary; and a special reason is given by them of the Synod, why he could not die before repentance, viz. "because after his sin he was to beget a son, of whom the Messias should descend."

TIL. TEPID.—I conceive, that ground is too loose to bear the superstructure, [which] the men of that opinion would raise upon it: For they are not all saints, [who are mentioned] in our Saviour's Genealogy; neither did David's sin bereave him of the faculty of generation. The son of Jesse might have propagated a stem for the Messias to branch out of, and yet have died in his sin afterwards. The impossibility, therefore, of his dying without repentance, is grounded upon a more solid and impregnable foundation, viz. *the eternal decree and love of*

God, which equally concerns all the Elect. That immutable love wherein God elected them, doth exert itself and prompt Him infallibly to confer the grace of repentance upon them first or last, into how great and how many sins soever they run. And if men had the will to improve this most excellent comfortable doctrine, the advantage of it would be unspeakable. Men do beat their brains and exhaust their treasure in experiments to find out and extract the Elixir of Paracelsus, to preserve them in life and health to perpetuity. But here is the only infallible medicine, ten thousand times more sovereign than the poets' fabulous *Ambrosia*, or *Medea's charms* that are said to have restored Jason's father to his youth. Here is a moral antidote against death, easy to be made and pleasant to be taken; a receipt to make us shot-free, sword and pistol-proof; the ingredients are not many, nor chargeable, nor hard to be attained. Let a man get a firm persuasion *that he is elected*, (which, the Synodists say, every one is bound to believe,) then let him be sure to espouse some beloved lust, and keep it very warm in his bosom, being careful (as he hath free-will to evil, Matt. xvii, 12; John xix, 11; Dan. v, 19;) not to cast it off by repentance; and he may venture himself securely in the midst of the greatest perils. Let such elect persons take up arms against their lawful governors, in the pretended defence of their *religion, rights, and liberties*, and they shall hew down thousands of their enemies before them, and none of them shall fall in the attempt, (for they cannot die in sin,)—unless some few, whose pusillanimity and cowardice do melt their hearts into an unseasonable relenting and repentance of their rebellion, while they are in pursuit of their design.

Impertinent.—But, Mr. Tepidus, to grant you, "that the Elect can never fall from grace," (which is our avowed tenet,) yet, certainly, we are bound "to be rich in good works," out of gratitude, that God may have the more glory.

Til. Tepid.—I need not tell you, that it will be all our business to glorify God in heaven; and so we may adjourn that work, till we come thither: For our Divines hold, "that *sin* is as much a means for the setting forth of God's glory as *virtue* is, and that God decreed to bring it into the world to that purpose;" and if it be *the riches of his grace* that we should glorify, how can we glorify that better than by an absolute resignation of ourselves up to it, (in despite of raging sin,) and a confident

dependance upon the free pardon thereof? And, doubtless, if God would really have me shew my gratitude in any other way of service, he would *irresistibly* press me to it: For "whatsoever the Lord pleases, that he THUS effecteth;" (Ps. cxxxv, 6.) —for to that purpose this text is alleged by our Divines. And therefore it is the resolution of Maccovius, (he instanceth in David committing murder and adultery,) "that if we consider the power of the regenerate, in respect of the Divine decree, and in respect of the actual Divine providence, and in respect of the permission of sin, then (and in these respects, which are not in our power,) *a man can never do more good than he doth, nor commit less evil than he committeth.*" His reason is, "that otherwise the will of man might be said *to act independently to the will of God.*" Now if it be thus impossible to "add one cubit to the stature of the NEW MAN," it will (by our Saviour's argument, Matt. vi, 27,) be impertinent and ridiculous to take thought about it. See Luke xii, 26.

KNOWLITTLE.—Mr. Tepidus, Mr. Tepidus! Whatever you say, the doctrine of the Synod doth not overthrow the practice of piety and the power of godliness, as you go about to infer from it: For we know, the Doctors of that assembly were very worthy, godly men; and so are many (as you cannot deny,) that embrace their tenets.

TIL. TEPID.—Though the persecution and banishment of their brethren, (only for dissenting from them in these opinions,) be no great sign of godliness, yet I speak not concerning *the quality of the persons* that hold such opinions, but of *the nature and tendency of the doctrine*, the conclusions which immediately and necessarily flow from it. They may be good men: But, then, they are ill logicians at least, [and] order not their works by their faith or principles: and their godliness is not the result of these principles, but flows from some other, with which these are inconsistent, if they were rationally improved and practised,—as is now evident to you from *this three-fold experiment* already made.

IMPERTINENT.—The power of grace will subdue such carnal reasonings.

TIL. TEPID.—That is, in those men who suffer their reason to be debauched, and then arrested by such principles. But you have yet another part for me to act: I shall not be satisfied till that is over. Another main end of the office ministerial,

is, to comfort the afflicted and doubtful; and, I am persuaded, this is rendered ineffectual by the doctrine of the Synod and its adherents, as well as the other fore-mentioned: For proof whereof, I desire I may now have leave to exhibit my complaints and grievances under the person and title of Tilenus TENTATUS.

IV. TILENUS TENTATUS.

DR. CONFIDENCE.—Let us hear what they are.

TIL. TENTATUS.—Time was when I did walk comfortably before God in my christian profession, feeling such inundations of spiritual consolation flowing into my soul from his gracious presence, as put me in mind of "the hidden manna," mentioned Rev. ii, 17, whose ravishing sweetness nothing but experience can make credible; and hath made me cry out in a holy extasy of admiration, "It is good for me to be here!" But now I feel the tide is turned, my wine is mixed with water, or rather my joys turned into extreme bitterness: For being continually alarumed by the cries of an accusing conscience, I apprehend the terrors of the Divine vengeance set in battle-array against me, and the curses of the law thundering out my sentence of condemnation, and the mouth of hell gaping wide open to swallow me up and devour me. These frightful apprehensions are my constant attendants; they lie down and rise up with me, and pursue me so uncessantly that I am become a burden to myself.

DR. CONFIDENCE.—This is some sudden storm raised in your bosom through the power and subtilty of Satan. But there is refuge at hand,—an immoveable rock to anchor on, that will not suffer you to be overwhelmed. Remember that "Jesus Christ is the propitiation for our sins, and hath purchased eternal redemption for us." By the sacrifice of himself, "He hath purged our sins, and delivered us from the curse of the law, and from the wrath to come, and satisfied the Divine justice, and obtained reconciliation with the Father for us." Every one that is sensible of his misery by reason of sin, and understands what need he hath of a Redeemer, and runs into the arms of Jesus Christ, and embraceth him for his Saviour, and depends upon his merits and mediation, and pays a dutiful subjection to his sceptre and authority, by a true and lively faith, —he hath an interest in all those benefits, (as actually applied to him,) he receives the privilege of justification and adoption, and "being justified by faith, he hath peace with God." (Rom. v, 1.)

Til. Tent.—Sir, I know these are excellent cordials to the soul that is persuaded she hath a real interest in them: but they are designed only for a very small number, as the doctrine of the Synod hath determined. For those Divines tell us, "that Almighty God did *by an absolute decree* elect certain particular persons to salvation,—neither considering the death of his Son, nor the faith of those elect, in that decree,—but then decreed to give his Son to die for them, and *irresistibly* to work in them a saving faith to lay hold upon that his Son, and actually to apply all the said benefits to themselves; for *whose salvation only* they [the benefits] were all prepared and designed. Now all the promises of salvation in Christ, how universally soever propounded, being by your doctrine restrained only to these Elect, (amongst whom that I should reckon myself, neither any particular mention of me in Scripture, nor any revelation by Angel or Prophet out of it, doth assure me,) and the number of them according to your computation being so small in proportion to the Reprobates, there is so much odds against me, that I have reason to be afraid, that I am enlisted under the greater multitude. When Christ said to his Apostles, "One of you shall betray me," though the odds were *eleven* to one on the innocent party's side, yet it raised so much scruple and suspicion in all their bosoms, as made them very anxious and inquisitive: "Master, is it I?" (Matt. xxvi, 22.) Were the number of the Reprobates, "for whom," you say, "Christ died not," far more disproportionable to the Elect; yet the sad apprehension of those eternal torments fatally linked to the end of that horrible decree, would prompt me to entertain fears and jealousies more than enough, lest I should be filed upon that chain, having no assurance to the contrary. How much more should "fearfulness and trembling surprize me," when I consider *how few* the Elect are, even among the *vast multitudes* of such as are called!

Simulans.—Seeing it hath pleased the wisdom of Almighty God, to keep his immutable decrees,—as well that of reprobation as that of election,—locked up in the secret cabinet of his own unsearchable counsel; we are to govern our judgment by *the rule of charity*, "which believeth all things, and hopeth all things." (1 Cor. xiii.)

Til. Tent.—I confess, (1) *the judgment of charity* is a tried and equal beam in many cases; but if you extend it generally

and apply it unto all particulars, it must needs be very false. And I am confident, you dare not avouch the truth of it in such a latitude; or, if you dare, you are no more able to maintain it than I can believe these two contrary propositions at once,—"that Jesus Christ died for ALL," and yet "that he died for *a very small number.*"—(2) It is not the judgment of my charity, but *the certainty of my faith,* that must give me assurance and comfort in this particular.—(3) Charitable judgment is a fair standard to measure the doubtful actions of our neighbour by, and commands us to cover his infirmities and stifle the too light conception of suspicions and sinister opinions touching him, but binds us not to preach falsehood to him, to induce him (against his own reason) to foster too good an opinion of himself.—When I see a man present himself to the holy Sacrament, *the judgment of charity* persuades me, (knowing nothing to the contrary,) that he addresses himself to it with that preparation of heart that becomes a good Christian. But that "such as are rightly prepared and qualified, do partake thereof to their salvation,"—this I believe by *the judgment of faith,* which admitteth nothing that is or can be false.—So when I see a sick man render his soul up, with much devotion and resignation, into the hands of Christ, *I believe charitably,* "that he dies as becomes a faithful Christian." But, "that God communicateth his salvation to such as die in the profession and obedience of the right faith,"—this I believe by *the certainty of faith;* wherein it is impossible I should be deceived, though the judgment of charity deceives us very often.—In a word, *the judgment of charity* is a good standing measure betwixt man and man; but it is not current betwixt man and his own conscience, much less betwixt him and God. I know, I am not to be relieved but by such succours as are levied upon the Divine promises; and those promises having their foundation and infallibility in the undeceivable truth of God, they require such a certainty of faith as will admit no mixture of any thing false or doubtful. Besides, when I do enquire which act of faith hath the priority, viz. "to believe in Christ," or "to believe Christ to be my Saviour," (in particular) I am taught by some of your Divines, (MACCOVIUS by name,) that I "must, in the first place, *believe that Christ is my Saviour,* and that is the cause of the other act," or the reason why I place my faith in him. Now if Christ died only for a few particular

persons, and if all the promises (made in him) belong to those few only, unless I could find some mention of my name amongst them, or could receive some revelation from heaven to that effect, how can I with any certainty or assurance build my faith upon it, that I am one of them?

Take-o'-trust.—We are bound to think, every one is of the number of the Elect, till it appears to the contrary.

Til. Tent.—This is but singing the old note over again. This is still your *judgment of charity;* which, though it suppresseth all suspicion in you towards me, yet can it not cure those fears and jealousies which I have (but with too great reason) conceived of myself. As for your *appearances to the contrary*, I cannot understand them, much less set any value upon them: For "by *such outward things*," the Synod is ready to tell us, "we can never perceive any thing of what belongs to the state of Election or Reprobation." I am beholding to you, that, waving the severity of your reason, you will make use of a charitable supposition to flatter me into *an opinion* that I am one of that "little flock" for which Christ died. But there is nothing can secure and comfort me, but *a full and certain persuasion* that I am one of them; which you will never be able to work in me, denying that Christ died for all, unless you can find some particular and undeniable evidence of my interest in him.

Indefectible.—You should reflect upon your former experience of God's gracious work in you. That Spirit of adoption sent out into the hearts of God's Elect "to bear witness to their spirits," though he may become silent, and not speak peace to them in such an audible language of comfort as is always apprehended by them, yet "abides with them for ever." Spiritual enjoyments are different from these outward and carnal ones: We may lose their taste and relish, *as to sensible refreshment;* but not their real presence, *as influencing to salvation.*

Til. Tent.—Some comfortable apprehensions might be awakened and kindled in those bosoms that have been warmed with such sweet and heavenly experiences, if they were not all overcast and darkened again by other black and dismal clouds, which the observation of some of your greatest Divines have spread over them. For Mr. Calvin himself saith, "The heart of man hath so many starting-holes and secret corners of vanity and lying, and is clothed with so many colours of guileful

hypocrisy, that it oftentimes deceiveth itself. And, besides, experience sheweth, that the Reprobates are sometimes moved with the same feelings that the Elect are, so that in their own judgment they nothing differ from the Elect." * (Instit. l. 3, chap. ii, sec. 10, 11.) But the truth is, though I have lived a good moral life hitherto, and in a way of duty have had a comfortable dependence upon the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, yet, I am now afraid, I have had none of those extraordinary suavities and refreshments of God's Spirit, and consequently have no assurance of the presence of that Comforter who, it is promised, shall "abide with us for ever."

KNOWLITTLE.—You are to consider, that all the Elect are not called at the same hour.

TIL. TENT.—I should not stand upon the hour; I could be content, that God may take his own time to call me, if you could, in order to my present comfort, insure me that I shall be called, though it be but at the hour of death. But this is that, for [which] I am afraid you have no grounds.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—You may be confident, that Christ is dead for you, and that you have an interest in him, so you can believe it.

TIL. TENT.—I would desire to ask but these two questions: (1) Whether this comfort be applicable to all and every sick and afflicted persons?—And (2) Whether it be grounded upon the truth? For if it be not to be applied unto ALL, I may be amongst the excepted persons, and so am not concerned in it; or, if it be not grounded upon THE TRUTH, you offer me a delusion instead of comfort.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—It is applicable unto all and every one, and grounded upon the unquestionable truth of the Holy Gospel.

TIL. TENT.—If it be applicable to all and every one, as you affirm, and grounded upon the truth, (that is, as I conceive, a truth *antecedent to their believing*,) then it follows undeniably, that CHRIST DIED FOR ALL in general and for every one in special,—else how can the comfort of this doctrine be so applied to them, as you would have it?—But if your meaning be, that it will become true to me or to any other person "that Christ died for us," by that act of faith which you would have me or any such other person give unto your speeches,—then

* See Heb. vi, 4, 5,

you run into a manifest absurdity, maintaining, "that the object of faith, or the thing proposed to be believed, doth receive its TRUTH *from the act of the believer*, and depend upon his consent;" whose faith and approbation can no more make true that which in itself is false, than make false by his unbelief that which in itself is true. Well may the infidel deprive himself of the fruit of Christ's death; but he cannot bring to pass, by his unbelief, that Christ hath not suffered it as a proof of his love to mankind. On the other side, the believer may receive benefit from the death of Christ; but his *act of faith* doth not effect, but necessarily suppose *that death as suffered for him*, before it can be exercised about it or lay hold upon it. Nay, my believing is so far from procuring Christ's death for me, that, on the contrary, our great Divines do maintain, *quod nemo unquam fidem habeat, nisi morte et meritis Christi procuratam*, "that I cannot have faith, unless it be procured for me by the merits and death of Christ." And because I cannot find this faith in me, I may conclude, *He hath not procured it for me*, and consequently that *He hath not died for me*, neither: And this, you know, is the ground of all my trouble.

DR. DUBIUS.—Sir, I wish you to take heed of that "evil heart of unbelief," as the Apostle calls it; (Heb. iii.) and to that end remember the words of our Saviour, "He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." (John iii, 36.)

TIL. TENT.—Sir, instead of lending me a clue to guide me out of that maze of difficulties into which the prodigious divinity of the Synod hath led me, you entangle me much more in it. For whereas the Apostle saith, that "God sends strong delusions to such as will not receive the love of the truth, that they may be saved," (2 Thes. ii,) you, governing your discourse by those principles, would first persuade men to believe a false proposition, when you exhort *every man* to believe that *Christ died for him*, which is false according to that doctrine; and then, having believed this falsehood, they are punished by the spirit of error *to believe a lie!* I beseech you, which way would you have me turn myself, to get out of these perplexities?; having instructed me to believe a doctrine, that turns my obedience into punishment, and makes my following the truth (according to that calculation) the sure way to aggravate my damnation.

For if the Synod saith true, and Christ be not dead for them that believe not in him, how do they deserve to be punished for not believing that which is false? And those that do obey the commandment and believe in his death, (though but for a time,) why suffer they the punishment due only to the refractory and incredulous, which is *to believe a lie?*

KNOWLITTLE.—Sir, you must not think to beguile us with your "vain philosophy." We are too well established in these saving truths, to be perverted by such sophistry.

TIL.—If you have no better cordials for afflicted consciences, nor firmer props to support the necessity of your ministry, than what the doctrines of the Synod will afford you, I am afraid the most vulgar capacities will find logic enough to conclude, from the premises, that *your office is altogether useless and impertinent.* Laying aside therefore the person of the Infidel, Carnal, Tepid, and Afflicted, whose parts I have hitherto acted, to make a practical trial of the efficacy of your ministry upon them, according to the tenor and consequence of those doctrines, I beseech you sadly to reflect upon what hath already passed betwixt us; and consider further what a vertiginous spirit presided in that Synod, that led those Divines (maugre all the reason to the contrary,) to deny some things which the scripture expressly doth affirm, and to affirm other things which the Scripture doth as expressly deny.—They deny *the universality of the merits of Christ's death,* which the Scripture abundantly proclaimeth; and yet they do exhort and enjoin all men, upon peril of damnation, to believe in him,—as if the Author of all truth did not only allow, but also command, some men to believe falsehood.—They exhort and command every one to believe "that he is elected to salvation," (though indeed he be a very reprobate,) and "that he cannot lose faith and grace once received," which the Scripture in express terms denieth. And as *the denial of Christ's universal redemption* takes away all the solid ground of comfort, so *the asserting* [*of*] *the Saints' indefectibility* overthrows the necessity of exhortation, with the usefulness of promises and threatenings to enforce it. For who will value such admonitions, * when he is instructed to believe, that he can never be so far wanting to the grace of God, nor harden his heart, nor fall from his standing, so far as

* Harden not your hearts, take heed lest ye fall, receive not the grace of God in vain.

to endanger his salvation? And who will deny himself (upon the assault of a gallant temptation especially,) the present satisfaction of *his lusts and passions*, for the reversion of a kingdom, who is persuaded "there are several decrees past in heaven as well to necessitate, as secure him in the succedaneous enjoyment of *them both?*" And who will be frighted from the pleasures of sin with the threatened danger of damnation, (unless a fit of Melancholy transports him into that folly,) which, he believes, it is no more possible to happen to him, than for God to lie, or his immutable decrees to be rescinded? In brief, when we consider the consequences of that doctrine, "that the absolute decrees of heaven do *not only over-rule, but also predetermine every individual action of mankind*," (so that it is impossible for the endeavours and wit of man to make any one of them happen at any other time or after any other manner than they do,) may we not (as far as that doctrine can warrant us,) conclude, that it is God's only fault that so many men prove infidels and profane, lukewarm and desperate?, because it is He that doth withhold that grace which is absolutely necessary to work an effectual alteration and change in them. And [may we not] resolve, that it were therefore fit, that all preachers (forbearing to importune the weak creature to attempt any of those mere impossibilities to which he hath, at most, but a passive power,) should direct their admonitions to God alone, that he would perform, what is his own work only, in the hearts of men,—that is, to convert, correct, provoke, and comfort them, by such an invincible arm of efficiency as cannot be resisted?

The benefit of the word preached being thus totally evacuated by these doctrines, we shall find no more use or comfort in the sacraments, but so far forth as we can observe the very same ministers, in the very *administration* of them, to overthrow their own unhappy doctrine. For to *every one* [whom] they baptize, they apply the *promises* of the covenant of grace, contrary to their own tenet,—which is, "that they belong nothing at all to the Reprobates." Likewise the Lord's Supper is given to all, with the assurance, *Christ died for all them that receive it*, —though their own tenet is, "that he no way died for them who receive it *unworthily and to their condemnation*;" whose number is not small among our Reformed congregations, even by their own confession.—What more? The very exercises of

prayer, wherein the pastor and the flock are joint petitioners, shall be found of no use or comfort unto either, since they all be either Elect or Reprobate: For the Elect obtain no new thing by this means, if "God hath written them," as the Synod says, "from all eternity in the Book of Life, without any relation to, or consideration of, their faith and prayers; and that it is impossible they should be blotted out of it." And the Reprobates can never cause themselves to be inrolled therein by any exercises of faith or prayers, no more than they are able to disannul the immutable decree of God.

Gentlemen, I beg your pardon, and shall trouble you no further, but only to desire you to ponder those many prejudices that lie against such a religion, as is rather repugnant than operative to the conversion of an infidel and the correction of the carnal, to the quickening of the careless and the consolation of the afflicted: And if the doctrine maintained and delivered by the divines of that Synod, and their adherents, doth frustrate and nullify the preaching of the word, the use of the Sacraments, and the exercise of prayer; if it overthrow the sacred function of the ministry, (which consists in the faithful administration of wholesome doctrine and good discipline,) and if it give such a total defeat to the whole design of the Divine ordinances, I hope you will, out of your great piety and prudence, not think it reasonable to make the profession of such faith or doctrine, your Κριτηριον, or Shibboleth* to discern your examinats, and pass them in the account of the godly ministers.

DR. ABSOLUTE.
MR. FATALITY.
MR. FRY-BABE. } Withdraw, withdraw, withdraw!

DR. ABSOLUTE.—Brethren, what think you of this man, now you have heard him discover himself so fully?

FATALITY.—The man hath a competent measure of your ordinary unsanctified learning: But you may see he hath studied the ancient Fathers,—more than our modern Divines, such as Mr. Calvin and Mr. Perkins. And, alas! they [the ancient Fathers] threw away their enjoyments (and their lives too, some of them,) for they knew not what. They understood little or nothing of the Divine decrees, or the power of grace

* Judges xii, 6.

and godliness: This great light was reserved for the honour of after-ages, to be held forth and displayed in.

Efficax.—He may be an honest moral man; but I cannot perceive that he hath been much acquainted with sin, nor very sensible of the nature of repentance. I confess for my own part, I was never much taken with these Obadiahs, that cry, "I thy servant fear the Lord from my youth:" (1 Kings xviii, 12.) Give me your *experimental Divines*. The burnt child will dread the fire; and, as Jude adviseth, "will have compassion" upon their brethren, (having been tempted themselves,) and will "save them with fear," using a holy violence to "pluck them out of the burning." I remember Mr. Calvin confesseth, in an Epistle to Bucer, "that he had a great conflict with that wild beast of impatience that raged in him, and that it was not yet tamed." He would frequently reproach his brethren (especially if they dissented from him in the matter of predestination, &c.) by the name of "Knave," "Dog," and "Satan." And he so vexed the spirit of Bucer, that he provoked the good mild man to write thus to him: *Judicas prout amas, vel odisti: amas autem vel odisti, prout libet.* "That his judgment was governed by his passions of love and hatred, and these by his lust." And for his bitter speeches, Bucer gave him the title of "a fratricide."—Reverend Mr. Beza confesseth also of himself, *per quindecim annorum spatium, quo alios docuit justitiæ viam, nec sobrium se factum, nec liberalem, nec veracem, sed hærere in luto:* "That for the space of fifteen years together, wherein he taught others the way of righteousness, himself trod neither in the way of truth, nor bounty, nor sobriety: but stuck fast in the mire" (of sin.) Men that have had trial of the powerful workings of sin and grace, and have been brought upon their knees, like the great Apostle, with a bitter complaint, *O me miserum!* "O wretched man that I am!;" these are your *none-such Divines*, of which, methinks, our Saviour gave an intimation, in that passage to Peter, *et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.** (Luke xxii, 32.)

Narrowgrace.—He attributeth so much to the ministry of the gospel, that he seems to be superstitiously addicted to it, and turns it into an idol. Whereas, we know, of itself it is but a dead letter; and therefore Maccovius handling that question,

* "And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

Whether the word of God may be savingly heard before regeneration, concludes negatively; and, to avoid his adversaries' argument, he affirms, "that *that* hearing of the word which produceth faith, doth presuppose regeneration." To this agrees the opinion of some Divines, who think "that regeneration is effected after another manner than faith is." To which purpose Johannes Rysius, in his Confession, saith thus, *Fides Dei gratiâ per verbum concipitur: Regeneratio* [*vero*] *a Deo per Christum sine ullius rei creatæ interventu proficiscitur*: "Faith is conceived by the grace of God through the word; but regeneration proceeds from God through Christ, without the intervention of any created thing whatsoever."

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—I conceive, Sir, when we see the ministry so much eclipsed and undervalued as it is, if there were nothing else in it, Christian policy should teach us, not to vent such doctrines as are apt to bring more contempt upon it. But the Holy Ghost hath set it at a higher rate, by clothing it with titles of a greater reputation: He calls it, "the word of grace, the word of faith, the word of life, the word of reconciliation, the ministration of the Spirit, the word that is able to save the soul, the power of God unto salvation, the word of God that effectually worketh in them that believe."*

KNOWLITTLE.—I conceive the ministry of the word hath these excellent titles bestowed upon it, in regard it is the instrument by and through which God doth infuse, into the understanding and heart, his special grace, or rather that regenerating virtue which alone doth powerfully effect the work of regeneration: So that the outward word, as an instrument, conferreth nothing at all to that effect, but is only as the tunnel whereby water is poured into a vessel; and yet that water receives no tincture at all from the nature or quality of the said tunnel.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—I have seen this alleged: But they say, we should consider that the nature and property of the word, is, *to be intelligible (in expression) and to carry such a sense as is apt to move the party, to whom it is addressed, by working upon his understanding, and inciting his heart to love or hatred, hope or fear*; and this is the true efficacy the word is endowed with. But if the word contributes no more to our conversion or re-

* John vi, 63.—Heb. iv, 12.—1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25.

generation, than the tunnel (that only conveys the liquor,) to the filling of the vessel; then it matters not whether the word be intelligible, yea or no: For that regenerating virtue being a distinct power infused beside it, the word doth not work as a *verbal*, that is, a *rational instrument*, but only concurs as an instrument destitute of sense and reason. And, therefore, as it matters not what metal the tunnel be made of, whether wood, or brass, or tin; so (had the word no other kind of instrumentality than that hath,) it were all one, whether the language were *barbarous non-sense*, (as is usual amongst some sectaries,) or *significant*. And to what end, then, did God confer *the gift of tongues* upon his Apostles, and they take such care to condescend and apply themselves to the capacity and apprehension of their hearers? Besides, if the word hath no more to do in this work than is pretended, why should it consist of precepts, and those established with promises and threatenings? For a precept (so established especially,) doth prescribe the thing (under command) as a duty, and concurs unto that duty as the reason moving and obliging a man to perform it. But if that special grace, or regenerating virtue, so infused, doth alone effect a man's regeneration, (taking nothing at all from the word,) how can that effect be said to be "the performance of his duty, and an act of obedience to the command of the word?"

KNOWLITTLE.—It is a question, whether there be any PRECEPTS, properly so called, under the new covenant, yea or no. Some absolutely deny it. But we confess it; and they [the precepts] may be said to concur to our conversion and believing *per modum signi*, "as a sign or object" representing what God by his free grace is said to effect and work in us. Indeed they declare what man ought to do; but they serve rather to discover and convince his weakness, than to promote his duty.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—This doctrine doth cancel the very formal reason and force of all the commands of Christ, and makes the word of God, intended for an instrument of man's conversion, to serve only for an object and mere doctrine for his faith and repentance to converse with; for they are not to be wrought (it seems) by this means, but *immediately* effected and wrought of Almighty God, in the heart, by a special action and operation: and, consequently, makes all the exhortations and precepts, *as such*, all the promises and threatenings, complaints

and obtestations, wherewith the word of God aboundeth, to be nothing else but empty signs and busy trifles, (if not a ludicrous stage-play,) conducing nothing to that effect to which they pretend to be designed. But, that faith and regeneration which flow from it, are both wrought (in a rational way) by the outward ministry of the word, moving and inciting the understanding and heart of man,—will evidently appear to be the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles.

First. For faith, take that expression in our Saviour's prayer, "Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth. Neither pray I for these (Apostles) alone; but for them also, which shall believe on me through their word." (John xviii, 17, 20. See John xx, 31; 1 John v, 13.) And "Therefore faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." (Rom. x, 17.)—(1) That he understands *faith working by love*, which the gospel determines to be the only means by which we may and ought to be saved,—appears in the 9th and 10th verses: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe, with thy heart, that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the tongue confession is made unto salvation."—(2) That by the word which works this faith, he understands *the outward word*, appears by the whole contexture of the chapter: For he saith (i) "This is that word of faith which we preach." (verse 8.)—(ii) That word, which cannot be heard unless it be preached, not internally by God, but externally by men, sent out to that purpose. *—(iii) That word which is heard with the ears of the body, and (iv) may be disobeyed. †

Secondly. As the working of faith is attributed to the ministry of the word, so is the working of regeneration too: "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth; wherefore let every man be swift to hear," &c. (James i, 18, 19.) To this add, "Being born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever; and this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you." (1 Pet. i, 23, 25.) Hereupon St. Paul tells the Corinthians, not only that he was a minister of God, "by whom they did believe;" but tells them also, that "He was their

* Verses 14, 15. † Verses 16, 18.

father; for in Christ Jesus he had begotten them, through the gospel." (1 Cor. iv, 14, 15.)

KNOWLITTLE.—The Apostle saith, "I have planted and Apollos watered: but God gave the increase." (1 Cor. iii, 6.)

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—So the Apostle saith, "God giveth to every seed his own body, as it hath pleased him:" (1 Cor. xv, 38.) But still it is in the ordinary way of husbandry; and therefore the sower goes out to sow his seed, and so "the king himself is served by the field." (Eccles. v, 9.) But "the sluggard, who will not plow by reason of the cold, shall beg in harvest and have nothing." (Prov. xx, 4.) In these natural things, we see, God doth not bring forth fruit by any peculiar divine action distinct from that of planting and watering; but, by preserving that force and vigour once put into the earth and water, (wherein and whereby such plantation and watering is made,) he concurs to make the labour of the husbandman successful, and so gives the increase. "Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn when thou hast so provided for it: Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers, thou blessest the springing thereof. Thou crownest the year with thy goodness, and thy paths drop fatness." (Psalm lxv. 9—12.) So it is here, in a spiritual sense: "Ye are God's husbandry, or God's tillage;" (1 Cor. iii, 9.) and he hath instituted a ministry, to bring you unto fruitfulness. "I have planted,"—laying the foundation, or first principles, of Christian faith among you, (of *heathens* making you *believers*;) "Apollos watered,"—he baptised you, and promoted that faith to some further growth in you: But yet there is no great matter imputable to him or me, that you should make a schism upon this account, as if either of us were the author of your faith; but it is God alone who gave us our ability, * and put all the force and efficacy into those sacred ordinances which we administer, and so gave the increase. Thus, I say, God gives the increase, not by any peculiar special action distinct from that plantation and watering of Paul and Apollos; but by continuing to prosper that vigour and efficacy which he was pleased to put into that ministry. Hence the Apostle saith, "We are

* See 2 Cor. iv, 6; 1 Cor. iv, 7; 2 Cor. iii, 4, 5, 6.

labourers together with God," (verse 9,) and "ministers by whom ye believed." (verse 5.) To this purpose, the Apostle is "a chosen vessel to bear the gospel to the Gentiles:" (Acts ix, 15.) And his commission is, "To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." (Acts xxvi, 18.) And he doth so well manage and execute this commission, that he is confident to say, "I have whereof I may glory, through Jesus Christ, in those things which pertain to God." (Rom. xv, 17.)

KNOWLITTLE.—There is a promise: "Thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, *This is the way, walk ye in it,*" *&c.* (Isai. xxx, 21.)

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—(1) That promise is made to such as are already converted, * and signifies no more than what is more clearly expressed in Isaiah lix, 21. †—(2) If the word, there promised, be a thing distinct from the word of the ministry, then I ask, Whether it be an intelligible word or not. If not, then it is no fit mean to work upon a reasonable soul, and to bring it to perform to God a reasonable service, as ours ought to be. ‡ If it be an intelligible word, then either it hath the same sense with the word written and preached, or a different sense from it. If it be of *the same sense* with the word written and preached, then it is to no purpose: *Frustra sit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora, et entia non sunt multiplicando sine necessitate,* "it is frivolous to multiply means without cause." If this word be of *a different sense* from the word written or preached, then *this* (to the dishonour of the word!) will argue the insufficiency of it "to make us wise unto salvation, and the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work;" and this will lay an imputation, not only upon the veracity and truth of God, but also upon his wisdom and goodness, for commending and enjoining the use of his written word to us, for an end and purpose to which it is insufficient.

* It is observed, that the Holy Spirit (not in his miraculous gifts only,) is most frequently said to be given to men after their conversion. (Luke xi, 13; Acts v, 32; xix, 2.)

† "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

‡ Rom. xii, 2.

But, that we may understand the Prophet's meaning, consider, that we are commanded to "walk before God;" (Gen. xvii, 1.) according to which expression, we are to think God always at our heels, (as we say,) observing our steps; and consonantly to that metaphorical expression, if we step aside, what means soever his providence useth to set us right and direct our goings in his paths, it is as if we heard "a voice behind us." Not that God would exempt us from following the direction of the ministry: No,—for the promise is thus expressed in the former verse, "Thine eyes shall see thy teachers:" * And that we may not think it lawful to run on in error, till the enthusiastical charm recals us, remember, it is our duty to *seek the law, at the priest's mouth.* (Mal. ii, 7.) Hence, we have these caveats, not only, take heed *how* you hear, and *what* you hear, but also, *whom* you hear; "for many false prophets are gone out into the world; and therefore try the spirits whether they are of God." (1 John iv, 1.) What need of all these caveats, and so much ado, if the ministry [of] the word hath no influence or energy in our faith and regeneration, and the work of grace in us?

KNOWLITTLE.—But, we see, the Scripture every where ascribes the work of faith, conversion, and regeneration in us, to the power and gift of God, to Christ, and to the Holy Ghost.

TAKE-O'-TRUST.—The Scriptures do attribute to Almighty God that which he doth *mediately* by any of his creatures or Ministers. In John iv, 1, Jesus is said to have baptized more disciples than John; yet, in the next verse it is said, that "Jesus baptized not, but his disciples." † Though the ministry of the word be instrumental in the work of grace in us, yet must we acknowledge the Blessed Trinity the chief cause and author thereof, and are bound always to render them the honour of that efficacy that is wrought by this instrument; because all the light, force, and efficacy, which appear therein, flow from God alone,—and had not been in it at all, if he had not (as it were) implanted it therein. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," as the Apostle, in a like case. (2 Cor. iv, 6, 7.) ‡ Certainly there we have it, and God associates what other divine

* See Deut. xvii, 9, 11. † See John vi, 45, 46.—With Luke x, 16; 2 Cor. v, 19; 1 Thess. iv, 8; Heb. xii, 25; Acts v, 39—vii, 51. ‡ 2 Cor. iii, 3, 4, 5.

internal aids he pleaseth with it: * To Him therefore we must ascribe the glory, who hath annexed such an excellency of power to such (otherwise) weak and feeble instruments. (2 Cor. x, 4.)

Dr. Absolute.—Leave your wrangling, Gentlemen, that we may despatch Mr. Tilenus one way or other. Have any of you any more objections against him?

Indefectible.—He holds the possibility of the Saints' Apostacy, notwithstanding the decrees and promises of God to the contrary; and concludes David's adultery and murder to be wilful, wasting, deadly sins, and inconsistent with the state of regeneration. So that should a godly man through the frailty of the flesh suffer the like infirmity, he would be ready to discourage and grieve his spirit, telling him "he had forfeited his interest in God's favour, and lay under a damnable guilt, liable to the wrath of God and the torments of hell;" and so in danger to bring him to desperation, if he does not forsake his sin and mortify his lust, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance upon his admonition.

Narrowgrace.—What was worse than that, to my mind;—he flouted the Divines of the Synod, saying, "If their doctrine were well improved, it would prove an antidote against the power of death, and teach a man how to become immortal, even in this life."

Impertinent.—That slipt my observation. I pray, what was it he said?

Narrowgrace.—It was to this purpose: "If the elect cannot be cut off in a state of impenitency, notwithstanding they fall into most grievous sins; then," saith he, "let them abandon themselves to some horrid lust or course of impiety, and they shall be sure to be immortal."

Indefectible.—But we know the elect cannot do so. They have a principle within them, and a guard without them, to defend and secure them from such courses. "They are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." (1 Pet. i, 5.) There is their guard: And their inward principle that inclines and moves them, you have in 1 John iii, 9. "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

* Mark xvi, 15, 20; Rom. xv, 16, 19.

Dr. Dubius.—Under correction, Sir, I conceive man is never immutably good till he arrives in heaven. As long as he converseth here below he is like other sublunary things, subject to change.* The reason is, beside temptations from without to allure and draw him, he hath a two-fold principle, a new and an old man within him,—the flesh and the spirit in contestation: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." (Gal. v, 17.) This conflict is in the regenerate: And that he hath liberty to side with either of these parties, and so to change, I think cannot be denied. He hath a liberty through God's grace to side with the Spirit against the flesh; and hereupon he is exhorted to "abstain from fleshly lusts, to mortify his earthly members, and to walk in the Spirit." His liberty to side with the flesh, is but too evident. And therefore the words "CANNOT SIN" must be taken, not *physicè* but *ethicè*, "Not for a natural impotency but a moral one."—He cannot do it legally;† or for an averseness of mind, which, notwithstanding, is capable of being altered. It is said of Christ sometimes, that "He could do no mighty work." (Mark vi, 5.) And so it is said, that the brethren of Joseph "could not answer him." (Gen. xlv, 3.) And the angel "could do nothing against Sodom," till Lot were escaped into Zoar.‡ (Gen. xix, 22.) And it is usual in our common speech to say, "We cannot do a thing," when the thing is *not impossible* to be done, but only it is *unlawful* or *inconvenient* for us to do it: If we set aside the *inconvenience* and step over the hedge of the *law*, (as many times we do,) we can find *power enough* to do it. And so it is here. Therefore to that of our Saviour, (Matt. vii, 18.) "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit," St. Jerome addeth, *Quamdiù in bonitatis studio perseverat*, "as long as it perseveres in the study and love of goodness." Thus "he that is born of God," while he acteth according to the nature of the principles of his new birth, and studies to follow and resemble his Heavenly Father, —cannot *deliberately* yield to any kind of sin. *Hæc non admittet omnino qui natus è Deo fuerit; non futurus Dei filius si admiserit*,

* *Quod Angelis casus hominibus mors.* "That which is *a fall* to Angels, is DEATH to men."

† *Id possumus, quod jure possumus.* "We can do that which may *lawfully* be done."

‡ See Jos. xxiv, 19, 21.

saith Tertullian; "He that is born of God, will not at all admit such sins as these; he shall not be a child of God, if he doth admit them." As for that guard you mention out of St. Peter, "They are kept by the power of God:" We must consider that we are to add a guard of our own to it, as is required, (Jude xx, 21.) "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, KEEP YOURSELVES in the love of God:" And St. Peter adds, "through faith." (1 Pet. i, 5.) The Psalmist saith, "Except the Lord keepeth the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." But he doth not say, "The Lord will keep the city, whether the watchman waketh," yea or no. He that setteth the watch, and is Captain of the guard over us, saith, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation;" and we can promise ourselves safety no longer than [while] we are upon our duty. "He that is begotten of God, keepeth himself; and that wicked one toucheth him not." (1 John v, 18.) That is the effect or event of his duty, if he be careful to observe it. But though Christ hath freed us from the dominion of the enemy, yet if we do voluntarily render ourselves up again to his power, "his servants we are to whom we obey." (Rom. vi, 14, 16.) Or if we quit our guard, and suffer ourselves to be surprised through our wilful carelessness, we are involved in a like thraldom; for "of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." (2 Pet. ii, 19.)

INDEFECTIBLE.—Sir, the Apostle hath taught us to distinguish betwixt "a sin unto death," and "a sin not unto death." (1 John v.) We confess, the regenerate may fall into sin, but not into sin unto death. "Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." (Psalm xxxvii, 24.)

DR. DUBIUS.—For that place of the Psalmist, the context doth clear the meaning to be of falling, not into *sin*, but into *affliction and misery*. Yet I do not deny, but God out of his abundant mercy is ready, in a way agreeable to his wisdom and justice, to assist such as fall into sin, in order to their rising again. But I am in some doubt, whether the regenerate may not "*sin* a sin unto death:" and that as well if you consider the *event*, as the *demerit of his sin*. For the moderate, and those not inferior in learning to the more rigid, of the Synod of Dort, do acknowledge, "that the regenerate may not only fall from certain degrees of grace, and intermit the acts of grace: but

likewise that they may fall into such sins as leave them under *a damnable guilt*, so that they have need of *an actual renewal of repentance, and a new absolution;* that they lose their *present aptness* to enter into the kingdom of heaven, into which no unclean thing shall enter." * And that David and Solomon fell thus far, will be evident, if you consider the nature of their sins, and apply these following Scriptures to them: 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10; Gal. v, 21; Apoc. xxi, 7, 8; 1 John iii, 15. Now let us consider, whether it be not possible for a man, that is fallen into this estate and condition, to be cut off in his sins before his repentance be renewed, and his new absolution received to remove his guilt, and restore him to an aptitude and a present actual capacity to enter into the kingdom of heaven. If it be possible for him to be cut off in this condition, then it will follow, that either he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven at all; or else there must be some purgatory after this life (for him to pass through) to cleanse and fit him for heaven—of which Protestants will not admit. But if we say, "It is not possible for such a man to be cut off in his sin;" then it must follow, (1.) That he hath a lease of his life granted, till his restoration; which will be a hard matter to make appear: And (2.) That God is bound by some covenant or promise to afford him as well grace as time to repent; and this will be as hard to evidence as the former; for, I presume, it is not to be denied, that there is required a greater measure of grace to raise up such a sinner, being fallen, than to keep him, while he stood, from falling. Now if God's covenant and promise did not bind him to give that less measure of grace to keep him actually from falling, how can we persuade ourselves that he is bound by it, to confer that greater measure of grace whereby he shall actually arise?

INDEFECTIBLE.—The Apostle tells the Philippians, "he is confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in them, will perform (or finish) it until the day of Jesus Christ." (Phil. i, 6.)

DR. DUBIUS.—I need not say, the Apostle's persuasion is not always an infallible argument of God's purpose. † For he had a persuasion of charity, as well as of faith; ‡ and that his per-

* *Vid. Synops. pur. Theo. Disp.* 31, *Thes.* 38, *Synod. Dordra., Cap.* v, *Art.* 4 *and* 5.

† Acts xvi, 6, 7. ‡ Heb. vi, 9.

suasion touching the Philippians was of this nature, appears by the verse following that which is alleged. But I say, God doth as well carry on as begin the work of grace in man's heart, in such a way as doth not evacuate but establish the necessity of man's duty; and, therefore, he backs that his confidence, with a vehement exhortation, "As ye have always obeyed, work out your own salvation with fear and with trembling; for it is God, that worketh in you to will and to do, of his good pleasure." (Phil. ii, 12, 13.) And we may observe in the Epistle to the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia, where God makes a promise to preserve him in a time of trial then at hand; though that promise was something of the nature of a reward, being made to him upon a consideration of his former fidelity, yet he subjoins an obligation of duty: "Thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name: Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth." (Rev. iii, 8, 10.) But to shew that his own care and constancy was requisite in order to the accomplishment of that promise, he adds, "Behold, I come quickly; hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." (Verse 11.) Notwithstanding God's promise, if we grow careless, we may forfeit our reward and incur damnation, as is clearly threatened in Ezek. xviii, 24: "But when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and doth according to all the abominations that the wicked man doth; shall he live? All his righteousness that he hath done, shall not be mentioned: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die."

Indefectible.—How can this consist with God's covenant and promise?, "I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts that they shall not depart from me." (Jer. xxxii, 40.)

Dr. Dubius.—That God doth not engage himself in that place to confer upon his people *an irresistible power* of grace, infallibly to effect the gift of perseverance in them, will be manifest, if we consider that the covenant, there mentioned, concerned the people of the Jews, and contained the favour that God would vouchsafe to do them presently upon their return

from the Babylonish Captivity, as appears clearly in the foregoing and following verses; and yet, through their fault and want of compliance, this did not take effect, their renewed defection crossed God's promise, and the event happened far otherwise. For if you consider that people soon after their return from that captivity, they grew worse and worse, as appears from Nehemiah, the last [chapter]: And if you will refer the fulfilling of the promise till after the exhibition of the Messias, though that is against the scope of the words, yet then they grew worst of all. "They resisted the Holy Ghost, (Acts vii, 5,) and rejected the counsel of God against themselves; (Luke vii, 30.) and judged themselves unworthy eternal life," blaspheming and persecuting the Author, means, and ministry of it; (Acts xiii, 45, 46, 50.) and so were "cut off for their *wilful* unbelief." (Rom. ix, 32.) In the covenant therefore we are to consider two things: (1.) A promise on God's part; and (2.) A stipulation of duty on their part who are concerned in the promise.—The promise on God's part is, "I will be their God, and I will not (that is, *of myself*, or *without provocation*,) turn away from them to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts." But to what end is all this? Why, "that they may be my people, and fear me, as my people, and not depart from me," as is expressed in the 39th and 40th verses of that chapter.—This then being *a voluntary duty* which God requires, we must not imagine it to be intimated as *the infallible effect or event* of his promise, but as *the end* why he makes that promise to them, and *the engagement* which it puts upon them. But if they *will not choose* to have "the fear of God before their eyes," and to excite that grace which he puts into their hearts, but "out of an evil heart of unbelief, depart from the living God," they by this their prevarication and apostacy becoming *Non populus*, "ceasing to be his people," he ceaseth likewise to be their God. Thus the Spirit of God by Azariah hath resolved it to Asa and all Judah and Benjamin: "*The Lord is with you, while ye be with him;* and if ye seek him, he will be found of you: But if ye forsake him, he will forsake you:" (2 Chron. xv, 2.) "Yea, and cast you off for ever,"—as David addeth to his son Solomon. (1 Chron. xxviii, 9.) So that there is a kind of reciprocal engagement betwixt God and man, and something is to be performed by either party in order to salvation. Now it so happens many times, that ALL which is promised to be

done on God's part, is *effectually* done in regard of the *sufficiency* of it,—and yet NOTHING done that is required to be done on man's part, in respect to *the event.** Hence it is, that sometimes God is said to have done all, viz. all his part. "I have purged thee, but thou wast not purged;" (Ezek. xxiv, 13.) and, "*for my part,* what could have been done more?" (Isai. v, 4.) Sometimes again, he is said to have done nothing: "To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?," (Isai. liii,1,) that is, in respect of *the effect,* or *the event:* For God was not wanting in sending his Prophets to make the revelation. So, (Deut.xxix,4,) "The Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day." Not that God was wanting in affording necessary means and assistance hereunto: For then Moses should rather have upbraided God's illiberality, than the people's obstinacy; which he had no reason to do, God having wrought so many signs and miracles of *mercy for them,* and of *justice upon their enemies,* as many times gained credit and acknowledgment among the Egyptians, and other nations as they passed along, and captivated the understanding, and subdued the will and affections of Joshua and Caleb. But God is said, "not to have given them hearts," &c., in regard of *the event;* because, though he had administered abundant means to that purpose, yet through *their wilful obduration* he could not prevail so far with them. They had frustrated *the effect,* as it is said of our Saviour's countrymen in respect of his ministry;† and therefore Moses must not be thought to *excuse them,* by laying their blindness and stubbornness at God's door,—but to *upbraid them,* that they had made their hearts so impenetrable hitherto to all those gracious and powerful dispensations, that by them, though sufficient, God had not effected such an advertency as might have begotten a willingness thoroughly to confide in him and obey in him.‡ This was the end, which God seriously intended and aimed at.

INDEFECTIBLE.—This is inconsistent with that of the Apostle, "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." (Rom. xi, 29.)

Dr. DUBIUS.—Sir, It will be a very hard matter, to draw an argument from that scripture to infer your conclusion. "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance," Ergo, *What?*

* See 2 Tim. ii, 13. † Matt. xiii, 58. ‡ Ibid. verse 6.

"The regenerate cannot fall from grace, and their interest in God's favour?" Which is a plain *non sequitur*, "It does not follow." For of whom speaketh the Apostle that? Doth he not speak it of the Israelites? And yet he tells you, but ten verses before, "that they were broken off for their unbelief."—All that can be concluded from those words will amount but to this, that God is so faithful and tenacious of his promise, (wherewith he had gratified their fathers,) that, (as it is in verse 23,) "if they abide not still in unbelief," he is no less *willing and ready* than "*able* to graft them into the covenant again." And upon this occasion, my brethren, give me leave to acquaint you with a few more of my doubts and scruples, in order to my better satisfaction and settlement in these points. For I hope you will not mistake me, as if I were peremptory in my assertions; for I speak only *tentative*, to try whether I can draw out of you any better arguments or answers to objections, than I have hitherto met with in those that have handled these controversies. I tell you then, that the text last quoted, with some other passages in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Chapters of that Epistle to the Romans, have begotten a great doubt in me, Whether the Apostle in his discourse (chap. ix,) treateth at all of that absolute and peremptory decree of reprobation, whereby men are *irrevocably excluded from salvation and all the necessary means that lead to it.* Let me give you the reasons of my doubting.

Preterition.—I am afraid we shall not have time now to examine them; yet, seeing you are so desirous, let us have them briefly, that we may be the better prepared to deliver our opinion about them at our next meeting.

Dr. Dubius.—Then take them thus. I suppose it will be granted, that the Apostle in those chapters applies his discourse more especially to the case of the Jews, yet haply so as to conclude all others in their example. If so, then, that he speaks not of their *absolute and peremptory reprobation*, is very probable, not only from his way of arguing, but also from his passionate sorrow, hearty prayer, and earnest exhortations to them.

I. Let us reflect upon the Apostle's *sorrow*, and his *option* upon it; "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."(ix, 2, 3.)—What is the ground of this *heaviness* and his *vote* upon it? If it were, "that God, by an absolute decree of reprobation and out of his

sole beneplaciture, had excluded them from the grace and power of believing unto righteousness and salvation," (as some interpret it,) then, where was the *piety* of the great Apostle exprest in this sorrow? Where was his *prudence* in this option? For if such were the decree of God, and the Apostle knew it, and was about to demonstrate it to be such, he must grant it to be most wise and most just, and much conducing to the illustration of God's glory; and then it were *impiety* in any man to repine and grieve at it,—much more in *him*, who was therefore called "a vessel of election," because he was designed and called so eminently to be instrumental to the glory of the Divine dispensations. And if he knew such a Divine decree, to be immutably fixed to all eternity, it was *against prudence* to interpose such a wish for the avoidance of it. If the common opinion be true, "that, in respect of the manifestation of the Divine glory, it is better and more eligible *to be miserable* than *not to be at all*;" and if it be "out of an erroneous and inordinate judgment, that the very damned in hell-torments judge otherwise," as some great school-men maintain, then certainly we must set an ill character upon the Apostle's *sorrow* and *option*, if we make that [to be] the cause and ground of it [which is] alleged in this supposition. And it will not excuse, to say, "This vote past the Apostle *in the hurry of his passions*," or, "that it was but *a sudden sally of his affections*, in their eager pursuit after the salvation of his nation:" For all the circumstances of the discourse, and that solemn preface wherewith it is ushered in, do manifestly argue that it was uttered considerately and with great deliberation. "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost." (ix, 1.) And it is a sufficient indication of his calm and composed mind, that he did commit this option to writing and transmit it in an Epistle to the Churches.

2. To this let us add his prayer, "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, *that they might be saved*." (x, 1.) What Israel he means, is expressed in the third verse: "They who being ignorant of God's righteousness, went about to establish their own righteousness, and did not submit themselves to the righteousness of God." How can this prayer or option of the Apostle consist with his knowledge or belief of *their absolute and peremptory reprobation?* For his prayer, according to that opinion, must be after this manner: "Lord, I know by Divine revelation,

" (and am now declaring it in an epistle to the Romans, and so " to all the world,) that it is thine absolute will and good plea- " sure, utterly and irrevocably to abandon this people under an " immutable decree of reprobation: yet I do most heartily desire " and beseech thee, to grant that they may be saved." Such a prayer had been directly against his faith, and therefore [had been] sin, (Rom. xiv, 23.) and against the very rule* of prayer, and obedience in that kind, and so sin too. Sure the Apostle, after his conversion, was not wont thus to break his faith, and cross the counsel of his Maker.

3. To this we may add all other his endeavours and stratagems, to gain them to the faith of Christ, and consequently to salvation, of which we read in Rom. xi, 14, and elsewhere. All which had been as ridiculous as the encounters of the Knight-errant in Don Quixote, if the Apostle had believed these men to be absolutely excluded from all possibility of salvation, by such a decree as some fancy to be treated of in that Ninth Chapter.

4. I conceive my doubt more reasonable, when I consider the Apostle's way of arguing, in Rom. xi, 1. For, to intimate (at least according to my apprehension) that the ground of his sorrow was not *their absolute, irrespective and irrevocable reprobation,* but *the danger of their rejection from the covenant and divine grace,* wherein they had hitherto stood, as God's peculiar adopted people, (1.) He makes *their own wilful unbelief* the cause and ground of this their rejection and misery: " Because of unbelief they were broken off;" (Rom. xi, 20.) which cannot be said of *the decree of Reprobation.* For the maintainers of that decree do not make unbelief the cause of reprobation, but rather reprobation the cause of unbelief.—(2.) He saith, there is *a possibility and hope of their restitution.* This is intimated in Romans xi, 11 and 29, and expressed in verse 23: " If they abide not still in unbelief, they shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again." And this cannot be said with respect to the decree of Reprobation: For, " the decree of God is God himself," as Maccovius and others do affirm; and so did Gomarus,† till, being impugned by Arminius, he changed his opinion in this particular. And " God cannot deny himself." (2. Tim. ii, 13.) Besides, the men of that opinion lay the FOUNDATION of all *mercy and judgment to come,* in those their absolute decrees of election

* " Thy will be done." † Vide Gomar. Tom. 3, Disp. 9, Thes. 28, &c.—See them in the Preface to this *Examination of Tilenus*, page 20.

and reprobation; and make Christ but *a part of the superstruction* or the *Executor* of those decrees; whereas this Apostle saith, "Other FOUNDATION can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. iii, 11.) And we may observe, that, consonantly hereunto, he shutteth up that his discourse: "What shall we say then?" (Rom. ix, 30.) Or, What is the sum of all that hath been spoken? Namely this: "That *the Gentiles,* which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith. But *Israel,* which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore?" Not *because they were excluded by an absolute and irresistible decree,* as the Apostle should have said if he had argued regularly according to that opinion; but "because they sought it not by faith," as they were taught, enabled and obliged to do, "but, as it were, by the works of the law: for they," quitting the only foundation, "stumbled at the stumbling-stone; as it is written, Behold I set up in Zion" the deliverer of Jacob, whom they shall take occasion to make "a stumbling-stone, and," through their wilful infidelity and perverseness, he shall become to them "a rock of offence: but whosoever buildeth upon him," by a lively faith and a holy obedience, "shall not be confounded." (Verses 31, 32, 33.) For "as he hath tasted death for every man," † according to the Scriptures, even for them that perish; and bought, with the price of his heart's-blood, them that deny him, as St. Peter saith, so the Father "would not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance and be saved." (2 Pet. iii, 9. 1 Tim. ii, 4.) And to that end "He now commandeth all men every where to repent," (Acts xvii, 30.) and to "kiss the Son," (Psalm ii, 12.) and submit to his sceptre, who is "the propitiation for their sins, and for the sins of the whole world," (1 John ii, 2.) having made our atonement and our peace, (Col. i, 20.) and "purchased grace and eternal redemption for us;† sufficient abilities and glorious privileges, whereby we might be enabled and encouraged to serve him "acceptably, with reverence and godly fear, who is the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him." (Heb. v, 9.) These are all express parts of the Divine Revelation, and therefore part of the object of our faith, and

† Heb. ii, 9. 1 Cor. viii, 11. 2 Pet. ii, 1.

† Rom. v, 11. John i, 16. Heb. ix, 12. 2 Pet. i, 3, 4. Heb. xii, 28.

therefore infallible assertions of Sacred Truth. What slender distinctions are invented and what texts of Scripture wrested, to elude some of them, I shall take my opportunity to represent, when you will vouchsafe to give me a friendly meeting, to debate these and other emergent doubts touching these great points of controversy. In the mean time, I could wish you would not exclude, from the exercise of their ministry, men legally ordained thereunto, if they be otherwise well-qualified, though they differ somewhat from you in these matters. But I am single, and must submit my vote to the suffrages of my brethren.

CHAIRMAN.—Brother Doctor, we may think upon your advice and doubts hereafter; but, for the present, we must agree as one man to carry on the great work of Reformation [which] we have in hand; and therefore, gentlemen, what say you to Mr. Tilenus? Do you approve of him as a man well-gifted and fitly-qualified for the Ministry?

FATALITY.
PRETERITION.
INDEFECTIBLE.
and the rest.

No! By no means! We do not like his principles.

CALL HIM IN.

CHAIRMAN.—Sir, The Commissioners are not satisfied in your Certificate. You may be a godly man,—we do not deny; but we have not such assurance of it as we can build upon; and, therefore, we cannot approve of you for the Ministry. And, that you may be at no more expence of purse or time in your attendance, we wish you to return home, and think upon some other employment.

TILENUS.—Sir, I could wish I might be acquainted with the reason of *this my reprobation*, unless the Decree that governs your votes, or proceeds from them, be *irrespective*. I think I am not so ill-beloved amongst the most learned of *the Godly Clergy*, (though differing a little in judgment from me,) but I can procure a full Certificate from the chiefest and *most moderate* of them.

CHAIRMAN.—That is not all the matter we have against you. What have we to do with moderate men? We see your temper and want of modesty in that expression, and therefore you may be gone.

TILENUS.—Then, gentlemen, I shall take my leave, and commend you to more sober counsels and resolutions.

END OF THE EXAMINATION OF TILENUS.

The leaders of this people [*Heb.* they that call them BLESSED] *cause them to err.* (Isa. ix, 16.)

Therefore behold, I am against the Prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my word every one from his neighbour. (JER. xxiii, 30.)

Ye take away the key of knowledge. (Luke i, 52.)

Behold I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies and their lightness. (Jer. xxiii, 32.)

Thus have ye made the word of God of none effect by your tradition. (Mat. xv, 6. & Mark vii, 13.)

The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost, but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd. (Ezek. xxxiv, 4, 5.)

If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness,———from such withdraw thyself: For if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch. But they shall proceed no further; for their folly shall be manifest unto all men. (1 Tim. vi, 3—5. Matt. xv, 14. 2 Tim. iii, 9.)

THE

FIVE ARTICLES

CONTROVERTED BETWIXT

THE

REMONSTRANTS AND CONTRA-REMONSTRANTS,

COMMONLY CALLED

ARMINIANS AND CALVINISTS.

TO THE READER.

When those points of doctrine maintained by Melancthon and other moderate Lutherans, came to be managed by the acute wit, solid judgment and great learning of James Hermine, Public Reader in the University of Leyden, they appeared to the unprejudiced examiners so much more consonant as well to *the Sacred Scriptures and right reason* as to *primitive Antiquity*, and so much more agreeable to the Mercy, Justice and Wisdom of ALMIGHTY GOD, and so much more conducing unto Piety, than the tenets of *the rigid Calvinists*, that they quickly found a cheerful reception and great multitudes of followers in the Belgic Churches. Hereupon their adversaries, (having so passionately espoused the contrary opinions, and being so vehemently carried on with a prejudice against these,) that they might the more effectually decry and suppress the propugnators of them, caused some of their confidants to represent

them and their doctrine under such odious characters as were indeed proper to their own opinions. It was given out that, among their heresies, they held: *First*, "that God was the author of sin," and *Secondly*, "that He created the far greatest part of mankind, only of purpose to glorify himself in their damnation,"—with several others of like nature; which indeed are not only the consequence and results of Calvin's doctrine, but positively maintained and propagated by some of his followers.

That thy credulity, good Reader, may not be abused and betrayed by such practices, the following papers are hereunto annexed, to give thee, in a short view, a true account of the difference that is betwixt the disagreeing parties, with the grounds thereof.

FAREWELL!

THE FIRST ARTICLE

TOUCHING

PREDESTINATION.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS HOLD.

That God to the glory and praise of his abundant goodness, having decreed to make man after his own image, and to give him an easy and most equal law, and add thereunto a threatening of death to the transgressors thereof, and foreseeing that Adam would wilfully transgress the same, and thereby make himself and his posterity liable to condemnation; though God was, notwithstanding, mercifully affected towards man, yet, out of respect to his justice and truth, [*he*] *would not give way to his mercy to save man, till his justice should be satisfied, and his serious hatred of sin and love of righteousness* [*should*] *be made known.**

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*God decreed to make man after his own Image.*"] So God created man after his own image. Gen. i, 26, 27. See Col. iii, 10; Eph. iv, 24.

* These Articles are *not exactly the same* as those which were exhibited by the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort, and which are found in the Synodical Acts: But whatever may be their formal difference, in substance they are not dis-similar. In transposing some of them, and in separating the affirmative from the negative propositions, Bishop Womack appears to have intended the introduction of a more logical method, or a more perspicuous arrangement, than is to be seen in the original Articles. Indeed, the Remonstrants had particular reasons for intermingling their own sentiments with those of their adversaries: They wished to present the tenets of each system in close contrast, being confident, that, when viewed thus in opposition, the common sense of mankind would soon decide *to which code of doctrines the preference must be given.* They accordingly prepared their First Article in such a form, as to make one half of its Ten Tenets to consist

"*And to give him an easy law,*" *&c.*] Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat. Gen. ii, 16, 17. See Rom. ii, 14, 15; Levit. xviii, 5; Ezek. xx, 11; Rom. x, 5; Gal. iii, 12.

"*Added thereto a threatening of death.*"] In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die. Gen. ii, 17.

"*Foreseeing that Adam would wilfully transgress the same.*"] And who, as I, shall call and shall declare it,—and the things that are coming and shall come? Isa. xliv, 7. See Isa. xli, 22, 23.—Known unto God are all HIS WORKS from the beginning of the world. Acts xv, 18.

"*And all man's works too.*"] Thou understandest my thoughts afar off. Psalm cxxxix, 2. Gen. iii, 6; 2 Cor. xi, 3; 1 Tim. ii, 13, 14; Eccles. vii, 29; Isa. xlv, 21.

"*And thereby make himself and his posterity liable to condemnation.*"] All have sinned and come short of the glory of God. Rom. iii, 23,—By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin. v, 12, 18, 19.—The wages of sin is death. vi, 23. Acts xvii, 26; Heb. vii, 10; Job xiv, 1, &c.; 2 Cor. v, 14, xi, 3; Rev. ii, 7; Gen. iii, 24; Deut. xxvii, 26; Gal. iii, 10; James ii, 10.

"*God was mercifully affected towards man.*"] The Lord God, merciful and gracious. Exod. xxxiv, 6.—He loved us first. 1 John iv, 19; see verse 11.—Thou art a God gracious and merciful, slow to anger. Jonah iv, 2; 2 Chron. xxx, 9.—For thou, Lord, art good and ready to forgive—a God full of compassion and gracious. Psalm lxxxvi, 5, 15.—The Lord is slow to anger. As a father pitieth his children. Psalm ciii, 8, 13.—His tender mercies are over all his works. Psalm cxi, 4, and cxlv, 8, 9.—The riches of his goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering. Rom. ii, 4.—Be ye merciful, as your Father is merciful. Luke vi, 36. Isa. lv, 7: Jer. xxxi, 20; Joel ii, 13; Numb. xiv, 18, 19; Neh. ix, 17; Deut. v, 9, 10; Jer. xxxii, 18.

"*Out of respect to his justice he would not give way,*" &c.] He will by no means clear the guilty. Exod. xxxiv, 7.—For thou

both of an affirmation and a negation, and the remainder to contain entire negations. For this mode of stating their opinions, it will be seen by a subsequent note, they received a reprimand from the reverend Fathers in Synod assembled, who regarded ABSOLUTE REPROBATION as one of those sacred things which might not be touched by hands profane. In the Four Articles which the Remonstrants afterwards presented, they did not insert such a number of negatives, and there is consequently less variation between them and the Articles here inserted. The Bishop's model has been the regular scholastic arrangement of TENETS and REJECTIONS, which was adopted by the British Divines and others of "the Colleges," as they were termed, at the Synod of Dort.

The title which the Remonstrants prefixed to their Articles was the following: "These are the sentiments of the Remonstrants concerning the First Article on PREDESTINATION, which in their conscience they have hitherto thought, and still do think, to be agreeable to the word of God."—EDITOR.

art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee. Psalm v, 4.—But your iniquities have separated, &c. Isa. lix, 2.

"*And to his truth.*"] Thou shalt die the death; and He is a God that cannot lie, nor repent, nor deny himself, Gen. ii, 17. Tit. i, 2; Heb. vi, 18; Num. xxiii, 19; 2 Tim. ii, 13.

"*Till justice be satisfied.*"] The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all; and made his soul an offering for sin. He was wounded for our transgressions. Isa. liii, 5, 6, 10.—Thus it behoved Christ to suffer; Luke xxiv, 26, 46.–the just for the unjust: 1 Pet. iii, 18.–to give his life a ransom for many. Matt. xx, 28; 1 Tim. ii, 6.—I restored that which I took not away. Psalm lxix, 4. Phil. ii, 7, 8; Matt. iii, 15, v, 17; Gen. iii, 15; Mark x, 45; 1 John iii, 8; Luke ii, 14.

"*And till his hatred of sin be made known,*"*&c.*] Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; thou hatest the workers of iniquity; thou abhorrest the bloody and deceitful man, &c. Psalm v, 4—6.—Thou hatest iniquity. Psalm xlv, 7.—The froward are an abomination to the Lord. Prov. xi, 20.—Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you. Isa. lix, 2. Psalm vii, 11, 12; Isa. lxv, 12.

"*And his love of righteousness.*"] Thou lovest righteousness. Psalm xlv, 7.—Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, to declare his righteousness; that he might be just, &c. He is the avenger of unrighteousness. Rom. iii, 24—26.

And, therefore,

TENET I.

For the satisfying of his justice, he did ordain the Mediator Jesus Christ, who should be made a sacrifice for sinful men, suffer death for them, and [*should*] *by his blood, shed for their reconciliation, obtain right of saving them upon terms befitting mercy and justice.*

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*Christ ordained the Mediator.*"] To us a Son is given. Isa. ix, 6.—So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son. John iii, 16.—In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propiciation for our sins. 1 John iv, 9, 10.—But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners,

Christ died for us. Rom. v, 8, &c.—For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all. 1 Tim. ii, 5, 6. See Heb. xii, 2, 24, 25.

"*Made a sacrifice, and suffered death for sinful men.*"] He became obedient unto death. Philip. ii, 8.—I lay down my life for my sheep. John x, 11, 15—18: see John xv, 13.—He tasted death for every man. Heb. ii, 9.—Christ died for our sins. 1 Cor. xv, 3.—He died unto sin once. Rom. iv, 25, vi, 10.—Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree. 1 Peter ii, 24.—Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. 1 Cor. v, 7.—When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin. Isa. liii, 10.—Who loved us, and gave himself for us, an offering and sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. Ephes. ii, 2.—He is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2.—Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. Rom. iii, 25; see Heb. v, 1, &c.; viii, 3, &c.; ix, 11—14, 22, 26—28; x, 5, 10, 12, 14.—He is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. John i, 29.—He gave his life a ransom, Mark x, 45;—and purged our sins. Heb. i, 3.—He was made sin for us, 2 Cor. v, 21;—and made a curse; Gal. iii, 13.—to redeem us that were under the Law; and delivered us from the curse of the law, Gal. iii, 13; from the power of darkness, Col. i, 13; from the fear of death, Heb. ii, 14; Hos. xiii, 14; 1 Cor. xv, 55: and from the wrath to come; 1 Thes. i, 10; Rom. v, 9; and obtained eternal redemption for us. Heb. ix, 12; Luke i, 68; 2 Tim. 1, 10.

"*By his blood shed for their reconciliation.*"] This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Matt. xxvi, 28.—He washed us from our sins in his own blood. Rev. i, 5; see Rev. v, 6, 12; 1 John i, 7; 1 Pet. i, 18—20.—God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself. 2 Cor. v, 18, &c.—When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son. Rom. v, 10.—Having made peace through the blood of his cross, Col. i, 20—22: ii, 12—14. through him we have access unto the Father. Ephes. ii, 13, 18.

"*Should obtain right of saving them.*"] He shall see his seed and justify many. Isa. liii, 10, 11.—Ye are bought with a price. 1 Cor. vi, 20.—Which he (God) hath purchased with his own blood. Acts xx, 28; 1 Peter ii, 9; 2 Peter ii, 1.—All are delivered unto me of my Father. Matt. xi, 27; xxviii, 18.—The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son John iii, 35; v, 22; xvii, 2.—The Son of man is come to seek and save that which was lost. Matt. xviii, 11; Luke xix, 10; see Heb. ii, 14, —17.—In whom we have redemption. Col. i, 14; Ephes. i, 7, 8; 1 Cor. i, 30; 1 Pet. i, 2, 3; Rev. iii, 14.

"*Upon terms befitting mercy and justice.*" | For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil. 1 John iii, 8.—For he shall save his people from

their sins. Matt. i, 21; see Rom. vi, 1, 2; Ephes. i, 4, 6.—I am come to call sinners to repentance. Matt. ix, 13.—That he might redeem us from all iniquity, and from our vain conversation; Tit. ii, 11—14; and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. 1 Peter i, 18.—He hath redeemed us unto God, that we might become servants to God, Rev. v, 9; see 1 Peter iv, 1, 2; might have our fruit unto holiness, Rom. vi, 22; and live unto righteousness; 1 Peter ii, 24; that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us; Rom. viii, 3, x, 4; that the Lord God might dwell amongst us, Psalm lxviii, 18; and that we might live to him, 2 Cor. v, 14, 15; Rom. xiv, 9; Heb. v, 9; and set forth his praise and glory. 1 Pet. ii, 9; 1 Cor. vi, 30.—Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. 2 Cor. v, 17.

TENET II.

Upon the consideration of his blood, as shed, he decreed that all those who should believe in that Redeemer, and persevere in that faith, should, through mercy and grace, by him be made partakers of salvation; but such as would not believe in him, but die in infidelity, should therefore be punished with eternal death; reprobation being decreed upon precedent infidelity and dying therein.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*Upon the consideration of his blood as shed.*"] The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Rev. xiii, 8.—Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth. Isa. xlii, 1; see 1 Peter i, 20.—Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified. Isa. xlix, 3.—According to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began. 2 Tim. i, 9.

"*Who should believe in that Redeemer.*"] That whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life: He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life. John iii, 14—16, 36.—And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life. John vi, 40; see verses 47, 54, 58.—I live by the faith of the Son of God. Gal, ii, 20.—Whosoever believeth on him shall not be confounded. 1 Peter ii, 6, 7; see Rom. ix, 30, 33.—He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved. Mark xvi, 16.—Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. 1 Peter i, 2, 5. Now the just shall live by faith. Heb. x, 38.—Thou standest by faith. Rom. xi, 20.—Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace, &c. Rom. iv, 16.—The Saviour of them that believe.

1 Tim. iv, 10.—Verily, verily I say unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. John v, 24.—These things have I written unto you that believe, that ye may know that ye have eternal life. 1 John iv, 13.—We believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved. Acts xv, 11.

"*And persevere in that faith, should be made partakers of salvation, &c.*] To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, &c. Rom. ii, 7.—But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. Blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Matt. xxiv, 13, 46; 1 Tim. ii, 15.—He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, hath the Father and the Son. 2 John 9.—If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you. 1 John ii, 24.—If ye continue in his goodness. Rom. xi, 22.—If ye continue in the faith, rooted and built up. Col. 1, 23; ii, 5—8.—If ye hold fast stedfastly unto the end. Heb. iii, 6, 12, 14.—If ye mortify the deeds of the body. Rom. viii, 13.—Cast not away your confidence. Heb. x, 35. to the end.—Hold fast till I come, that no man take thy crown. Rev. ii, 25; iii, 11.—Receive not the grace of God in vain. 2 Cor. vi, 1.—Beware lest, being led away with the error of the wicked, ye fall from your own stedfastness. But grow in grace. 2 Pet. iii 17, 18—Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. Phil. ii, 12.—If a man strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully. If we deny him, he also will deny us. 2 Tim. ii, 5, 12.—To him that overcometh will I give of the hidden manna and grant to sit with me on my throne, and make him a pillar, and he shall not be hurt of the second death. Rev. ii, 11, 17, 26; iii, 12, 21.—Be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life. Rev. ii, 10.—I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. 2 Tim. iv, 7, 8; see Job xxvii, 3—6; Luke viii, 15.

"*Such as would not believe, but die in infidelity, should therefore be punished with eternal death.*"] He that believeth not, shall be damned. Mark xvi, 16.—He that believeth not is condemned already, the wrath of God abideth on him. John iii, 18, 36.—Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. 2 John v, 9: see Isa. xxvii, 11.—Because of unbelief they were broken off. Rom. xi, 20.—For the wages of sin is death. Rom. vi, 23.—The wicked shall be turned into hell. Psalm ix, 17.—Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, &c. Psalm xi, 6.—But the fearful and unbelieving and abominable &c., shall have their portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. Rev. xxi, 8; xxii, 15.—Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Ephes. v, 5, 6.—Be not deceived,—the unrighteous shall *not* in-

herit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10; see Gal. v, 19—21. Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish. Luke xiii, 3, 5.—This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light. John iii, 19.—The Lord shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance of them that know not God and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2 Thess. i, 7, 8; see Matt. xiii, 41, 42, 49, 50; xxv, 41, 42.—Wherefore if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out. Mark ix, 43—49. See Heb. xi, 6, xii, 14; Rev. xxi, 27; Ezek. xviii, 26; Matt. iii, 10, 12, v, 20.

TENET III.

And because sinful man could not possibly of himself, by his natural ability, believe in this Redeemer, and persevere in such faith, he decreed to afford man means sufficient and necessary, (as he saw befitting his own wisdom and justice,) for the working of faith and repentance, whereby man might be enabled to believe, or more and more prepared and in certain steps or degrees brought on at length to true faith.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*Sinful man could not of himself,*" *&c.*] Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? Matt. vi, 27.—If I speak of strength, lo! he is strong. Job ix, 19, 20.—Thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help. Hos. xiii, 9.—I, even I, am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour. Isa. xliii, 1; xlv, 21.—Trust in the Lord with all thy heart; and lean not to thine own understanding. Prov. iii, 5.—Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, but look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord! Isa. v, 21; xxxi, 1.

"*Could not believe by his natural ability,*" *&c.*] Without strength. Rom. v, 6; viii, 3: see 2 Cor. iv, 6.—Not that we are sufficient of ourselves. 2 Cor. iii, 5. See Rom. xi, 32; Gal. iii, 22; John iii, 3, 5.—Make the tree good, and (then) the fruit good. Matt. xii, 33, 35.—God giveth the increase. 1 Cor. iii, 4.—Unto you it is given. Phil. i, 29.—Whose heart the Lord opened. Acts xvi, 14.—It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do. Phil. ii, 13; see Ezek. xxxvi, 22.—Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee. Matt. xvi, 17.—Every good gift is from above, &c. James i, 17.—Except the Father draw him. John vi, 44, 65.—Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. Matt. xi, 27.—Without me ye can do nothing. John xv, 5.—No man can say, that *Jesus is the Lord*, but by the Holy Ghost. 1 Cor. xii, 3.—For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it

is the gift of God. Eph. ii, 8; see Rom. iv, 16; v, 15, &c.; vi, 23.—By the grace of God I am what I am. 1 Cor. xv, 10; Gal. ii, 20.—Who have obtained like precious faith with us, according as his Divine Power hath given us all things that pertain unto life and godliness. 2 Peter i, 1, 3; Eph. iii, 14, &c., vi, 23.—Grace and peace from God the Father, &c. Rev. i, 4.—He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. 1 Cor. i, 3; see Rom. i, 8; 1 Peter i, 3.

"*And could not persevere in such faith,*" *&c.*] He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. John xv, 5.—Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith. Heb. xii, 2.—Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us and given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work. 2 Thess. ii, 16, 17.—The God of all grace make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you. 1 Pet. v, 10.—See Ephes. iii, 14, &c.; Phil. i, 6; Heb. xiii, 20.

"*He decreed to afford man means sufficient and necessary.*"] He that spared not his own Son—how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Rom. viii, 32. *—He hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in Christ. Ephes. i, 3.—That thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house. I will give thee for a covenant to the people. Isai. xlix, 6, 8, 9; xlii, 7.—To perform the promise—that he would grant unto us [a power] that we might serve him in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. Luke i, 72—76.—His Divine Power hath given unto us all things, that pertain to life and godliness. 2 Pet. i, 3.—He gave unto them his talents. Matt. xxv, 14, 15, 27, 29.—To you it is given to know. Matt. xiii, 11, 12.—The promise is to you and your children. Acts ii, 4, 5, 39, 41.—The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. Luke x, 9.—I was made manifest to them that enquired not after me. Isai. lxv, 1; Rom. x, 20.—For the grace of God that bringeth salvation unto all men hath appeared:—the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which is shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Tit. ii, 11, 12; iii, 5, 6. †—Sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law but under grace. Rom. vi, 14.—To him that hath shall be given. Mark iv, 23, 25; Luke viii, 18.—If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine. John vii, 17.—He will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask and obey him. Luke xi, 13; Acts v, 32.—What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Isai. v, 4.

* See Rom. x, 14, &c.; 2 Tim. i, 9 10; Isaiah lix, 21.

† See Heb. iv, 12; 1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25; James i, 18; 1 Cor. iv, 15.

—Wherefore, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear. Heb. xii, 28.

TENET IV.

Whence ariseth the last decree, concerning the salvation of this or that man in particular, who by these means should be brought unto faith and persevere therein; *this being the condition required in every one that is to be elected unto eternal life, and the consideration of this or that man in particular who should die in unbelief.*

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*The condition required in every one that is to be elected unto eternal life.*"] Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith? James ii, 5.—God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth, &c. 2 Thess. ii, 13, 14.—Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. i, 2. *—Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate. Rom. viii, 29.—If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel of mercy unto honour, &c. Rom. ix, 32; with Tim. ii, 21.—See Psalm iv, 3, and ciii, 17, 18; Rom. x, 10, 11; and all those texts cited above under these heads, "*Who should believe* (page 97) *and persevere* (page 98). Who have not bowed the knee unto Baal. See Rom. xi, 4, 5.

"*And the consideration of this or that man, who should die in unbelief.*"] Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. Exod. xxxii, 33.—As truly as I live, saith the Lord, because all those men which have seen my glory and my miracles, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice, surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it. And ye shall know my breach of promise. Numb. xiv, 21—35. †—And to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not? So we see, that they could not enter in because of unbelief. Heb. iii, 18, 19.—Now these things happened unto them for [types,‡ or] ensamples unto us. 1 Cor. x, 6, 11.—Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural

* Mark xiii, 20. † The very form of actual Reprobation. ‡ See the application Heb. iv, 11.

branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: On them which fell, *severity;* but towards thee, *goodness;* if thou continue in his goodness, otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. Rom. xi, 20.—If thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. 1 Chron. xxviii, 9.—If we deny him, he will deny us. 2 Tim. ii, 12.—He that rejecteth me, hath one that judgeth him. John xii, 46, 48.—The angels which kept not their first estate, and Sodom—giving themselves over to fornication, are set forth for an ensample. Ungodly men turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, were before of old ordained to this condemnation, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. Jude 4, 6, 7, 13. See 1 Pet. ii, 7, 8; 2 Pet. ii, 4, 7; and 2 Thess. ii, 12; &c. See also the texts cited above, under this head, "*Such as would not believe,*" *&c.* (Page 98.)

TENET V.

Christ is not only the Executor of election, but the foundation of the decree itself.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*Christ the Executor of election.*"] So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son. John iii, 16.—Neither is there salvation in any other. Acts iv, 12.—This is life eternal, to know thee, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. John xvii, 3.—I am the way, the truth, and the life. John xiv, 6.—Abide in me, and I in you: as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me. John xv, 4.—Christ in you, the hope of glory. Col. i, 27. See 1 Cor. ii, 2.

"*But Christ is the foundation of the decree itself.*"] According to the eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord: Ephes. iii, 11, 12.—According to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began. 2 Tim. i, 9, 10.—Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, and of his fulness, &c. John i, 16, 17.—God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. See Col. i, 19, 20; 2 Cor. v, 19.—By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand. Rom. v, 2.—Blessed with all spiritual blessings in Christ; God has chosen us in him, predestinated us by him, made us accepted in him; in whom we have redemption, forgiveness, and an inheritance.—See Ephes. iii, 11, 12, and i, 3,7,11.—Jesus Christ being the Corner-stone. Ephes. ii, 10, 21, 22.—Other foundation can no man lay. 1 Cor. iii, 11.—See the texts

cited above, under this head, "*Made a sacrifice and suffered death,*" *&c.* (Page 96.)

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS DO UTTERLY DENY CONCERNING PREDESTINATION.

REJECTION I.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God decreed to elect some to eternal life, and to reprobate others from the same*, before he decreed to create them."

THE REASON OF THIS.

"*God did not decree to elect some,*" &c.] For he hath chosen us in Christ. Ephes. i, 4.—But in Christ we cannot be, unless we be considered, (1.) As Sinners. (2.) As Believers, and therefore Creatures.

(1.) As SINNERS. For Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i, 15.—See Matt. i, 21; John i, 29; Matt. xviii, 11; Luke xix, 10; John vi, 51; Heb. ii, 14, &c.; 2 Cor. v, 19, &c. See all the places cited for "*Salvation by faith.*" (Page 98.)

(2.) As BELIEVERS. For, They that receive him, are they that believe in his name. John i, 12.—See Ephes. iii, 17.

"*And not to reprobate others.*"] For reprobation is an act of God's hatred, who hateth nothing but sin and for sin, which the creature could not be guilty of *before it had a being.*—Whosoever hath sinned, him will I blot out. Exod xxxii, 33.*—The soul that sinneth, it shall die. Ezek. xviii, 4, 20.—See all those places where damnation is said to be for sin, especially for infidelity. (Page 98.) See also those places cited to shew God's hatred of sin, and his inclination to mercy, (page 94,) as Exod. xxxiii, 18, 19; xxxiv, 6, 7; Lam. iii, 33; Psalm cxiv, 8, 9; Ezek. xxxiii, 11; 2 Pet. iii, 9; Ezek. xviii, 23, 32.—Hell made for devils. Matt. xxv, 41.

REJECTION II.

They do NOT *hold, that* "*any such decree, in order before the decree of Creation, was made for the demonstration of the glory of God's mercy and justice, or of his power and absolute dominion.*"

* See Ezek. xviii, 23, and xxxiii, 11.

THE REASON OF THIS.

(1.) The vessel that he made of clay, was marred in the hand of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it. Jer. xviii, 4,—See to the 10th, 12th verses. *

(2.) I will give thee for a covenant of the people, to restore the preserved of Israel, and to enlighten the Gentiles. Isaiah xlix, 8, 5.—Thou art my servant, O Israel, [Christ] in whom I will be glorified: Verse 3.—See John xv, 8, and Proverbs xiv, 28. Consider what is noted before, and what followeth, for further evidence of this.

REJECTION III.

They do utterly DENY, *that "God did, with this intent, create all men in Adam, ordain the fall and permission thereof, withdraw from Adam grace* necessary *and* sufficient, *or procureth the gospel to be preached, and men to be externally called, and bestoweth certain gifts of the Holy Ghost upon them,—and all this with this intent, that these should be means whereby he would bring some unto life, and disappoint others of the benefit thereof according to such decree."*

THE REASON HEREOF

In the several branches, is to be collected from the proof of the foregoing and following articles. Yet, that it may further appear,

1. "*That God did not create,*" &c., CONSIDER,

(1.) That He made man after his own image: Gen. i, 27.

(2.) Gave him the tree of life. Gen. ii, 9.

(3.) That he hates sin: Psalm v, 4, 5; Habak. i, 13.

(4.) And cannot be tempted with evil. James i, 17.

(5.) And desireth not the death of a sinner: Ezek. xviii, 31; xxxiii, 11.

(6.) That sin was from the suggestion of the devil: Gen. iii, 1.

(7.) And man's voluntary compliance with him: Eccles. vii, 29.

2. "*That he procureth not the gospel,*" &c., CONSIDER,

(1.) He is merciful to all: Psalm clxv, 8, 9; Acts xiv, 16, 17; xvii, 26, 27.—Would not that any should perish: Ezek. xviii, 23, 31; xxxiii, 11. †—But that all should come to faith and repentance: 1 Tim. ii, 4; 2 Pet. iii, 9.—And,

* See Isaiah xxvii, 11, the last part; Hosea ix, 15.

† See John iii, 17; 2 Chron. xxiv, 19.

(2.) Christ having died for all: 2 Chron. v, 19, 20; Heb. ii, 9. —he invites all: Matt. xi, 28.—and upbraids such as wilfully refuse to embrace his offered grace and salvation. John v, 34, 40.

REJECTION IV.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*Christ the Mediator is only* the Executor *of the decree of Election, and* not the Foundation *thereof.*"

The places cited (above) in proof of the affirmative, is sufficient REASON HEREOF. And note here once for all, that "whensoever the affirmative is sufficiently proved, the negative is "thereby utterly overthrown; because both parts of a contradiction can never be true."

REJECTION V.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*the cause why some are effectually called, justified, persevere in faith, and are glorified, is,* because they are absolutely elected to eternal life."

THE REASON.

God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. Acts x, 34, 35.*—For the Scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on him, shall not be ashamed: for the same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him. Rom. x, 11, 12.—See James ii, 5; 2 Thess. ii, 13, and all the rest of those places cited above for the affirmative *Conditional Election.* (Pages 97, 101.)

REJECTION VI.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*the cause why others are left in the lapse* [*fall*] *and Christ not given to them, and that they are, not at all, or uneffectually, called, and so hardened and damned, is,* because they are reprobated from eternal life by an antecedent decree."

THE REASON.

His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sin. Prov. v, 22.†—But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your

* See Gen. iv, 6, 7. † See Micah viii, 18.

sins have hid his face from you. Isa. xlix, 2.—See the places cited above for the affirmative, viz. for *Respective Reprobation.* (Page 101.) Also the texts cited for *Christ's Satisfaction,* and the *Administration of Necessary and Sufficient means unto salvation.* (Pages 96, 100.)

REJECTION VII.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God did decree,* without respect unto actual sins coming between, *to leave, in the fall of Adam, the far greater part of mankind shut out of all hope of salvation.*"

THE REASON.

Christ is promised and given for a Covenant and means of restoration. Gen. iii, 15; ix, 8, 9; xxii, 16, 18; Isa. xlix, 8. See Rom. i, 18; ii, 8; Deut. xxiv, 16; 2 Kings xiv, 6; Eph. v, 7, 11. See the texts cited for *his satisfaction.* (Page 95). What mean ye that ye use this proverb?, *The Fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge.* As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb. Behold all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. Ezek. xviii, 2, 3, 4.---They shall say no more, *The fathers have eaten a sour grape and the children's teeth are set on edge.* But every one shall die for his own iniquity, every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge. Jer. xxxi, 29, 30. See Isa. xxvii, 11. It is a people without understanding, therefore he that made them will have no pity on them, Gen. iv, 6, 7. The wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. Ephes. v, 5, 6.---Because I have called, and ye refused, &c. Prov. i, 24, &c.---I keep under my body and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away. 1 Cor. ix, 27. See Proverbs v, 22; Isa. lix, 2.

REJECTION VIII.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God did destine by an absolute decree, to give Christ a Mediator only to the elect, and to give faith to them alone by an effectual calling, to justify and continue them in the faith, and glorify them alone.*

THE REASON OF THIS

Appears in the texts cited above for *Christ's Satisfaction* (page 95,), and those which follow for the *Universality of his Merit,*

in the Second Article or Question, (page 115,) to which nothing is needful to be added.

REJECTION IX.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*many, even all the reprobates, are rejected from eternal life and from means sufficient thereunto, by an absolute and antecedent decree, so as neither the merit of Christ, nor vocation, nor any gift of the Spirit, can or do avail unto their salvation.*"

THE REASON.

Because God created man after his own image and approved him to be VERY GOOD. Gen. i, 27, 31. And to the Judge of all the earth the righteous are not (dealt with) as the wicked. Gen. xviii, 25. For he is good to all and his tender mercies are over all his works. Psalm cxlv, 8, 9. He willeth not the death of a sinner. Ezek. xviii and xxxiii, almost throughout. See Job xxxiv, 23; 1 Tim. ii, 4: 2 Peter iii, 9.

Man's destruction is of himself. Hosea xiii, 9: Rom. vi, 23, i, 32. For he despiseth mercy. Rom. ii, 4, 5: Luke vii, 30: Acts xiii, 46. See Matt. xxii, 2---15: Luke xiv, 24; Heb. x, 26 &c: John iii, 19; 2 Chron. xxiv, 19, xxxvi, 15, 16. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. Ezek. xxiv, 13. In thy filthiness is lewdness; because I have purged thee and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee. 2 Thess. ii, 10---12. See Prov. i, 29—31; Romans ii, 8, i, 18. Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved: For this cause, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. See likewise all the places cited for the affirmative, viz. *Respective Reprobation*, page 101.

REJECTION X.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God hath destined* REPROBATES *(as they are called,) to infidelity, impiety, and sins, as means and causes of their damnation.*"

THE REASON.

1. God himself hath stigmatized Jeroboam with this character, as a brand of infamy: "Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made

Israel to sin." 2 Kings xxiii, 15.--Wo unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that puttest thy bottle to him, and makest him drunken also; that thou mayest look on their nakedness. Hab. ii, 15.

2. If a Prince should make a decree to take away the life of his subject, and then necessitate him by force, or wind him in by subtlety, to be instrumental (and subservient to his own ends,) in the perpetration of an act which the said prince himself had made to be criminal, that the execution of his said subject might appear to be just,---this argues clearly, that his first decree against him, even by the verdict of his own conscience, was unjust, and so is his execution also.

3. It is accounted an act of horrid tyranny in Tiberius, who, because it was unlawful to strangle virgins, caused the hangman first to deflower a virgin, and afterward to strangle her.---See also the reason of the next.

REJECTION XI.

They do utterly DENY, *that "God is the Author of sin."*

THE REASON.

1. Because He is holy, and a pattern of holiness. Lev. xi, 44, xix, 2; 1 Pet. i, 15, 16.

2. His ways are right and equal, and he can do no iniquity. Ezek. xviii, 25, 29; Hosea xiv, 19; Psalm xlv, 7, xcii, 16; Zeph. iii, 5; Deut. xxxii, 4.

3. He hates sin. Psalm v, 4, 5, xlv, 7; Prov. xi, 20; Isa. lix, 2; Deut. xii, 31; Isa. lxi, 8; Zech. viii, 17; Amos vi, 8; Jer. xliv, 4; Hab. i, 13.

4. It is a burden to him. Isa. vii, 13, xliii, 24.

5. He forbids sin. Exod. xx, 1, &c; Job xxxvi, 21; Ezek. xlv, 9; Rom. vi, 12; 1 Cor. xv, 34.

6. He cannot be tempted with evil. James i, 13---15.

7. He is provoked to anger by it. Isa. iii, 8; Hosea xii, 14; Exod. xxiii, 21; Mark iii, 5.

8. It is enmity to him. Romans viii, 7.

9. It is the work of the Devil. John viii, 44; Genesis iii, 1.

10. He sent his Son to destroy it. 1 John iii, 8; Titus ii, 14; 1 Peter i, 18.

11. He doth revenge it and punish the sinner for it. Jer. v, 25, 29; Deut. xviii, 12, 13; Rom. i, 18; Eph. v, 6; Psalm xi, 5, 6.

12. Man's destruction is from himself. Hosea xiii, 9; Prov. v, 22.

REJECTION XII.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*election of particular persons is made* without consideration of faith and perseverance therein, *as the condition pre-required in him that is to be chosen* [*unto glory.*]

THE REASON.

But the mercy of the Lord is from exerlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him [considered as such]. Psalm ciii, 17, 18.—The Lord hath set apart the man that is godly for himself. Psalm iii, 3.—To him that ordereth his conversation aright, will I shew the salvation of God. Psalm l, 23.—Thou hast a few names, even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments, and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. Rev. iii, 4.—I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction. Isa. xlviii, 10. —Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. James i, 12.—Who through faith and patience inherit the promises. Heb. vi, 12. See Heb. x, 36; Rev. vii, 14, 15. See also the proofs of the Second and Fourth affirmatives, pages 97, 101.

REJECTION XIII.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*particular men are reprobated from eternal life,* without consideration had of sin and infidelity and perseverance therein, *as going before.*"

THE REASON.

Whosoever sinneth—him will I blot out. Exodus xxxii, 33. See the Second and Fourth Affirmatives, pages 97, 101. Without are dogs. Rev. xxii, 15.—The unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. vi, 9. See 2 Thess. ii, 12; Luke xiv, 17, 21, 24.

A GENERAL REASON

OF

BOTH THE FORMER NEGATIVES.

The EXECUTION of God's decree sheweth what the decree itself was; for God "worketh [in time] all things according to the counsel of his own will" from eternity. Eph. i, 11. So that man must be considered in the decree, as he is considered in the execution of it: Otherwise the act *decreeing,* and the act *execu-*

ting should have respect to different objects, and consequently *this act* could not properly be called the execution of *that decree.* For instance: If a decree be past against T. B. as a *Malefactor,* and R. S. doth arrest T. B. being *clear and innocent;* this action cannot be said to be the execution of the former decree, which was made against T. B. *the Malefactor,* though R. S. pretends to do it in pursuance of the same. So in other cases. But, in the execution of the Divine decree of Election and Reprobation, we see men are looked upon according to their several qualifications. "Then shall the King say, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you: For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat.—Go, ye cursed: For I was &c.* Matthew xxv, 31, 41. —He shall render to every man according to his works. To them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and honour and immortality,—eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, —indignation and wrath. Rom. ii, 6—9.—For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Rom. viii, 13. See Psalm xi, 5 to the end; an emphatical place!

CONCERNING CHILDREN

THEY HOLD.

"*That all the children of the faithful are sanctified in Christ; so as none of them, departing this life before they come to the use of reason, can perish.*"

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. Gen. iii, 15. This seed (which is Christ,) was promised before ever any seed of mankind was conceived: Christ came, to seek and to save that which was lost. Matt. xviii, 11; Luke xix, 10; see Matt. xviii, 11, 12, He came to destroy the works of the Devil. 1 John iii, 8.—As, by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so, by the righteousness of One, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. Rom. v, 12, 18.—For as much as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him who had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and deliver———and make reconciliation, &c. Heb. ii, 14, 15, 17.—Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. See Psalm cxxvii, 3. Consider 1 John ii, 12, with Matt. xix, 14.

CONCERNING CHILDREN, WHAT THEY DO UTTERLY DENY.

REJECTION I.

They do utterly DENY, *that "some infants (children) of the faithful are to be accounted in the number of reprobates."*

THE REASON.

For if the first-fruits be holy, the lump also is holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches. Rom. ii, 16.—And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee. Gen. xvii, 7.—The promise is unto you and to your children. Acts ii, 39.—Words, whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved. Acts xi, 14.—Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thy house. Acts xvi, 31.—The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your chidren unclean, but now are they holy. 1 Cor. vii, 14.

REJECTION II.

They utterly DENY, *that "some infants of the faithful, departing this life in their infancy, before they have committed any actual sin, in their own persons, are reprobated."*

THE REASON.

That be far from thee, to do after this manner—to slay the righteous with the wicked, and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? Gen. xviii, 25.—Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it to grow, which came up in a night, and perished in a night: And should not I spare Nineveh, wherein are more than six score thousand persons, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left? Jonah iv, 11.—What mean ye that ye use this proverb, saying, *The Fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge?* (See Deut. xxiv, 16; 2 Kings xiv, 6.) As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb. Behold all souls are mine: as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. Ezek. xviii, 2, 3, 4.—In those days, they shall say no more, *The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the*

children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity, every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge. Jer. xxxi, 29, 30.

REJECTION III.

They do utterly DENY, *that "the sacred laver of baptism and the prayers of the Church, can no ways avail such infants unto salvation."*

THE REASON.

"The sacred laver of baptism," &c.] Go ye therefore, and disciple all nations, baptizing them, &c. Matt. xxviii, 19.—The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us. 1 Peter, iii, 21.—He saved us by the washing of regeneration. Titus iii, 5. Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word. Ephes. v, 25. 26.—Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins; for the promise is to you and to your children. Acts ii, 38, 39; xxii, 16.—As many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ; and there is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. Gal. iii, 27; Rom. viii, 1.

"And the prayers of the Church," &c.] This the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us. And if we know that he hear us,—whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him. If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life, for them that sin not unto death. 1 John v, 14—16. And shall not God hear the prayers of the Church in behalf of Infants?

REJECTION IV.

They do utterly DENY, *that "some of the faithfuls' children, baptized* in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, *while they live in the state of their infancy, are reprobate by an absolute decree."**

THE REASON OF THIS,

Appears sufficiently in the Reasons of those Negatives forementioned.

* At the close of their First Article, the Dutch Remonstrants thus address *the members of the Synod*, of which they were themselves allowed to form no part, but were called the CITED PERSONS: "Most reverend Fathers and Brethren, you have now before you the proposition of our opinions respecting the First Article on *Election* and *Reprobation*. These sentiments we are

THE STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY

TOUCHING

PREDESTINATION, OR ELECTION TO ETERNAL LIFE,

OR REPROBATION THEREFROM.

I.

Whether of Divine and peremptory Election to [*glory or*] *eternal life, the first and adequate object be* "*all and only* "*those which persevere in true faith unto their lives' end, as* "*such: or certain particular persons not at all considered as* "*believing and persevering in faith, as such.*"

See all the Texts alleged for Conditioned, and against Absolute Irrespective Election, pages 95—110.

prepared to defend; we are also prepared to combat the contrary opinions, which are those of the Contra Remonstrants. We think it greatly concerns the Truth itself, the glory of God, our own conscience, and the edification of the Churches, for us to propose these opinions in this order, and to explain and defend them as much as we are able and as far as we shall think needful."

In *the Acts of the Synod*, it is stated, "In addition to this, the Synod declared it to be displeasing to them, 'that *the Cited Individuals*, in the 'propositions exhibited, had employed themselves more in rejecting the 'opinions of other people than in stating their own; that they disclaimed '*those sentiments which were not their own*, rather than asserted what were 'really theirs; and that they had mixed many topics in their First Article, 'which belonged more properly to those which had to succeed.' It was therefore resolved to admonish the Remonstrants, that in their subsequent Articles they might beware of these grievances, and pay a stricter attention to the commands of the Synod."

The next day, which was the 14th of Dec. 1618, the Remonstrants were enjoined to have their other Four Articles ready to exhibit on the 17th of the same month. "It was also the pleasure of the Synod 'to warn the CITED 'PERSONS to prepare their propositions in an affirmative rather than in a 'negative manner, that a judgment might be the more easily formed con-'cerning their sentiments: Were it afterwards their wish to refute the con-'trary doctrines, they should be at liberty to add their Rejections.' When the Remonstrants had been called in, they received these injunctions from the Synod. The President also reminded them, 'that they ought in prefer-'ence to apply themselves to a discussion of those questions which related 'to *the sweet doctrine of* ELECTION, and not *in an odious manner* agitate 'that of REPROBATION.' The Remonstrants answered, that 'they would 'take into consideration the admonitions which had been given by the 'President.'"

This was very good advice; but it was not the most disinterested, when proceeding from men who were the great teachers of UNCONDITIONAL REPROBATION. The result of this admonition will be seen in a note, at the close of these Five Articles.—EDITOR.

11.

Whether of peremptory Reprobation unto everlasting torments, the first and adequated object be, "all and only unbe-"lievers dying in their unbelief, as such; or certain "particular persons (the greatest part of mankind,) not at "all considered as impenitent, unbelievers and disobedient, as "such."

See the Texts fore-cited for Respective and against Irrespective and Absolute Reprobation: (pages 98–110) to which you may add Isaiah xxvii, 11. "Because this people have no understanding, therefore," &c. Ezek. xviii, 13, 23.

THE SECOND ARTICLE CONTROVERTED,

CONCERNING

THE UNIVERSALITY OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS HOLD.

TENET I.

THEY *hold, that the price of Redemption which Christ tendered unto his Father, was not only in itself* SUFFICIENT *for the Redemption of all mankind, but was also (according to the decree, the will, and the grace of God the Father,)* PAID FOR ALL *and* EVERY MAN.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"The price of Redemption Christ paid for all and every man."] For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all: 1 Tim. ii, 5, 6.—We trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men. iv, 10.—Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. John iii 16; i, 29.—We have an Advocate

with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. 1 John ii, 2. See John vi, 33, 51.—He tasted death for every man: Heb. ii, 9.—For the unjust: 1 Pet. iii, 18, &c.—For the ungodly, for sinners, for his enemies. Rom. v, 6, 8, 10.—See the places cited before for *Christ's satisfaction.* (Page 96.)

"*According to the decree, the will, and the grace of God,*" *&c.*] So God loved the world, &c. John iii, 16.—We have seen and do testify, that the Father sent the Son, to be the Saviour of the world. 1 John iv, 14.—He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all. Rom. viii, 32.—In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us; and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. 1 John iv, 9, 10.—For God sent not his Son into the world, to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved: John iii, 17.—That He by the grace of God should taste death for every man. Heb. ii, 9.—It pleased the Father ..... by him to reconcile all things to Himself. Col. i, 19, 20, 21.—After that the kindness and pity of God our Saviour towards man appeared. Tit. iii, 4.—For I came, not to judge the world, but to save the world. John xii, 47.—Greater love hath no man than this,—that a man lay down his life for his friend. John xv, 13.—He loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood. Rev. i, 5.—The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, &c. 2 Cor. v, 14, 15.

TENET II.

They hold, that Christ by the merit of his death, hath so far forth reconciled God the Father to all mankind, that the Father, by reason of his Son's merit, both could, and would, and did enter [*into*] *and establish a new and gracious covenant with sinful man liable to condemnation.*

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. 2 Cor. v, 19.—And you that were sometimes alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled, in the body of his flesh through death. Col. i, 21, 22.—I will give thee for a Covenant of the people. ["That is, a Mediator and Foundation of the Covenant of Grace." DIODATI's *Annot.*] Isai. xlix, 8.—When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his

seed ..... and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands: ..... By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many. Isai. liii, the whole chapter, 10, 11, 12.—To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins. Acts x, 43. —He is the Mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises, viz. I will put my laws into their mind and I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, &c. See Jer. xxxi, 31, 34; xxxiii, 8; Micah vii, 18, 19, 20; Heb. viii, 6, &c.—How much more shall the blood of Christ.....and for this cause he is the Mediator of the new Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first Testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. Heb. ix, 14, 15, &c. —See Heb. x, the whole chapter; vii, 22; xii, 24, 25.

TENET III.

They hold, that though Christ hath merited reconciliation with God and pardon of sins for all and every man, yet, according to the tenor of the new and gracious Covenant, none is indeed made partaker of the benefits purchased by the death of Christ, otherwise than by faith: *Nor are a man's sins pardoned, before he actually believes in Christ.*

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*None made partakers of Christ's benefits otherwise than by faith.*"] Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. Rom. iii, 24, 25.—But without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. xi, 6.—Whosoever believeth on him shall not be confounded. Rom. ix, 33.—He is the Saviour,—specially of those that believe. 1 Tim. iv, 10.—For it pleased the Father by him to reconcile all things unto himself.—And you hath he now reconciled—to present you holy and unblamable, and unreprovable in his sight, if ye continue in the faith, &c. Col. i, 19—23.—We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold fast &c. Heb. iii, 6, 14.—He is the Mediator,—that by means of death they which are called [*cum eventu*] might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. Heb. ix, 15.—But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. John i, 12.—See Gal. iii, 22.

"*Nor are a man's sins pardoned before he actually believes.*"] To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins. Acts

x, 43.—See Acts xxvi, 18; xiii, 39; John iii, 36.—The righteousness of God, without the law, is manifested,—even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe. Rom. iii, 21, 22.—Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness; and it shall be imputed to us also, if we believe. Rom. iv, 3, 24. See the whole chapter.—We have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ. Gal. ii, 26.—The just shall live by faith. Gal. iii, 11,—See Gal. iii, 22.—Being justified by faith, we have peace with God. Rom. v, 1.—See Acts ii, 38; Isai. liii, 11.

TENET IV.

They hold, that only they for whom Christ died are bound to believe, that Christ died for them; *and if there were any for whom Christ died not, they should not be bound to believe* he died for them, *or condemned* for not believing; *yea, if there were any such Reprobates, they should rather be bound to believe, that* he died NOT for them.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"Only they for whom Christ died bound to believe," &c.] Ye were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, who was manifest for you, who by him do believe in God that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory, that your faith and hope might be in God. 1 Pet. i, 18, 19, 21.—Believe also in me. Why? I go to prepare a place for you, and I will receive you to myself. John xiv, 1, 2, 3.

See 1 Cor. xv, 2, 3, 14. Whence it follows, that "they for whose sins Christ died not, and for whose justification he rose not again, to them preaching is vain, and their faith is vain;" for they do but believe an untruth, and lean upon the staff of a broken reed. Accordingly (as was alleged above,) Maccovius saith, "A man must first believe Christ to be his Saviour [which he cannot be, unless he hath died for him,] and that must be the reason why he placeth his faith in him."

"And such Reprobates should rather believe, that he died not for them."] For those things which are revealed belong to us. Deut. xxix, 29.—O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Luke xxiv, 25.—If it be a REVEALED TRUTH, that "Christ died NOT for the Reprobates;" then are they bound to believe, *he died not for them.* But if it be NOT *a truth revealed*, why is it then preached and urged as *an Article of faith?*

WHAT THEY DO NOT HOLD, TOUCHING CHRIST'S DEATH.

REJECTION I.

They do utterly DENY, *that "the price of Redemption, which Christ tendered unto God his Father, was not (according to the decree, will, and grace of God the Father,) paid for all and every man, that so the greatest part of mankind should, by an absolute and antecedent decree of God, be precisely shut out from the participation of the benefits of Christ's death."*

THE REASON.

1. Christ came to seek and to save that which was lost. Matt. xviii, 11; Luke xix, 10.—God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. 2 Cor. v, 19.—He laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Isai. liii, 6.—And Christ died for all, for every man, for the world, for the whole world, for the unjust and disobedient, (finally such,) 1 Pet. iii, 18, 20;—for the ungodly, for sinners, for his enemies;—as was said above. (Page 96.)

2. Also for as many as died in Adam. 1 Cor. xv, 22.—As by the offence of one man, &c. Rom. v, 12, 18; 2 Cor. v, 14.

3. For as many as are bound to believe in him;—as was declared above. (Page 117.)

4. For as many as are bound to adore and serve him.—Ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your &c. 1 Cor. vi, 20.—We thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that he might be Lord of all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves but unto him which died for them. 2 Cor. v, 14, 15; Rom. xiv, 9. See Ephes. i, 12.

5. For as many as we are bound to pray for in Christ's name. I exhort, that supplications be made for all men—For there is one Mediator, who gave himself a ransom for all. 1 Tim. ii, 1, 5, 6.

6. For such as crucify him afresh to themselves. Heb. vi, 4, 5, 6; x, 29.—For such as deny him, and finally do perish. 2 Pet. ii, 1. See Rom. xiv, 15; 1 Cor. viii, 11.

REJECTION II.

They do utterly DENY, *that "the immediate fruit of the death of Christ is the actual pardon of sins:" Or, (which is*

the same in effect,) that "sins are pardoned unto sinners, before they do actually believe in Christ."

THE REASON.

For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness. Rom. x, 10.—But without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. xi, 6. See Gal. iii, 22.—He that believeth not, shall be damned. Mark xvi, 16.—He is condemned already: the wrath of God abideth on him. John iii, 18, 36.—See proofs for the affirmative, page 116.

REJECTION III.

They do utterly DENY, *that "Reprobates (as some call them,) for whom Christ died not, (if there were any such,) are bound, notwithstanding, to believe in him, and* to believe that they are elected unto glory; *and that, therefore, those that believe not shall be condemned justly, yea, shall therefore be punished with more grievous torments by Almighty God."*

THE REASON.

1. Will ye speak wickedly for God? And talk deceitfully for him? Job xiii, 7.—He is the God of truth. Jer. x, 10,—that cannot lie. Tit. i, 2; Heb. vi, 18.—All his commandments are truth, righteousness, and faithfulness. Psalm cxix, 86, 151, 172. Christ was a minister for the truth of God, and no lie is of the truth. Rom. xv, 8; 1 John ii, 21.

2. If we meet with false Prophets and dissemblers, (for all their fair speeches,) he bids us *Believe them not.* Jer. xii, 6; Matt. xxiv, 23; Prov. xxvi, 25.

3. He denounceth grievous judgments against such Prophets as go about to induce the people to trust in a lie. Jer. xxviii, 25: xxix, 31.

4. It is a sore judgment, inflicted only upon the obstinate and refractory, (and therefore certainly no duty of them that are not such,) to be given up to such errors. "Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for this cause, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." 2 Thess. ii, 10, 12.—So that the God of truth and righteousness doth not bind men (as a part of their duty) to believe falsehood, much less doth He punish them with "more grievous torments for not believing it."

5. Doth God pervert judgment? or doth the Almighty pervert justice? Job viii, 3.—Yea surely, God will not do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment. xxxiv, 10, 12. He will not lay upon man more than is right, that he should enter into judgment with God. Verse 23.

THE STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY,

TOUCHING

THE UNIVERSALITY OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

Whether Christ Jesus, out of a serious and gracious purpose and decree of God the Father, suffered that most bitter and shameful death, that he might bring into favour with God ONLY SOME FEW, *and those formerly and in particular chosen to eternal life by an absolute decree: Or that he might merit and obtain reconciliation with God, for all and every sinner, without difference, by doing and suffering those things which Divine Justice, by sin offended, did require to be done and suffered before he would enter* [*into*] *a new gracious covenant with sinners, and open the door of salvation to them?*

THE DECISION IS CONTAINED IN THE FORMER ASSERTIONS AND NEGATIONS.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ARTICLES CONTROVERTED,

WHICH ARE TOUCHING

THE GRACE OF GOD IN THE CONVERSION OF MAN.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS HOLD.

TENET 1.

THEY *hold, that a man hath not saving faith of himself, nor from the power of his own free-will; seeing, while he is in the state of sin, he cannot, of himself nor by himself, think, or will, or do, any saving good, (in which kind, faith in Christ is eminent,) but must needs, by God in Christ, through the power of the Holy Ghost, be regenerated and renewed, in his mind, affections, will, and all his powers, that he may aright understand, will, and meditate, and do that which is savingly good.*

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"A man hath not faith or any saving good of himself," &c.] Ye were sometimes darkness. Ephes. v, 8.—When we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. Rom. vii, 5.—God hath concluded all in unbelief. Rom. xi, 32.—For by grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Ephes. ii, 8.—To you it is given—to believe. Phil. i, 8, 9.—None can say, that *Jesus is the Lord*, but by the Holy Ghost; (who is therefore called) the Spirit of faith. 1 Cor. xii, 3. —Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing, as of ourselves: but our sufficiency is of God. 2 Cor. iv, 13; 2 Cor. iii, 5.—For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly. Rom. v, 6.—Without me, ye can do nothing. John xv, 5.—No man can come to me, except the Father draw him. Every man, therefore, that hath heard,

and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me. John vi, 44, 45, 65.

"*He must needs be regenerated,*" *&c.*] That which is born of the flesh, is flesh: and this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. John iii, 6; 1 Cor. xv, 50.—Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. John iii, 3, 5.—But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. 1 Cor. vi, 11.—Not by works of righteousness which we had done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Tit. iii, 4, 5, 6.—The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath begotten us again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. 1 Pet. i, 3, 23. See Ezek. xxxvi, 26, 27.

"*He must be renewed in understanding, will, affections,*" *&c.*] Renewed in the spirit of your minds: Ephes. iv, 23.—In knowledge. Col. iii, 10. See 1 Cor. i, 4, 5.—To whom I send thee, to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Tit. ii, 11; Acts xxvi, 18. God, through the Holy Ghost, purifying their hearts by faith. Acts xv, 9.—The blood of Christ purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God. Heb. ix, 14.—Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth, through the Spirit,—and the very God of peace sanctify you wholly. 1 Pet. i, 22; 1 Thess. v, 23.

"*That he may do that which is savingly good,*" *&c.*] Make the tree good, and his fruit good. Matt. vii, 17, 18; xii, 33—35. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. Rom. vi, 22. See verse 18.

TENET II.

They hold, that the grace of God is the BEGINNING, PROCEEDING, *and* FULFILLING *of* ALL GOOD; *so as even the regenerate man himself, without* GRACE PREVENTING, EXCITING, FOLLOWING, *and* CO-WORKING, *cannot think, will, or do good, or resist any temptation to ill: so that the good deeds and actions which any man can conceive, are to be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ.*

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*The grace of God is the beginning,*" *&c.*] Every good gift, and every perfect gift is from above. James i, 17, 18.—If the

Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. John viii, 36. See 2 Cor. iv, 6.—Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. 2 Cor. iii, 17.—It is God, which hath begun a good work in you, which worketh in you to will and to do of his good pleasure. Phil. i, 6; ii, 13.—The Author and Finisher of our faith. Heb. xii, 2.—Whereunto he called you by our gospel. 2 Thess. ii, 14. See verses 15, 16, 17; 1 Pet. v, 10, &c.—His Divine Power hath given us all things that pertain to life and godliness. 2 Pet. i, 1, 3.

"*The regenerate man himself cannot, without grace, resist any temptation to ill,*" *&c.*] Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evil day. Ephes. vi, 13.—Watch and pray, &c. Matt. xxvi, 41.—Lead us not into temptation. Matt. vi, 13.

"*The good we do, is to be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ.*"] By the grace of God, I am what I am. 1 Cor. xv, 10. —The life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, Gal. ii, 20.—Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, &c. 1 Pet. i, 3.—But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory, by Christ Jesus; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen! 1 Pet. v, 10, 11.—See Rom. i, 8; 1 Cor. i, 4, 5; Ephes. i, 3, &c.; Rom. xvi, 25, 26, 27; Rev. i, 5, 6.

TENET III.

They hold, that to hear God's word, to be sorry for sin committed, to desire saving grace and the Spirit of renovation, (NOTHING OF WHICH, *notwithstanding*, CAN A MAN DO WITHOUT GRACE,) *is profitable and needful for the obtaining of faith and the Spirit of renovation.*

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Negotiamini dum venio: "Trade, till I come;" for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance. Luke xix, 13, 26. See Matt. xiii, 10—17; Luke xvi, 11, 12; xix, 17.—Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me. John vi, 45.—Faith cometh by hearing. Rom. x, 17.—They (of Berea) received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures. Therefore many of them believed. Acts xvii, 11, 12.—If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. John vii, 17. See Psalm xxv, 12, 14; cxi, 10; Prov. i, 7.—Godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation. 2 Cor. vii, 10. See Acts ii, 37, 38; xvi, 29, 30.—If thou wilt incline thine ear

unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding ..... if thou seekest her as silver ..... then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord. Prov. ii, 1—5.—I love them that love me; and they that seek me early, shall find me. Prov. viii, 17.—Your Heavenly Father will give the Spirit to them that ask him. Luke xi, 13.

See the example of Sergius Paulus, Acts xiii, 7, 12; especially that of Cornelius, Acts x, 1, 2, 4, 5, 34, 35. See also Gal. iii, 24; Prov. iii, 32; Job. xxviii, 28; 2 Tim. ii, 21; James i, 21; 2 Pet. ii, 1, 2. See the reason of the negative following, page 129.

TENET IV.

They hold, that effectual grace, whereby a man is converted, is resistible: and though God doth so work upon the will by his word and the inward operation of his Holy Spirit, as that he gives both power to believe and supernatural abilities, and makes a man actually to believe, yet can man, of himself, despise that grace, not believe, and so, through his own default, perish.

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh, that they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances and do them.....But whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things, and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads. Ezek. xi, 20 compared with 21.—Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sydon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day." Matt. xi, 20–23.—I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged. Ezek. xxiv, 13.—They that gladly received his word, were baptized. Acts ii, 41.—Ye received it, not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth) the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe. 1 Thess. ii, 13, 19. See verse 19; Acts xi, 21; Rom. i, 16; Acts xiii, 46, 48.—He sent out his servants, saying, ..."All things are ready: come unto the marriage." But they made light of it. Luke xiv, 16, &c.; Matt. xxii, 4, 5.—He that despiseth you, despiseth me: he despiseth not man,

but God, who hath given us of his Spirit: Luke x, 16; 1 Thess. iv, 8.—How often would I have gathered thy children ..... and ye would not! Matt. xxiii, 37; Luke xiii, 34.—These things have I spoken, that ye might be saved. And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life. John v, 34, 40.—Because I have called and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand and ye regarded not, &c. Prov. i, 24.—Despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? Rom. ii, 4, 5.—They rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit. Isai. lxii, 10. See Zech. vii, 11, 13.—Ye have always resisted the Holy Ghost, and done despite to the Spirit of Grace. Acts vii, 51; Heb. x, 29.—And rejected the counsel of God against themselves. Luke vii, 30.—And turn the grace of our God into lasciviousness. Jude, verse 4.—We then, as workers together with him, beseech you also, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. 2 Cor. vi, 1.—Looking diligently, *ne quis desit gratiæ Dei*, lest any man be wanting to the grace of God. Heb. xii, 15. See Psalm lxxviii, 40, &c.; 2 Cor. iii, 15; iv, 4. Also see the reason of the second negative following, page 130. See Exod. xxi, 5, 6, compared with Isai. lxi, 1, 2; and Rom. vi, 14, 16.

TENET V.

They hold, that though grace be dispensed in differing measure, according to God's most free-will, yet on all those to whom the word of faith is preached, the Holy Spirit bestows, or is ready to bestow, so much grace as is sufficient, in fitting degrees, to bring on their conversion.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

"*Though grace be dispensed in differing measure,*" *&c.*] God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners ..... hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. Heb. i, 1, 2.—A greater than Jonah is here. Matt. xii, 41.—I came, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. John x, 10.—How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? Heb. ii, 2, 3.—To one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one. Matt. xxv, 15.—There are diversities of gifts. 1 Cor. xii, 4.—The grace of God is manifold. 1 Pet. iv, 10. —According to the effectual working in the measure of every part. Ephes. iv, 16.—Him that is weak in the faith, receive you. Rom. xiv, 1.—There is not in every man that knowledge. 1 Cor. viii, 7.

"*The Holy Spirit bestows so much grace as is sufficient,*" *&c.*] God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in

turning away every one of you from your iniquities. Acts iii, 26. —Him hath God exalted, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins. Acts v, 31.—Christ is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. 1 Cor. i, 30.—The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, &c. Tit. ii, 11, 12. See 2 Chron. xxiv, 19.—To whom I send thee, to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritauce, &c. Acts xxvi, 18.—Our sufficiency is of God ; who also hath made us able ministers,—not of the letter, but of the Spirit. 2 Cor. iii, 5, 6.—Go ye and teach—and lo I am with you. Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. See Matt. xviii, 20. —Now then we are Ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled unto God. 2 Cor. v, 20.—Receive not the grace of God in vain. 2 Cor. vi, 1.

"*In fitting degrees,*" *&c.*] With many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it. Mark iv, 33. —And delivered to his servants his talents, to every one according to his several ability. [Agreeable to his capacity, and competent to his office and employment, and the exigence of business entrusted to him of his Lord.] Matt. xxv, 15. See Heb. v, 13, 14.—The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. Prov. iv, 18.—For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance. Matt. xiii, 12.—He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much: If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who shall give you that which is your own?—[If you be not faithful in the use of things temporal, how shall God intrust you with things heavenly and spiritual?] Luke xvi, 10, 12.—Wherefore let us have grace [hold it fast by employing it] whereby we may serve God acceptably, Heb. xii, 2, 8,—and grow in it. 2 Pet. iii, 18.

TENET VI.

They hold, that a man by the grace of the Holy Spirit, may do more good than indeed he doth, and omit more evil than indeed he omitteth.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak [excuse] for their sin. If I had not

done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father. John xv, 22, 24.—The times of this ignorance God winked at. Acts xvii, 30; 1 Kings xxi, 25; Zach, i, 15. —But the righteousness which is of faith, speaketh on this wise, *The word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.* Deut. xxx, 14; Rom, x, 6, 8.—Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. 2 Cor. iii, 17; see John viii, 32, 36. —Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. Rom. vi, 18.—Thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Rev. iii, 8.— I am able to do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me. Phil. iv, 13.—If the mighty works which have been done in you, had been done in Tyre, Sidon or Sodom, they would have repented. Matt. xi, 21, 23. See the four [succeeding] negative propositions.

TENET VII.

They hold, that whomsoever God calls unto salvation, he calleth him seriously, that is, with a sincere and unfeigned intention and will to save him.

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

1. *His* COMMAND.—But now he commandeth all men every where to repent. Acts xvii, 30.

2. *His* INVITATIONS.—And the Lord sent to them by his messengers rising up betimes and sending. 2 Chron. xxxvi, 14—16. See xxiv, 19.—And he sent out his servants——and he sent other servants, saying, *Go out quickly——and compel them to come in.* Matt. xxii, 2, 4, &c.; Luke xiv, 21.—The Spirit and the Bride say, *Come.* And let him that heareth, say, *Come.* And let him that is athirst, come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. Rev. xxii, 17.—Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters. Isa. lv, i.—Behold, I stand at the door and knock. Rev. iii, 20.—Wisdom crieth without: she uttereth her voice in the streets. *How long, you simple ones!——Turn you at my reproof: Behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you, &c* Prov. i, 20, &c.

3. *His* RECEPTION.—Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. John vi, 37.—Come, and I will refresh you. Matt. xi, 28.—He shall sup with me. Rev. iii, 20.

4. *His* OPTIONS.—(1.) *For the time past.*—But my people would not hear. O that my people had hearkened unto me! Psalm lxxxi, 9—14.—Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer——I am the Lord thy God, which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go. O that thou hadst hearkened

to my commandments!, then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea. Isa. xlviii, 17—19. (2.) *For the Future.*—O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them! Deut. v, 29.—O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end! Deut. xxxii, 29.

5. *His* PRECATIONS *and* BESEECHINGS.—I have spread out my hands (a posture of prayer, Exodus ix, 29; Psalm lxiii,5.) all the day unto a rebellious people. Isa. lxv, 2; Rom. x, 21.—God doth beseech you by us, we pray you, in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled unto God. 2 Cor. v, 20.

6. *His* OBTESTATIONS.—I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live. Deut. xxx, 19.—Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. Isa. i, 2.

7. *His* COMPLAINTS.—O my people, what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against me. Micah vi, 3.—What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity and are become vain? Jer. ii, 5.—Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? Wherefore say my people, *We will come no more unto thee?* Jer. ii, 31.

8. *His* LAMENTATIONS.—O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved! How long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee! Jer. iv, 14.—O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Matt. xxiii, 37.—He beheld the city and wept over it, saying, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace!" Luke xix, 41, 42.

9. *His* EXPOSTULATIONS.—Cast away from you all your transgressions, and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? Ezekiel xviiii, 31, 32. See Jer. xiii, 27.

10. *His* INCREPATIONS *and* EXPROBRATIONS.—These things I say, that ye may be saved. And ye will not come to me that ye might have life. John v, 40, 34.—Despisest thou the riches of his goodness—not knowing, that the goodness of the Lord leadeth thee unto repentance? Rom. ii, 4.—Woe unto thee, O Jerusalem! wilt thou not be made clean? When shall it once be? Jeremiah xiii, 27,

11. *His* COMMINATIONS *and* THREATENINGS.—Therefore will I judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways,

saith the Lord God; repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions: so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Ezek. xviii, 30.—Now therefore go to, speak to the men of Judah——saying, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your ways and your doings good." Jerem. xviii, 10, 11.

12. *His* OATH *and* PROTESTATION.—As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? Ezek. xxxiii, 11. [Are not these arguments of seriousness?] If the Lord were pleased to kill us,——he would not have shewed us all these things, nor have told us such things as these. Judges xiii, 23.—See the reason of the fifth negative, page 134.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS DO NOT HOLD,

TOUCHING

THE SAID ARTICLES,

GOD'S GRACE AND MAN'S CONVERSION.

REJECTION I.

They do NOT *hold, that "all zeal, care and study for the obtaining of salvation, which a man shall use before he hath faith and the Spirit of renovation, is vain and to no purpose; much less, that it is rather hurtful than profitable and fruitful to him."*

THE REASON.

1. *The neglect hereof is complained of.*—There is none that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee. Isa. lxiv, 7. See Isa. xliv, 19.—But none saith, "Where is God my Maker,——who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven?" Job xxxv, 10, 11.—No man repenteth him of his wickedness, saying, "What have I done?" Jer. v, 24, viii, 6.

2. *This neglect is threatened.*—He that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much. If therefore you have not been faithful in

that which is another's, &c. Luke xvi, 10, 12.—Because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Rom. i, 21.

3. *This is a duty expected even of the Heathens.*—That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him. Acts xvii, 27.

4. *And it is commanded.*—He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear.—Remember this, and shew yourselves men. Isa. xlvi, 8. —If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God. James i, 5. —Strive to enter in at the strait gate. Prepare the way of the Lord. Luke iii, 4, 6; Jer. iv, 3; Hos. x, 12.

5. *This is commended as a disposition and preparative to faith in Christ, and the Spirit of renovation.*—To him that hath shall be given: To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Matt. xiii, 10—12.—Thou hast revealed them to babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Matt. xi, 5, 25, 26.—But he that doth truth, cometh to the light. John x, 27, iii, 21.—That on the good ground, are they, which, in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience. Luke viii, 15.—Of such is the kingdom of God. Mark xix, 14.

6. *This care and study is encouraged.*—He will not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed. Matt. xii, 20.—Ho every one that thirsteth, that labours! Isa. lv, 1; Matt. xi, 28.— Draw nigh unto God, and he will draw nigh to you. James iv, 8. —They that desire to fear thy name. Nehemiah i, 11: Psalm xxxviii, 9.

7. *He adjourns the judgment upon Ahab's humiliation.*—1 Kings xxi, 27, 29; see 2 Chron. xii, 12; Exodus i, 17, 20, 21.

8. *He sends direction to such as are pricked to the heart, and enquire after him.*---Acts ii, 37, 38. To the publicans and soldiers. Luke iii, 8, 10. To the jailor. Acts xvi, 29, 30. To Cornelius, after a most eminent and extraordinary manner. Acts x, 1---35.

9. *He gives persons of such study and inclination, satisfaction and a blessing.*---Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Matt. v, 6; see Luke i, 53.--- God is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek him. Heb. xi, 6; Matt. xi, 28.---Arise therefore, and be doing, and the Lord be with thee. 1 Chron. xxii, 16.

REJECTION II.

They do utterly DENY, *that "effectual grace, whereby a man is converted, is an unresistible power."* *

* The RESISTIBILITY and the IRRESISTIBILITY of Divine Grace, are the grand questions which have to be decided between the Calvinists and the Arminians. Were it *impossible to resist this grace,* or to pervert it from its

THE REASON.

1. Conversion is enjoined (on) us as OUR DUTY, and we are exhorted to it with promises and threatenings.---Turn ye, turn ye. Prov. i, 22; Ezek. xviii, 30, 32: Jer. vii, 3.

2. It is a matter of CHOICE.---Chuse whom ye will serve, chuse life. Deut. xxx, 19; Jos. xxiv, 15. See 2 Cor. v, 20; Isa. i, 19, 20.

3. The duty and the grace, enabling to it, may be NEGLECTED. ---How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation? 2 Cor. vi, 1; Heb. ii, 3; Jer. xxxvi, 6, 7.---Therefore we are admonished "Harden not your hearts." Heb. iii, 7, 8: Psalm xcv, 7, 8. ---Some temper of mind better qualified. See the First Negative, page 129.

4. God requires our ENDEAVOURS (1.) by way of *preparation*.--- Laying aside the vail, (2 Cor. iii, 15.) prejudice, (John vii, 3---5, 52.) ambition, (John v, 44, xii, 42, 43.) all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all superfluity of naughtiness; (see Acts xiii, 45; Luke xvi, 14.) that we may with meekness, (Psalm xxv, 9, 12, 14; see Acts ii. 41.) as new-born babes receive the ministries of grace. (James i, 21; 1 Peter ii, 1, 2.) and as many as [being in pursuit of the world to come,] were [thus] ordained, [addicted, disposed] to eternal life, believed. Acts xiii, 48.

When being wrought into this temper and frame of spirit, by God's preventing grace, we are fit for the kingdom of Christ, Luke ix, 62.

5. God requires our endeavours, (2.) by way of *co-operation*, to make his saving grace effectual, which argues it is not *an unresistible power*.—Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, (which door turns upon two hinges, *faith* and *obedience*, Rom. i, 16; 1 Thess. ii, 13; Ephes. iii, 17; Rom. vi, 17.) I will come in to him &c. Rev. iii, 20.

proper use, the warnings and threatenings of scripture would be nugatory and of no practical effect: Under such circumstances there would be no need for saying to sanctified persons, '*Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby* YE ARE SEALED *unto the day of redemption.*'

The Calvinists are unwilling to put the matter upon this issue, and they always try to evade the question. Yet that part of the DECLARATION of Arminius before the States of Holland is not the less true, in which he says: "The whole controversy reduces itself to the solution of this Question, 'Is the grace of God *a certain irresistible force*?' That is, the controversy does not relate to those actions or operations which may be ascribed to grace, (for I acknowledge and inculcate as many of these actions or operations as any man ever did,) but it relates solely to the mode of operation,—*whether it be irresistible or not*: With respect to which, I believe, according to the scriptures, that many persons resist the Holy Spirit and reject the grace that is offered." (*Works of* ARMINIUS, Vol. I, page 660.)—EDITOR.

6. That this grace is *not unresistible*, appears further, by God's option: O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me &c. (as above.)

7. He complains also of men's *perverseness* and *contumacy*, obstructing the work of grace in themselves.—What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Isa. v, 4; see Mark vi, 6.—They have eyes to see and see not: they have ears to hear and hear not, for they are a rebellious house. Ezek. xii, 2; see Matt. iii, 15.—But they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit. Isa. lxiii, 7—10.—But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his Spirit, by the former prophets. Zech. vii, 10—12.

8. Some are captivated to the *obedience* of this grace, while others stand out in *rebellion* against the power of it.—Some gladly receive it, others do thrust it from them, contradicting and blaspheming. Acts ii, 41: xiii, 48, 45. See 1 Thess. ii, 13: 2 Thess. ii, 10, 11.—Thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech—Surely had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee; but the house of Israel will not hearken unto thee. Ezek. iii, 5—7.—Tyre and Sidon, and Sodom would have repented: but you will not. Matt. xi, 20—22.—The men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah; but [you resist a greater light and force of grace] behold, a greater than Jonah is here. Matt. xii, 41.—To the one, we are *the savour of life unto life;* and to the other, *the savour of death unto death.* 2 Cor. ii, 14—16.

9. The Lord punisheth *the refractory*, for resisting the work of his grace and Spirit.—For the earth which drinketh in the rain, ——and bringeth forth fruit——receiveth blessing from God. But that which beareth thorns and briers, is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned. Heb. vi, 7, 8.---Because I have called and ye refused, &c. Prov. i, 24 &c.---Therefore came a great wrath from the Lord. Zech. vii, 11---13.---This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light. John iii, 19.---In thy filthiness is lewdness: because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee. Ezek xxiv, 13. See Matthew xiii, 15 &c.; Acts xxviii, 24 &c.; 2 Chron. xxiv, 19, 20.---God resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble. James iv, 6. See the Fourth and Seventh Affirmatives, pages 124, 127.

REJECTION III.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God doth bestow grace sufficient for faith and conversion, only upon those whom, accord-*

ing to the decree of his election, he willeth to convert unresistibly; and that he neither doth nor willeth to bestow on the Reprobates grace necessary to faith and salvation."

THE REASON.

1. The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. Psalm cxlv, 8, 9.—He will have all men to be saved. 1 Tim. ii, 3, 4.—He will not that any perish. 2 Peter iii, 9.—Go, preach the Gospel to every creature———and they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Mark xvi, 15, 20. What could have been done more? Isa. v, 4. See Mark vi, 6: Jer. xxxvi, 6, 7.—Why will ye die? Ezek. xviii, 31.—As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked. Ezek. xxxiii, 11. See the proofs for Conditionate Election, administration of necessary and sufficient means, (pages 97 and 99.) and the seriousness of God's call: being the Seventh Affirmative proposition above, page 127.

2. He threatens to withdraw his grace from men, ONLY *for their stubbornness and rebellion against him and it.*—Therefore——the kingdom of God shall be taken from you. Matt. xxi, 41, 43.—Or else I will remove thy candlestick out of his place. Rev. ii, 5.—None of those men who were bidden, shall taste of my supper. Luke xiv, 24.—How often would I, and ye would not!——But now are they hidden from thine eyes. Luke xiii, 34: xix, 42.—But whosoever hath not [made good use of preventing grace,] from him shall be taken away even that he hath. Therefore speak I to them in parables; because they, seeing, see not: And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, by hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand——for their eyes have they closed, lest at any times they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted and I should heal them. Matt. xiii, 12—15. See Acts xxviii, 26, &c. Who hold the truth in unrighteousness——and turn it into a lie; for this cause God gave them up to vile affections. Rom. i, 18, 21, 24, 25, 28.—Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for this cause God gave them up. 2 Thess. ii. 10—12.—Because I have called, and ye refused———Ye also shall call, and I will not answer you; I will laugh at your calamities. Prov. i, 24, &c.—God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. James iv, 6. See the Texts cited against Absolute Reprobation, page 103, 1 Chron. xxviii, 9; 2 Chron. xv, 2; 1 Peter ii, 7, 8; Zech. ix, 15, 17. I will love them no more, because they did not hearken.

REJECTION IV.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God is simply unwilling that a man should do* (1.) *more good than he doth, or* (2.) *omit more evil than he omitteth; or that he hath precisely decreed from eternity, that both* GOOD *and* EVIL *should be so done as they are.*"

THE REASON.

1. His command.—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. Abstain from all appearance (kind) of evil. 1 Thess. v, 22.—Have no fellowship with unfruitful works of darkness. Ephes. v, 11.—Wherein have I wearied thee? Micah vi, 3. See Phil. iii, 12—15. My yoke is easy. Matt. xi,29. Receive not the grace of God in vain. 2 Cor. vi, 1.—Grow in grace. 2 Peter iii, 18.—*Negotiamini dum venio,* "Trade till I come." Wherefore (hast thou kept my talent in a napkin, and) gavest it not into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?——Cast that unprofitable servant, &c. Luke xix, 12, 20.—Ye did run well, who did drive you back? Gal. v, 7.

2. But what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things *they corrupt themselves.* Jude 10.—Their heart is FULLY SET IN THEM to do evil. Eccles. viii, 11.—They *devise iniquity* upon their beds. Micah ii, 1.—They rebel against the light. Job xxiv, 13. Consider verses 15, 16, 17. See Rom. i, 32: Isaiah xxx, 8—11. See also the proofs of the Affirmative in the Sixth Assertion, page 126.

REJECTION V.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God doth outwardly call some, whom he is unwilling inwardly to call and truly to convert, and that before they have rejected the grace of conversion.*"

THE REASON.

1. This is a faithful saying, that *Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.* 1 Tim. i, 15; Luke xix, 10.—To call sinners to repentance, (Matt. xi, 13.) to call them to the obedience of faith, (Rom. xvi, 25, 26.) unto holiness, (1 Thess. iv, 7.) out of darkness into his marvellous light, that we might set forth his praise. 1 Peter ii, 9; Eph. i, 12. Why should he not be serious in all this, seeing it is according to his PURPOSE and GRACE? 2 Tim. i, 9.

2. And the motive of it is his COMPASSION.—The Lord sent to them by his messengers: because he had compassion on his people. But they mocked the messengers, &c. 2 Chron.xxxvi, 15. See 2 Chron. xxiv, 19; Mark xii, 6, 7: Beloved and called. Rom. i, 7.—I will mention the loving-kindness of the Lord.—He was their Saviour; in all their afflictions he was afflicted; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them. But they rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit. Isa. lxiii, 7—10.---With this affection the Lord calls such as are finally disobedient, (See 1 Peter iii, 19, iv, 6.) till they provoke him to wrath that there be no remedy left. 2 Chron. xxxvi, 16. This affection is testified, by options and intreaties, by expostulations and increpations, by his lamentations and oath. See the proofs of the Seventh Affirmative, page 127.

3. *His* CHARGE.—Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked, *O wicked man, thou shalt surely die!*, if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity: but his blood will I require at thine hand. Ezek. xxxiii, 7; Acts xx, 28.

4. *His* EXPECTATION.—He looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. Isai. v, 2. See 1 Pet. iii, 20.

5. *His appeal to our own* JUDGMENT *in the cases.*—Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, [dare any man alledge the want of a serious inward call?,] that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? Isai. v, 3, 4.—[See Luke xiv, 21. He was angry at their refusal.]—O house of Israel, are not my ways equal? Are not your ways unequal? Ezek. xviii, 29, &c.

6. *He charges their non-conversion (as was proved above) upon their own* REFRACTORINESS: *and punisheth them for it.*—Jer. xxv, 4; xxxv, 15; 1 Sam. ii, 30.—(1.) *With desertion.* 2 Chron. xxxvi, 16; 2 Thess. ii, 10, 11, 12. See Rom. i, 28.—And (2.) *With destruction.* 2 Thess. i, 8.—See the proofs of the Seventh Affirmative, page 127.

REJECTION VI.

They do utterly DENY, *that "there is a secret will in God, so contrary to his will revealed in his word, that, according to his secret will, he willeth the conversion and salvation of the greatest part of those whom, by the word of his gospel and revealed will, he seriously calleth and inviteth to faith and salvation; so as there should be acknowledged in God, a holy simulation and a double person."*

THE REASON.

1. He calls us out of *compassion* and according to his *purpose and grace.* 2 Chron. xxxvi, 15; 2 Tim. i, 9. See 2 Chron. xxiv, 19; Mark xii, 6.

2. He is a God of *truth*, and adds his *oath* for confirmation of our faith in this particular. "He cannot lie, nor deny himself." Numb. xxiii, 19; Tit. i, 2; Heb. vi, 18; 2 Tim. ii, 13.

3. He condemneth *a double heart* and punisheth *dissemblers and hypocrites,* no less than *unbelievers.* Matt. xxiv, 51; Luke xii, 46.

4. And besides, our conversion, sanctification, and salvation, are according to his *secret, acceptable and perfect will.* Ephes. i, 9; 1 Thess. iv, 3; Rom. xii, 2. See the proofs of the Seventh Affirmative, page 127. See 1 Tim. ii, 3, 4.

REJECTION VII.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*God calleth Reprobates for these ends, viz. that he may harden them the more, make them unexcusable, punish them the more grievously, manifest their weakness; and not for this end,*—THAT THEY MAY BE CONVERTED, BELIEVE AND BE SAVED."

THE REASON.

1. See it in the Reasons of the Fifth and Sixth Negatives, immediately foregoing, (page 134,) to which add Ephes. iv, 1: "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called."* And what answer doth such a call deserve, as is given to no other end than those now mentioned? But God calleth us with an holy calling. 2 Tim. i, 9.—And he saith unto me, write: *Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb!* And he saith unto me, *These are the true sayings of God.* Rev. xix, 9. See Luke x, 24; Matt. xvi, 17.

2. He upbraids such as make no better use of his calls, than to aggravate their own damnation. Deut. xxix, 2—6; Ezek. ii, 5; John xv, 22, 24.—These things I say, that ye might be saved. And ye will not come to me that ye might have life. John v, 34, 40.—Despisest thou the riches of his goodness—not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness, and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath? Rom. ii, 4, 5. See Proofs of the Seventh Affirmative, page 127.

* See 2 Chron. xxiv, 19. His design is to reduce them [bring them back]. Mark xii, 6. Beloved, and called. Rom. i, 7.

REJECTION VIII.

They do utterly DENY, *that "by the force and efficacy of the secret will and decree of God, not only good things but* [*also*] *evil do necessarily come to pass."*

THE REASON.

1. It is man's duty to eschew evil and do good; 1 Pet. iii, 11; Psalm xxxiv, 13; (see 2 Sam. xxiv, 12, 13; 1 Sam. xxiii, 11, 12;) good being commanded upon *promise* of LIFE, and evil forbidden under *peril* of DAMNATION.—If thou wilt enter life, keep the commandments. Matt. xix, 17.—The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteousness. Rom. i, 18. See verse 32.

2. The good and evil which men do, are matters of CHOICE. See John xix, 11; Josh. xxiv, 15, 22.—If ye be willing and obedient, &c. But if ye refuse and rebel, &c. Isai. i, 19, 23.—Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, &c. Ezek. ii, 5. See Jer. xxxvi, 6, 7.—Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds: when the morning is light they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. Mic. ii, 1.—Let him do what he will. 1 Cor. vii, 36. See Matt. xvii, 12; Deut. xxx, 19.

3. God's exprobration. Jer. v, 22, 23, under different laws.

4. Good and evil are attended with PRAISE and DISPRAISE, which such actions deserve not as come to pass necessarily.—The wise shall inherit glory: but shame shall be the promotion of fools. Prov. iii, 35; see Rom. ii, 29: Phil. iv, 8.—Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. Rom. xiii, 3. See 1 Cor. iv, 5.—This is thank-worthy with God. 1 Pet. ii, 19, 20.—Well done, good and faithful servant! Luke xix. See Gal. vi, 4.—Who seek for glory and honour and immortality. Rom. ii, 7.

5. God propounds examples to our imitation.

6. That is omitted which God loves, and that comes to pass which he hateth. See Jer. xliv, 4, 5.—They did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not. Isai. lxv, 12, and lxvi, 4.—All these are things that I hate. Zech. viii, 17. See 1 Kings xx, 42.

7. Lastly, God is sometimes said *to expect* that which does not come to pass. See Mark xii, 6; Ezek. xxii, 30.—When once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah. 1 Pet. iii, 20.—He looked, that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. Isai. v, 2, 4.—See the places cited for God's *hatred of sin*, and against absolute antecedent decrees, pages 94 and 103.

THE STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY

TOUCHING

THE WORK OF GRACE IN THE CONVERSION OF MAN.

Whether a man, when God seriously wills that he believe, and be converted, can nill to believe and convert.

THE FIFTH ARTICLE CONTROVERTED

IS TOUCHING

PERSEVERANCE.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS HOLD.

TENET I.

They hold, that God doth furnish the true believers with supernatural power of grace, as, according to his Infinite Wisdom, he judgeth sufficient for their perseverance and conquest over the temptations of the Devil, the flesh, and the world; and that he is never the cause why they persevere not.

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*God furnishes true believers with supernatural powers of grace, sufficient for their perseverance.*"] Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. 1 John iii, 9.—Whosoever

drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst See John iv, 14, and vi, 53.—My grace is sufficient for thee. 2 Cor. xii, 9.—I am able to do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Phil. iv, 13.—My yoke is easy, and my burden light. Matt. xi, 30; 1 John v, 3.

"*And sufficient for their conquest over temptations.*"] They shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all: and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. John x, 28, 29.—If God be for us, who can be against us? Rom. viii, 21.—God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able. 1 Cor. x, 13. See Luke xxii, 32.—Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me. John xvii, 11.—For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, *My grace is sufficient for thee!* 2 Cor. xii, 8, 9.—Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Rom. viii, 35.—For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world. 1 John v, 4, 5.—I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one. 1 John ii, 13, 14.—Because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world. 1 John iv, 4.

"*He is never the cause why they persevere not.*"] Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it, until the day of Jesus Christ. 1 Cor. i, 8; Phil. i, 6.—The Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep ye from evil. 2 Thess. iii, 3. See 1 Thess. v, 23, 24.—Now to him that is able to keep you from falling. Jude 24.—Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Cor. xv, 57.

TENET II.

They hold, that true believers may fall from true faith, and into those sins which cannot stand with true and justifying faith; neither is this only POSSIBLE, *but oft* COMETH TO PASS.

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*True believers may fall from true faith,*" &c.] They on the rock, are they which, when they hear, receive the word with joy; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and, in time of temptation, fall away. And that which fell among thorns, are they which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches, and pleasures of this life, and

bring forth no fruit unto perfection. Matt. xiii, 20, 21, 22, and Luke viii, 13, 14.—Because of unbelief they were broken off. Rom. xi, 20, 21, 22.—Ye did run well: Ye are fallen from grace. Gal. v, 4, 7.—Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck. 1 Tim. i, 18, 19.—Some shall depart from the faith. iv, 1.—Some are already turned aside after Satan. Having damnation, because they have cast off their first love. v, 12, 15. —See 1 Tim. vi, 10; 2 Tim. i, 15; ii, 17, 18; Gen. iii, 6, 24.

"*True believers may fall into sins which cannot stand with justifying faith,*" *&c.*] They allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, those that were clean escaped from them, who live in error.—It hath happened unto them according to the true proverb: *The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow, that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.* 2 Pet. ii, 18. See verse 1, &c.—Then began Peter to curse and to swear, saying, *I know not the man.* Matt. xxvi, 70, 72, 74.—David, a man of great faith and integrity; (1 Kings xv, 5;) yet he committed adultery and murder. 2 Sam. xi, 4, 15; xii, 9. —And Solomon was beloved of the Lord; (2 Sam. xii, 25; 1 Kings iii, 10;) yet, through the love of strange women, his heart was turned from the Lord God of Israel,—which had appeared unto him twice, and went after other gods. 1 Kings xi, 1—10.—And that these sins of *adultery, murder, and idolatry,* are inconsistent with true justifying faith, see Gal. v, 19, 20; 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10; Rev. xxi, 8; xxii, 15.—Demas, one of St. Paul's fellow-labourers, (Philem. 24; Col. iv, 14,) [was one of those] whose names were written in the book of life; Phil. iv, 3; yet he embraced this present world. 2 Tim. iv, 10.—How great a sin that is, in a person so engaged, (2 Tim. ii, 3, 4,) see James iv, 4; 2 Pet. ii, 20; 1 John ii, 15.—My people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living water, &c. Jer. ii, 13.—Jezebel seduced my servants to commit fornication, and eat things sacrificed to idols—and they commit adultery with her. Rev. ii, 20, 22.—When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest: and, finding none, he saith, *I will return unto mine house whence I came out.* And when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other spirits, more wicked than himself, and they enter in, and dwell there. Luke xi, 24.

TENET III.

They hold, that true believers may, through their own default, fall into crimes and heinous offences, continue and die in them, and so finally fall away and perish.

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

If thou forsake him, He will cast thee off for ever. 1 Chron. xxviii, 9.—Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away;—and it is withered, and men gather them and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. John xv, 2, 6.—When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and doth according to all the abominations that the wicked man doth, shall he live? all his righteousness that he hath done, shall not be mentioned: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die. Ezek. xviii, 24. See verse 26; and xxxiii, 12, 13, 18.—Then his Lord said unto him, *O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me: Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee?* And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors. Matt. xvi, 26, *ad finem.*—See the reason of the Second and following Negatives, and the proofs of the Second Affirmative, pages 147 and 139.

TENET IV.

They hold, that true believers, though they fall sometimes into grievous sins, and [*into*] *such as waste the conscience, yet fall not from all hope of repentance; but that God, according to the multitude of his mercies,* CAN *and often* DOTH *bring them back again, by his grace, unto repentance; although they cannot certainly be assured, that this shall certainly and undoubtedly be done.* *

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*Believers who sometimes fall into sins, fall not from all hope of repentance.*"] Repent and turn yourselves from all your

* This Tenet, and the two which succeed it, are directed against the Calvinistic perversion of the doctrine of the ASSURANCE OF SALVATION. "Instead of allowing it to remain the scriptural criterion of a believer's actual enjoyment of God, the Calvinists overcharged it with their own inventions: They no longer applied it to *the present experience of the people of God*, but to a very different and unhallowing purpose,—to the creation of a presumptuous confidence, that, 'whether in the way to the kingdom, or by the 'way-side, they should never fall totally and finally from grace.' In the spirit of their Creed, they did not make it helpful in ascertaining the conscious growth of their Christian graces, the perceptible elevation of their religious character, or their actual standing in the Divine Favour; but they employed it to work themselves up to a persuasion of their *individual* or *personal election*, (which, according to their doctrine, was determined at

transgressions: so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Ezek xviii, 30.—Thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again unto me, saith the Lord. Turn, O backsliding children: I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you; for I am merciful: I will not keep anger for ever: For I am married unto you. Jer. iii, 1, 12, 14. See Rev. ii, 4; iii, 3; Psalm li, 17.—I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely. Hos. xiv, 4.—Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he a pleasant child? For, since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels are troubled for him: I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord. Jer. xxxi, 19, 20.—Therefore I will look unto the Lord: I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me. Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise: Mic. vii, 7, 8, 9.—How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Jesus saith, *Until seventy times seven.* Matt. xviii, 21, 22.—As your Father which is in heaven, is merciful. Luke vi, 36.—Aaron makes a calf and provokes the Lord, Exod. xxxii, 2—10, —yet, he is consecrated to the Priest's office. xl, 13.—Hezekiah humbled himself, the wrath of God was removed from him. 2 Chron. xxxvi, 26.—Peter weeps bitterly. Matt. xxvi 75.—David's sin is put away. 2 Sam. xii, 13.—The incestuous Corinthian finds indulgence. 2 Cor. ii, 7, 10.—A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. Psalm li, 17.

"*Although they cannot certainly be assured, that they shall be brought again by God's grace to repentance.*"] In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God PERADVENTURE will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil. 2 Tim. ii, 25.—WHO KNOWETH if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him? Joel ii, 14. See Jonah iii, 9.—For it is a people of no understanding: therefore he that made them, will not have mercy on them; and he that formed them, will shew them no favour. Isai. xxvii, 11.—Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer: they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me. Prov. i, 28.—They rose up early in the morning, saying, *We will go up unto the place which the Lord hath promised: for we have sinned* [viz. in refusing to go up at his command]: And Moses said, *It shall not prosper.* But they presumed to go up, and were discomfitted. Numb. xiv, 40, &c. See 1 Cor. x, 6, 11; Heb. iii, 18; iv, 11.—Afterward when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, [in his

first in the Divine Mind, *without any regard to faith or holiness in the particular subjects of it,*) and consequently to *a* COMPLETE CERTAINTY *of their* FINAL PERSEVERANCE." For a curious history of the variations of this doctrine, especially among the rigid Predestinarians, see *the Works of* ARMINIUS, Vol. I, page 603.—EDITOR.

Father, who had passed away the blessing from him,] though he sought it carefully with tears. Heb. xii, 17.

If these places do not make a saving repentance, especially after grievous sins (see Acts viii, 22.) and after an obstinate continuance in them, somewhat *doubtful*, yet doubtless they imply a *difficulty*,—and the more difficult the more doubtful. So do the places following:—He taketh seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there. And the last state of that man is worse than the first. Matt. xii, 43—45.—For if, after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning. 2 Peter ii, 20; compare this with verse 1, &c.—For it is impossible, (that is, very difficult, as Luke xvii, 1, or xviii, 27.) if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance. Heb. vi, 4—6. See the last Negative precedent. Concerning propitiation, be not without fear to add sin unto sin. Ecclesiasticus v, 5.—Despisest thou the riches, &c. Rom. ii, 4, 5. Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, will strive to enter in and shall not be able. Luke xiii, 24.

TENET V.

They hold, that the true believer may FOR THE PRESENT *be assured of the integrity of his faith and conscience, and* FOR THAT TIME *may and ought to be assured of his salvation and the saving love of God towards him.**

PROOFS OUT OF SCRIPTURE.

If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth

* In his DECLARATION before the States of Holland, Arminius says, "My opinion is, that it is possible for him who believes in Jesus Christ to be certain and persuaded, and, *if his heart condemn him not*, he is now in reality assured, *that he is a Son of God, and stands in the grace of Jesus Christ*. Such an assurance is wrought in the mind, as well *by the action of the Holy Spirit* inwardly actuating the believers and *by the fruits of faith*,—as from his own conscience and the testimony of God's Spirit witnessing together with his conscience. I also believe, that it is possible for such a person, with an assured confidence in the grace of God and his mercy in Christ, to depart out of this life, and to appear before the throne of grace, without any anxious fear or terrific dread: And yet this person should constantly pray, '*O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant!*'—But I dare not place this certainty on an equality with that by which we know *there is a God*, and that *Christ is the Saviour of the world*."—See, in page 155, another extract from Arminius, which is further illustrative of his sentiments.

Such were the holy and practical views of that great man on this important subject; and corresponding with them are those of Bishop Womack and the Remonstrants, in this and the next Article.—EDITOR.

us from all our sin. 1 John i, 7.—And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. ii, 3.—We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. iii, 14.—By this we know, that we love the children of God, when we love God and keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous. v, 2, 3.—But let every man prove his own works and then shall he have rejoicing in himself. Gal. vi, 4.—If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. 1 John iii, 21.—Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God we have had our conversation in the world. 2 Cor. i, 12.—Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.——And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. Romans v, 1, 2, 5.—Hereby know we, that we dwell in him and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit. 1 John iv, 13.—The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, *that we* ARE *the children of God:* Rom. viii, 16.—For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. verses 13, 14.—And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. Isa. xxxii, 17.

TENET VI.

They hold, that the true believer may and ought to be assured, FOR THE TIME TO COME, *that, in the use of watching and prayer and other holy exercises, he may persevere in faith, and that* GOD'S GRACE *shall never be wanting thereto. But how he may be assured,* FOR THE TIME TO COME, *that* "HE HIMSELF *shall not be wanting to do his duty, but that* "*he shall, in the actions of faith, piety and charity, as be-* "*seems the faithful, persevere in this school of Christian* "*warfare,"—they see not, nor think it necessary that a believer should be* ASSURED THEREOF.

PROOFS OUT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

"*In the use of watching and prayer a believer may persevere in faith, &c.*] Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil, and, having done all, to stand. Ephes. vi, 11, 13—19.—Pray without ceasing. 1 Thess. v, 17.—Watch and pray. Matt. xxvi, 41; xxiv, 13, 42.—Let your

loins be girded about and your lights burning: and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord. Luke xii, 35—37.—Take heed lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life. Watch ye therefore and pray always. Luke xxi, 34, 36.—Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour; whom resist, stedfast in the faith. 1 Peter v, 8, 9.—Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you. James iv, 7.—He that is begotten of God, keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not. 1 John v, 18.—And we desire, that every one of you do shew THE SAME DILIGENCE, to the FULL ASSURANCE OF HOPE unto the end. Hebrews vi, 11.

"*That God's grace shall never be wanting.*"] Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life. Psalm xxiii, 6.—For I am persuaded, that neither death nor life &c. shall separate us from the love of God. Rom. viii, 38.—He which hath begun a good work in you. Phil. i, 6.—Every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. If ye abide in me and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will and it shall be done unto you. (See Luke xi, 13; Acts v, 32.) If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love. John xv, 2, 7, 10.—For sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace. Rom. vi, 14.—My grace is sufficient for thee. 2 Cor. xii, 9.—Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them, [the false teachers,] because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world. 1 John iv, 4.

"*But how a believer may be assured for the time to come, that he himself shall not be wanting to do his duty.*" &c.] *For*

1. Man is many times deceived in his present condition.—Thou sayest, *I am rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing:* and knowest not that thou art WRETCHED and MISERABLE and POOR and BLIND and NAKED. Rev. iii, 17; Gal. vi, 3.

2. Man's heart is deceitful above all things. Jer. xvii, 9; see John xvi, 2.

3. It is God's prerogative to know future contingencies.—Isa. xli, 22, 23.—The righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of God: no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him. Eccles. ix, 1.

4. A man may resolve well for the present, and be confident [that] he shall stick to such principles and resolutions as he hath once made and espoused; and yet [may] fall quite off from them.—Hazael practised afterward what he then abhorred. 2 Kings viii, 13.—Peter said unto him, *Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee.* Likewise also said all the disciples. Matt. xxvi, 33, 35; see Mark xiv, 31.—But he denied before them all, saying, *I do not know the man.* And again he denied

with an oath. (verses 70, 72.) Then began he to curse and to swear. (verse 74.) And they all forsook him and fled. Mark xiv, 50.—So Hezekiah wrought that which was good, and right, and truth, before the Lord his God. And in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered. (2 Chron. xxxi, 20, 21.) But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him. For his heart was lifted up; therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem. xxxii, 25.—See David's fall, 2 Samuel xi.

5. Hence "Woe to him that is wise in his own eyes!" Isa. v, 21; Rom. xii, 16.

6. Our life is a warfare: (Job vii, 1.) and only death dischargeth us from that service. Rev. xiv, 13.—Happy is the man that feareth always. Prov. xxviii, 14.—For thou knowest not what a day may bring forth. Prov. xxvii, 1.

7. Therefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. 1 Cor. x, 12; see Rom. xi, 20.—Watch and pray. Matt. xxvi, 41.—Take heed lest at any time, &c. (Luke xxi, 34, 36.) and work out your salvation with fear and trembling. Phil. ii, 13.

WHAT THE REMONSTRANTS HOLD NOT,

TOUCHING

PERSEVERANCE.

REJECTION I.

They HOLD NOT, *that "a Believer's Perseverance in faith is an effect of that absolute decree, wherein God is said to have chosen some particular persons, without all respect to any condition of obedience."*

THE REASON.

They that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever. Psalm cxxv, 1.—Thou standest by faith. Rom. xi, 20.—Kept through faith unto salvation. 1 Pet. i, 5.—As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. If ye abide in me, &c. John xv, 4, 7.—If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that may abide with you for ever. John xiv, 15, 16.—This is the will of God, even your sanctification.

1 Thess. iv, 3, 4.—I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away. 1 Cor. ix, 27.—If ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. Rom. viii 13, 16.—But grow in grace 2 Peter iii, 18.—This is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience towards God (not of necessity) endure grief. 1 Peter ii, 19.—If ye do these things, ye shall never fall. Psalm xv, 5: 2 Peter i, 10.—Take unto you and put on the whole armour of God, &c. Ephes. vi, 10—19.—Give diligence to make your calling and election SURE. 2 Pet. i, 5.—Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life. 1 Tim. vi, 12.—I pursue hard after IF THAT I may apprehend, &c. Phil. iii, 12.

REJECTION II.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*true believers cannot sin of deliberation, but only of ignorance or infirmity.*"

THE REASON.

1. *From* EXHORTATIONS.—Receive not the grace of God in vain, 2 Cor. vi, 1.—Quench not the Spirit: 1 Thess. v, 19.—Grieve not the Holy Spirit. Ephes. iv, 30.—Cast not away your confidence; if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. Heb. x, 35, 37, 38.

2. *From* EXPOSTULATIONS *and* ADMIRATION, &c.—Will ye also go away? John vi, 67.—How is the faithful city become an harlot! Isa. i, 21.—Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this;—For my people have committed two evils:—Yet I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me! Jer. ii, 12, 21.

3. He taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself. Matt. xii, 43—45; Luke xi, 24.

4. David's example.—He sent messengers for Bathsheba, and lay with her. 2 Sam. xi, 4.—He sends for Uriah to cover the fact, (verse 6.) and tempts him to that purpose. (verse 8.) He made him drunk, (verse 13.) plotted and contrived his death. (verses 14, 15.

REJECTION III.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*true believers can by no sins fall from the favour of God.*"

THE REASON.

If thou continue in his goodness; otherwise, thou shalt be cut off. Rom. xi, 22.—The thing that David had done displeased the

Lord. 2 Sam. xi, 27. See xii, 10—12.—And the Lord was angry with Solomon, because his heart was turned from the Lord. 1 Kings xi, 9. See 1 Chron. xxviii, 9; Canticles v, 2—6.—Be not wroth very sore, O Lord, neither remember iniquity for ever; behold, see, we beseech thee, we are all thy people. Isa. lxiv, 5, 7, 9.—All their wickedness is in Gilgal; for there I hated them. For the wickedness of their doings, I will drive them out of mine house, I will love them no more. Hosea ix, 15, 17.—He said, *Surely they are my people, children that will not lie:* So he was their Saviour. But they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them. Isa. lxiii, 7—10.—There was wrath upon Hezekiah. 2 Chron. xxxii, 25.—When the Lord saw it, he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his sons and of his daughters. Deut. xxxii, 19.—I will spue thee out of my mouth. Rev. iii, 16.—Thine own wickedness shall correct thee:——Know therefore, and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord. Jer. ii, 19.—But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition: but of them that believe to the saving of the soul. Heb. x, 39; see verse 38.

REJECTION IV.

They do utterly DENY, *that "every man is bound to believe that* HE IS ELECTED, *and, consequently, that he cannot fall from that election: or that a thousand sins, yea, the sins of the whole world, cannot make his election void."*

THE REASON.

See the places cited for conditional Election, (page 101,) and the Second and Third Affirmatives of this Article, (page 140,) and the Reason of the foregoing Negative. To which add:—If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die. Rom. viii, 13.—His servants ye are, to whom ye obey. vi, 16.—For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage. 2 Peter ii, 19. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth, as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. John xv, 6.—Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works. Rev. ii, 5.—Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die, &c. iii, 2.—I would thou wert cold or hot, &c verses 15, 16.—Judas, being one of those whom the Father had GIVEN TO CHRIST, was lost. He had power over all devils; (John xvii, 12.) yet through covetousness he made way for Satan to enter into his heart. (Luke ix, 1.) It seems that he had some title also to ONE of those TWELVE THRONES. (Luke xxii, 3, 4. See Matt.

xxvi, 14, 15.) But he forfeited his interest and never came to sit on it. (Matt. xix, 28.)

REJECTION V.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*no sins of the faithful, how great and grievous soever they be, are imputed unto them; or that all their sins, present and future, are forgiven them.*"

THE REASON.

When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned; in his trespass and sin shall he die. Ezek. xviii, 24.—I will visit their iniquity with rods. Psalm lxxxix, 31, 32; 2 Sam. vii, 14. —Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house. 2 Sam. xii, 10.—O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath; thy hand is heavy upon me. For mine iniquities are gone over my head: as a heavy burden, they are too heavy for me. Make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Psalm li, 8, 9, 10; see vi, and xxxviii.—I have somewhat against thee. Rev. ii, 4, 14.— For this cause many are weak and sickly amongst you, and many sleep. 1 Cor. xi, 30.—You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities. Amos iii, 2.—See the reason of the Third Negative, page 147.

REJECTION VI.

They do utterly DENY, *that* "*true believers falling into deadly heresies and most heinous sins, as adulteries and murders, (for which the Church, according to Christ's institution is forced to testify,* that she cannot tolerate them in external communion, and that, unless they repent, they shall have no part in the kingdom of heaven,) *cannot, notwithstanding, fall totally and finally from faith.*" *

THE REASON.

If you forsake him, he will cast you off for ever. 1 Chron. xxviii, 9.—Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take

* On the 17th of Dec. 1618, according to appointment, the cited Remonstrants delivered to the Synod of Dort the remaining Four Articles, and added at the conclusion: "Most reverend Fathers and Brethren, since we

thy crown. Rev. iii, 11.—Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought. 2 John 8.—Have ye suffered so many things in vain? Gal. iii, 4.—And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven. Matt. xvi, 19.—For it is impossible [the laws of the Church permit it not] for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come,—if they shall fall away,—to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. Heb. vi, 4, 5, 6; and x, 26, &c.—Wherefore giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity: for if you do these things, ye shall never fall. For so an entrance shall be ministered to you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. 2 Pet. i, 6, 8.—See the Second and Third Affirmatives, (page 140,) and the First and Third Negatives, page 147.

*** *These five last Negatives the Remonstrants do reject with their whole heart and soul, as enemies to piety and good life.*

were admonished in the last session by his reverence the President, 'that 'we should abstain from negative propositions, and should treat on *Election* 'rather than on the odious subject of *Reprobation*,'—after having more accurately examined the matter as we promised,—we have now proposed our sentiments on the before-mentioned Articles, as much as possible in affirmative terms. Yet we have occasionally rejected the contrary opinions, where necessity seemed to require us to adopt this course. That this may not appear to have been done without weighty reasons, we will present your Reverences with some of them for your consideration, which have induced us sometimes to express our sentiments in a negative form, and not to treat on Election alone, (which is only one part of Predestination,) but also on Reprobation which is the other part."

They then adduce *fifteen* powerful reasons why they should be allowed to discuss both parts of Predestination, and *seven* why they should expose the abuses of Absolute Reprobation. After replying to some objections, they proceed thus:—

"Of one thing alone we desire to be informed by this venerable Synod, that is, whether they own for their doctrine and that of the Church those assertions which are contradictory to our propositions, and particularly those which affirm,—'the creation of the greater portion of the human race 'for destruction; the reprobation of [some] infants, even though born of 'believing parents; the necessity of the fall; the Divine call [given to some 'men is] inefficacious through the will of God; the inevitable necessity of 'all sins; the secret and revealed will of God; the operations and decrees 'of God for the existence of sin; the impossible defection of believers from 'justifying faith, even when they fall into horrid crimes;'—with other points, which are maintained by many Contra-Remonstrants and those who are

attached to their opinions, both in these provinces and in other countries, but which are rejected and disapproved by us in the Articles just recited.

"We acknowledge with his reverence the President, the doctrine of ELECTION to be 'sweet and full of consolation,' and that of REPROBATION to be disagreeable. But we consider the consolation which is elicited from an *Election that is absolute and unconditional*, to be full of peril, and, if judged according to its nature, to grant man an encouragement to commit sin. We also consider the opposite doctrine of *Absolute Reprobation* to be truly and deservedly odious, because it is pregnant with despair and contrary to Divine Justice. The sole employment of the Pastors of the Church must not be the consolation of sinners; but it ought likewise to be their care and study to warn the wicked and ungodly to flee from the wrath to come which is consequent on Reprobation. The visible Church contains the children of God; it also contains the slaves of Satan, although they by profession seem also to be the children of God. In this state of things, therefore, both doctrines are needful: To the children of God must be announced the inheritance which was fore-ordained by an eternal Election; and to the wicked must be denounced those punishments which were fore-ordained by an eternal decree of Reprobation.

"Your reverences easily perceive, that the present questions and controversies are not concerning *the parings of nails* or other matters of trivial importance: But they relate to those points of Practical Divinity which tend greatly to illustrate the glory of God and to promote the exercise of piety, if correct sentiments concerning them be entertained; or, on the contrary, if incorrect opinions be received, they detract materially from the Divine glory and impede the progress of true piety.—It is the duty of an evangelical teacher to pursue, above all others, those objects which promote the truth which is according to godliness; and to banish out of Christian schools and churches those dogmas which are believed to be capable of furnishing excitation and nourishment to ungodliness. If your venerable Synod pass by these [erroneous] dogmas in silence, we shall conclude, and our Churches will form the same judgment, that such dogmas are approved by the tacit assent of your reverences. If they do obtain your approbation, it will then be our duty diligently to warn the flock of Jesus Christ that is committed to our trust, seriously to avoid and guard against dogmas of this description. But if those dogmas be condemned by the public voice of the Synod, (which we hope will be the result,) we will return thanks to God Almighty for having begun to cleanse and purify his Church from such tares and errors."

It is scarcely necessary to add, because it is generally known, that the result did not accord with the *hopes*, but with the *fears*, which the Remonstrants expressed. In a few days afterwards, that Calvinistic Synod excluded the Remonstrants from all further communication with their *choice assembly*; and, instead of employing themselves in carefully refuting the Five Articles which the Remonstrants had delivered, they culled sentences and expressions from the insulated productions of different individuals that had previously written in defence of General Redemption, or from the statements which three or four of them (unauthorized by the remainder) had agreed to make, in a particular Conference between them and as many of the Contra-Remonstrants. It is amazing, that in the lucubrations of the Synod, which occupy several hundred folio pages, very slight allusion is made to these plain and scriptural Articles,—a tolerably strong proof of the *distant respect* which the Synodical members felt for them, and of their unwillingness to attempt a confutation. It was not therefore without reason, that Bishop Womack in the title-page of this pamphlet employed these expressions: "The Tenets "of the Remonstrants touching those Five Articles voted, stated, and "imposed, but not DISPUTED, at the Synod of Dort."—In the treatise entitled, "ARCANA DOGMATUM ANTI-REMONSTRANTIUM, or *The* CALVINISTS' CABINET *unlocked*," which is a Vindication of this "EXAMINATION *of Tilenus*," our author has most ably exposed the intolerant conduct and the desecrating doctrines of the Dort Synodists.

The judicious MOSHEIM published a Latin Dissertation on this subject, in 1724, which he entitled, "*A Consultation respecting the Authority of the* SYNOD OF DORT,—*an Assembly destructive of Sacred Peace*:" and which he prefixed to his Latin version of "*The Rev. John* HALES's *Letters and Ex-*

presses concerning the SYNOD OF DORT."—After recounting several instances of intemperance and impetuosity in the judgments of the Foreign and Provincial Members of the Synod, Mosheim says: "But, this warmth of spirit, with which the Fathers of the Synod were inflamed against the Arminians, was so far from abating, that, on the contrary, some of them proceeded to such a length as to determine that they should be punished by the sword, with penalties and exile. Omitting the decisions of those who gave similar directions but in a manner somewhat more obscure, I will here quote the suffrages and judgment of the Deputies of South Holland, and those of the Guelderland Divines, from both of which this fact will be rendered very apparent. The former of them address the Representatives of the States General who were present at the Council, in these words: 'We turn 'to you, illustrious delegates, and by the precious name of Jesus Christ we 'beseech you strongly to insist before their High Mightinesses, who are 'your Lords and ours, that those persons who have thus, like unskilful 'husbandmen or destructive hirelings, audaciously mixed tares with the 'good seed, may be restrained by ecclesiastical censures, and may be 'visited with a lighter or more severe degree of punishment, in proportion 'to the extent of each of their offences.' (ACTS of the Synod, pt. iii, 330.)—Those of Guelderland in like manner suggest inflicting on them the punishment of perpetual exile, or something still more grievous: (Ibid. 325.) 'We 'are fully persuaded, that, unless all and each of these Five Articles and 'those who teach them be ordered into perpetual banishment from the 'Dutch Churches, it will be impossible for any Christian peace to be estab-'lished among us, or, if once established, to be long preserved. *A little 'leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I would they were even cut off which 'trouble or have hitherto troubled you!* (Gal. v, 9, 12.)'—I mentioned, in a preceding passage, that '*only some* of the Fathers of the Synod wished the 'Arminians to be visited with punishment:' But the man who may attribute such a disposition to the WHOLE ASSEMBLY, will be guilty of no great error. For, omitting all mention of the actual issue of the matter, (which is a sufficient proof of the wishes in which all the members indulged,) it has been placed beyond all doubt or controversy, that JOHN BOGERMAN who presided over that Synod, and several others who were present, entertained the same sentiments as Beza and Calvin,—*that the attempts of perverse teachers must be avenged by fire and faggot.* Since therefore all these individuals accounted the Arminians to be little superior to the worst of heretics, there is no reason for proposing this enquiry, 'Did they [the Synodists] 'desire to have *a capital punishment* inflicted on the Arminians?' We have, besides, an eminent authority in Sir Dudley Carleton, at that period Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the States General, from whom we learn, that, a long time before judgment was pronounced on the doctrines of the Arminians, the punishment of exile with some other mark of infamy had been determined against the principal Divines of the Arminian party."

After having quoted the Ambassador's letter to Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Mosheim thus proceeds: "It will now be the duty of Protestants, and especially of those among the Reformed who are more celebrated than their brethren for wisdom and moderation, to form from their own feelings an estimate of ours when we read these expressions, and at the same time reflected, that the men from whom these rigid decrees proceeded were still accounted characters in no respect inferior to THE AMBASSADORS OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR! These are not the sayings of private persons, but of a Council which represented the whole of their Church, and the decrees of which they considered inviolable and on no account to be contemned. We do not deny, that some persons among us [the Lutherans] have acted with greater vehemence and warmth than was proper, (which concession has probably been made by the individuals themselves,) but their violent conduct will not be ascribed to the whole of our body; and I do not think, there is one even among the violent of our Divines who will conclude, that men are to be molested and tormented on account of the doctrines which they hold in common with the Calvinists. But that Assembly of the gravest and most respectable Divines, who were collected together from the whole of their Church, expelled men [from their communion] merely in consequence of those Five Points which nearly coincide with our

doctrine, and classed them not only with heretics, but with malefactors and the worst of criminals. What would the Reformed [the Calvinists] have said, if we [the Lutherans] had not only ordered off to the shades, but had also sanctioned an order for punishing, the followers of Jansenius, when they deserted the communion of the Papists and placed themselves under our protection,—although the Calvinists are aware that the dogmas of the Jansenists are not on many points much dissimilar to their own? The Calvinists have also plainly and without any ambiguity confessed, that not only the cause of the Arminians, but ours [the Lutherans] likewise, was adjudged and condemned by the members of the Dort Synod. At the very period when that Synod was sitting, Peter du Moulin became the bearer of the conditions on which peace and harmony were to be concluded between the Calvinists and the Lutherans: But John Bogerman, the President of that Assembly, *did not think it proper that even a word should be mentioned about any such concord.* Of this fact John Hales is witness, who related to the Ambassador of the King of Great Britain that such was the answer which was given to him by Bogerman. It was scarcely possible, therefore, that peace could have been refused to the Arminians, if the Lutherans were received into covenant and sacred alliance. That President was not ignorant or unconscious of the kind of disposition which the members of the Synod felt toward us. It is certain, that it was in the power of the Dort Fathers to repel from themselves a great part of that hatred which they incurred, if, after having rejected and condemned the disciples of Arminius, they had manifested a disposition inclined to cultivate amity with our body: For the Remonstrants had always asserted, that their cause and ours were identified together. Since, therefore, those Fathers acted differently, and chose to procure for themselves a greater portion of envy, in preference to the cultivation of a friendly affection for us, there can hardly be the shadow of a doubt that the hatred which they evinced towards the Arminians belonged also to us in no inferior degree. The same fact is rendered evident from the violent molestation which the Bremen and British Divines received in the Synod from the rest of the Fathers, and especially from those of the United Provinces, who treated them with discourtesy, abuse, and contumely, because, on the doctrines of *Predestination* and of *the Grace and Merits of Christ*, they were more favourable to our sentiments than to those of Calvin.

"Although they [the Calvinists] may believe, that the difference is very little betwixt themselves and us on those matters which contain the foundation of religion, what man will engage on their behalf, that, if at a future period they obtain the supremacy, the same punishment will not be inflicted on us as on the Arminians, for sentiments which they at present number among errors of minor importance? The fate of the Arminians will be understood from the following paragraph, which is inserted in the Preface to their own Synodical Acts: 'Those of the Remonstrants who were cited 'before the Synod are commanded either to be silent like dumb dogs, or to 'be banished with their wives and children out of their native country. On 'the rest of their pastors, nearly to the amount of two hundred, perpetual 'exile is imposed, or they are reduced to a monstrous silence in a free 'country. That nothing may be wanting to gratify the hatred of their adversaries, public edicts are issued, which forbid any man from supplying 'these exiled and silenced ministers even with a farthing, with which they 'may prolong a miserable existence in banishment, may satisfy the cravings 'of hunger or avoid the disgrace of beggary. A reward of Five Hundred 'Guilders is placed on the head of each of the Remonstrant Ministers, and 'they are prohibited from returning to the land of their birth under the 'penalty of perpetual imprisonment,—beside other culpable instances of 'Albanian cruelty which are at this juncture brought into exercise!'—If the Calvinists consider it right thus to wreak their vengeance on those who are separated from them by a few errors of trifling importance, we, whom they consider as involved in error, should deservedly appear foolish and entirely devoid of reason, by displaying any degree of solicitude to embrace that fellowship which they offer. And we must be permitted to imagine, that they consider their persecuting conduct extremely proper, as long as they persist to call the Synod of Dort A MOST HOLY ASSEMBLY!"

In a preceding paragraph, Dr. Mosheim had said: "The sentiments which the Arminians defended, at the commencement of these controversies, were,

ELECTION *proceeding from faith which was foreseen by God, the* GOOD-WILL *and* LOVE OF GOD *towards* ALL MEN *whatever, the* DEATH OF CHRIST *which possesses* SAVING EFFICACY *for* ALL MEN *unless they resist it, the* GRACE *which changes and converts no man except him whose* WILL *it is to be so converted.* and *the* LOSS OF FAITH AND GRACE. If these opinions, and others which are contained in their well known FIVE POINTS, be simply regarded by themselves, no man can deny the fact *that they are the same as those which we* [*the Lutherans*] *embrace for* DIVINE VERITIES THAT ARE CLEARLY REVEALED. Since, therefore, it is certain, that the Synod of Dort not only rejected and trampled upon these doctrines, but reckoned them in the number of *impious dogmas that are prejudicial to salvation and of a most dangerous description*, where can the man be found who will not confess, that 'we '[the Lutherans] were wounded, condemned, and excluded from salvation, 'through the sides of the Arminians?' But that this was really the case, is a fact placed beyond all controversy."—For this assertion the learned Mosheim quotes authorities from the judgments of the Synodical Divines, both foreign and provincial.

In a subsequent chapter he states, that "the dogmas of the Supra-lapsarians are injurious to the Holiness, and to the rest of the Perfections of the Supreme Being." He then adds: "I know, there are some among the Calvinists, who admit of scarcely any difference between the *Sub-lapsarians* and the *Supra-lapsarians*, and who assert, that, if we have regard to the foundation, they are both sufficiently at unity. This is the judgment of FRANCIS JUNIUS, [the predecessor of ARMINIUS in the Divinity Chair at Leyden,] one of the most celebrated Divines of the Calvinistic School. His words are these: 'Those who entertain different sentiments from each other 'on the object of Predestination, do not differ with regard to the circum-'stances so much as many people suppose. For when the latter [the Sub-'lapsarians] declare, that *man* ALREADY FALLEN *was considered by God as* '*the object of his predestination*, they have not properly any regard to *the* '*cause of Election and Reprobation*, but to *the order and series of causes* 'upon which DAMNATION is consequent. But when the latter [the Supra-'lapsarians] assert, that, *in the act of predestinating God regarded man* '*as not then created*, they do not on that account exclude God from the con-'sideration of *man as fallen*, but the only object which they wish to obtain 'is,—to find *every cause of predestination* IN GOD, and *none out of God* IN 'MAN. Thus, THEY AGREE AS TO THE MATTER ITSELF, while they differ 'in their mode of explanation.' (*Theses de Predest., Cap.* x.)—Similar to these are the sentiments delivered by Andrew Rivet in his 'Orthodox Catholic:' (Tract. iv, Quæst. 9.)—And in the article 'Paulicians' [or Manichees] in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, that very clever and acute man, Peter Bayle, seems to be of the same opinion."

It is remarkable, that three great Divines, differing so much in sentiment as did JUNIUS, (who was viewed by the Dutch Calvinists as much too moderate in his Predestinarian notions,) ARMINIUS, and Dr. TWISSE, the famous English Supralapsarian, should all agree in regarding the two schemes as most intimately allied: The only difference between them which Dr. Twisse could perceive, was, that the Supralapsarians are more honest and manly in boldly avowing their *high* notions, than their timid brethren.

After recounting some of these high but unhallowing notions, Mosheim thus proceeds: "I declare, that unless the man who wishes to entertain the doctrine which I have now exposed, desire likewise to be completely at variance with himself; he must first lay aside all the ideas about God, justice, holiness, equity, and other matters, which we have derived from reason and the Sacred Scriptures. This is not my own solitary opinion, but that of many others, even of the Calvinistic school, who are in high and deserved repute for their wisdom. I will give a quotation equal to all of them in the words of that very ingenious and most eloquent man, James SAURIN, who says: 'I 'frankly confess, that I cannot sufficiently wonder to perceive some men, who, 'with much coolness and gravity, tell us, *God has formed this world with the* '*design of saving one man and damning a hundred thousand. No supplica-*'*tions or prayers, tears or sighs, which they utter, can possibly cause this de-*'*cree to be revoked: It is necessary to submit to the sentence of God, whose* '*glory required him to create all these nations for eternal destruction.* I can-'not be sufficiently astonished when I hear these people maintain their

'propositions in a manner thus crude and rigid, and without the least mitiga-'tion or exception; and when they immediately add, that *there is nothing* '*difficult in any of these sentiments, and that all those objections which can be* '*urged in opposition are futile and unworthy of an answer.*' (*Sermons*, T. 1, ser. 4.) Peter POIRET, [the famous French Mystic,] who certainly was not deficient in shrewdness and acumen, asserts, in his 'Divine Economy,' (Tom. vii, chap 13,) that *the notion of the* DEITY *which the Supralapsarians obtrude upon us, is rather that of an* INFERNAL DEMON. To the preceding extract from Saurin I would subjoin Poiret's entire expressions, were I not afraid that he would be immediately rejected as a fanatic;—although, in reference to this particular affair, he is any thing rather than a fanatic.

"That which above all other things renders the cause of the Supralapsarians infamous and odious, is this,—*It makes God the sole Cause and Author of all moral evil and sin.* For this consequence flows so manifestly from their sentiments, that it has often seemed most surprising to me how it was possible for men of learning to allow themselves to contend, 'that 'such a consequence has no connection whatever with their opinions.' I am fully persuaded, that no man would be so dull or clownish, (provided this doctrine were correctly explained to him,) as not instantly to perceive that the origin of all wicked actions must be sought in the Supreme Being, whom, notwithstanding, reason itself teaches us to consider as endowed with the greatest benignity and holiness. For if the glory of God demanded an immense multitude of men to be adjudged to eternal punishment, that same glory likewise required God to be the Author of sin to men, 'without which,' these persons say, 'it would be an act of injustice to punish them.' Therefore, if we receive these men as interpreters, '*to cause men to sin*, is 'so far from being an act derogatory to God, that, on the contrary, (unless 'it had been his pleasure, for his glory to remain in concealment,) he could 'not possibly have done otherwise than instigate men to the perpetration of 'crimes and offences. Is not he the cause and author of the deed which is 'done, who is concerned that it be done, or who aptly disposes every circum-'stance for its accomplishment? But it was of consequence to [the glory 'of] God, that a great number of mortals should fall into sin and should 'never be delivered from that calamity; wherefore,' if we may give credit to this sect, 'He likewise ordained [or disposed] all things in such a way, 'that neither could our first parents by any means whatever avoid sin, nor 'could the greater portion of their posterity clear themselves from the stain 'which they had contracted.'—What therefore remains, but that we refer this, *if there be any truth in it*, to God, as the origin and cause of all sin? Unless perhaps we may wish to state, what appears to me most absurd and inconsistent,—that 'he who desires the death of an enemy and lays poison 'before him, who also persuades or even compels him to receive that deadly 'poison into his stomach as a salutary medicine, in all this does nothing 'amiss, nor is the cause of the death of that person who against his own 'inclination kills himself.' I feel a pleasure in elucidating this topic by a similitude which that illustrious individual, the late G. W. LEIBNITZ, whose testimony the Supralapsarians are less likely to reject, because some of them have expressed their confident persuasion that he was favourable to the sentiments of their faction. He says, 'I can by no means comprehend, how 'he can possibly be acquitted of all blame and criminality, who not only 'makes it *possible for man to fall*, but who likewise disposes of all circum-'stances *in such a manner as to cause them to conduce towards his fall!*' (Essais de Theodicée, p. 418.)"

The reader who is acquainted with the high character for candour and impartiality which this eminent ecclesiastical historian has obtained, will know how to appreciate the preceding statements and remarks: They are all corroborated by authentic documents, and were written above a hundred years after the occurrence of the transactions to which they allude. They will be recognized as the just and obvious reflections of a cool and accurate observer, who calmly looked back upon the events connected with the Synod of Dort, which, whether regarded as matters of history or of theology, reflect merited and lasting disgrace on the chief actors in that memorable Assembly.—EDITOR.

JACOBUS ARMINIUS,

IN ARTICULIS PERPENDENDIS, SAITH AS FOLLOWETH.

1. That opinion which denies, that "true believers can or ever do fall from faith totally and finally,"—was never accounted for Catholick from the times of the Apostles to these our times; nor was the contrary opinion esteemed heretical; yea, the affirmative part had ever more for it.

2. "That a believer can be assured, without special revelation, that he shall not fall from faith,"—and "that a believer is bound to believe that he shall not fall from faith," are two points, which were never accounted for Catholick in the Church of Christ; nor was the denial of them ever judged heresy by the Catholick Church.

3. That persuasion, whereby a believer doth certainly persuade himself *that he cannot or shall not fall from faith*, serves, not so much for comfort against despair, as for *to breed security*, directly contrary to that most wholesome fear, wherewith we are commanded to work out our salvation, and which is very needful in this place of temptation. *

4. He that thinks *he may fall from faith*, and thereupon fears *lest he should fall therefrom*, is neither destitute of needful comfort, nor tormented with anxiety of mind: † It being sufficient for comfort and freedom from anxiety to know, that he shall not by any power of Satan, sin, and the world, or by any affection and imfirmity of his own flesh fall from faith, unless himself shall willingly, of his own accord, yield to temptation and neglect conscionably to work out his salvation. ‡

This doctrine (according to the undeniable consequence thereof) will uphold the necessity of an industrious duty, and the usefulness of a settled Ministry, and the peace of a good Conscience.

And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the Israel of God! Gal. vi, 16.

* See Heb. xii, 15; Rom. xi, 20; 1 Cor. x, 12; 1 Thess. v, 3; Heb. vi, 11; Gal. vi, 1; Phil. ii, 13; 1 Peter i, 17; Rev. iii, 11; Job ix, 28; 1 Cor. ix, 27; 1 Cor. iv, 4.

* He that gives comfort and security upon any other terms doth sew pillows, as in Ezek. xiii, 18; &c. See Jerem. vi, 14; Ezek. xiii, 10.

‡ See John x, 28; Rom. viii, 35, to the end; 1 John v, 18; James iv, 7; Rom. vi, 16; 2 Peter ii, 19.

THE

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE FIRST PART.

Tilenus thinks fit to give this further account of his design in the foregoing paper: He resolved at first only to give the true state of the questions, and nakedly to lay down the tenets, as well negative as affirmative, in as few, significant and clear expressions as was possible. Afterwards he met with some temptation to affix quotations out of Scripture, in the Margin, to prove the several branches of these tenets. Then considering, that most men pass over such proofs as are only referred unto, though they have their bibles lying by them, (which are not always at hand, neither!) rather than give themselves the trouble to turn to them; he thereupon concluded, it would be for the reader's greater ease and advantage, if he cited the very words of Scripture, out of which such proofs are to be made: And he had not gone far in this method, but it came into his mind to be a little more distinct in setting down the grounds of his Proofs and Reasons for his affirmative and negative tenets respectively; which is done accordingly in the later Articles. And yet, in the former as well as these, are contained such topicks and heads of arguments, as a little skill (to reduce them to the rules of Art) will be sufficient to improve, to thy impregnable establishment in the present truth.

And now, reader, before Tilenus can dismiss thee, he thinks himself obliged to make thee satisfaction for having imposed upon thee in two or three particulars, when he personated the Infidel and the Carnal man. One was in effect, that God is not serious when he forbids the wicked ("Reprobates" as they call them) to sin, and invites them to repentance and amendment of life. [Pages 44, 50.] "He doth this," they say, "by his revealed will," which indeed they account not his will; "but by his secret will (which is his will, properly so called) he wills the contrary." *Celari interdum á Deo,* saith Beza, *aliquid ei, quod in verbo pate facit, repugnans.* Resp. *ad Acta Colloq. Mompel. Part* 2. *p.* 173.—And Piscator in his *Disp. contra Schafm.* saith, *Deum interdum verbo significare se velle, quod revera non*

*vult : aut nolle, quod revera vult.** Now because God's intercourse with Abraham about his offering up of Isaac, (Gen. xxii,) is the great instance usually produced to prop up that opinion, (so dangerous to piety, and so dishonourable to the sacred veracity and sincerity of Almighty God, if not taken *cum grano salis*, and qualified by some commodious interpretation,) according to that saying of Luther, *Deus dixit ad Abrahamum:* OCCIDE FILIUM &c. *Quomodo? Ludendo, simulando, ridendo*: And a little after, *Atqui apud Deum est lusus, et, si liceret ita dicere, mendacium est?*† Therefore Tilenus thought it an acceptable service

* Beza says, "God occasionally conceals something which is contrary to that which he manifests in his word."—Piscator says, "In his word God sometimes intimates, that he wills *what He in reality does not will;* or, that he does not will *what He in reality does will.*"

† Luther was a bold Divine, though not always one of the most discreet. It was a remarkable instance of God's kind and watchful Providence over the rising interests of the Protestant Church, when He vouchsafed to Luther the assistance of such a mild, enlightened, and judicious compeer as Melancthon. Luther's talent lay in rough handling,—in pulling down the strong-holds of Satan: Melancthon's gifts were most conspicuous when employed in building up the infant Church, in establishing believers, and in tendering moderate advice for the progress of Reformation in other countries.

The intention of Luther in his comment upon this passage of scripture, was very excellent; but his curious and excursive manner of executing that intention, must not be imitated. It becomes us indeed, to speak of God with the greatest reverence, and only as he is pleased to reveal himself in scripture. The connection in which the quotation stands, is as follows: "Is God then contradictory to himself, and does he lie? At first he commanded his [Abraham's] son to be sacrificed, now he forbids it. But we who are christians, must both think and speak of these matters with reverence and godly fear: And our God must be owned to be such a Being as can produce contrary effects in things that are contrary. This most wonderful government over his saints affords to us several sweet topics of instruction, and is replete with consolation. Yet if the saints were allowed to speak of the Divine Majesty and Truth, with a *salvo* in favour of reverence [for those attributes], they might use these forms of speaking: 'God feigns, lies, pretends, and 'mocks us.' And thus, when they have to encounter death, they might say to God, *It is not death, but life. Thou dost tantalize or trifle with me, as a father with his child: for while thou speakest one thing, thy thoughts and intentions are about another!*—Such a species of falsehood as this is salutary [saving] to us. Happy indeed shall we be if we can learn this art from God. He attempts and proposes the work of another, that he may be able to accomplish his own. By our affliction, he seeks his own gratification [or sport] and our salvation. Thus, God said to Abraham, *Slay thy son*, &c. How? By tantalizing, pretending, and mocking. This sport is certainly of a happy and pleasant kind.

"He likewise occasionally feigns, as though he would depart to a great distance from us and kill us. Which of us believes, that *this is all a pretence?* Yet, with God, this is only sport, and (were we permitted thus to speak,) it is a falsehood. It is a real death which all of us have to suffer. But God does not act seriously, according to his own showing or representation. It is dissimulation; and he is only trying whether we be willing to lose present things, and life itself, for his sake or on his account."

Omitting all allusion to the dangerous and unhallowing tendency of Luther's exposition, we must account it a clumsy method of solving a difficulty, —especially when viewed in contrast with that of Bishop Womack.—EDITOR.

to God and good men, if he could offer any thing to clear the reputation of that passage from the suspicion of being accessary to that doctrine in whose behalf it is so often pleaded.

To this end let us examine the plea, Gen. xxii, 2, "*God said unto Abraham, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest; and get thee into the land of Moriah: and offer him there for a burnt offering, upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.*" Where, by the way, the reader may take notice, that Abraham was to expect further orders from Almighty God before the utmost execution of this affair. But to the plea, "Here," say they, "we have God's REVEALED WILL signified by a command, *that Isaac should be slain*: But by his SECRET WILL, *that he would not have it so*, appears as well by the event, as by the Angel's voice, '*Lay not thine hand upon the lad*,' &c. Therefore God commands what he nilleth," &c.—But Tilenus sees no such matter, no contradiction, no opposition betwixt God's secret and revealed will in this passage, being confident to affirm that GOD WILLED, WITH HIS SECRET WILL, ALL THAT WAS COMMANDED BY HIS REVEALED; which was not the occision or slaughtering of Isaac, (*to which single act* they usually restrain God's revelation and command,) but it was Abraham's voluntary and free obedience, in devoting, consecrating and rendering up his son for a sacrifice at God's command. Some particulars whereof are set down, *Take thy son, go into the land of Moriah; carry wood and fire, make an altar, and bind Isaac and expose him upon it.* That God willed this, is clear by the event according to the adversaries' own rule, *Ex eventu judicandum est de Dei Voluntate.** And that God's command, or revealed will, intended the same and no more, appears by all those scriptures which, speaking of this matter, do positively affirm, that Abraham did fully perform what God had commanded.—So Hebr. xi. 17; "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: And he that had received the promises offered up his only son."—So James ii. 21; "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar?" And so God himself interprets it, Gen. xxii. 16; "*Because thou hast done this thing*," &c. To which purpose also it is observable, that God does not use the same phrase of speech in the prohibition, verse 12, that he used in the injunction, verse 2. Here God's will revealed, is *offer eum in holocaustum* ["offer him for a burnt offering"]; but there the will of God forbidding is, not *ne offeras* "do not offer him," (for that [the offering] was done already according to God's interpretation and requiry,) but *ne injicias manum tuam super puerum*, ["lay not thine hand upon the lad"].

OBJECTION.—"The phrase and word of command in ordinary "construction seemed to imply THE SLAYING OF ISAAC; because

* "We must judge of God's will by the event."

" it was the custom to slay such sacrifices before they were burnt " upon the altar."

RESPONSE.---For answer to this, it needs not be replied, that " words and phrases in Holy Scripture, as well as in other authors, are used in diverse senses." But the answer is, that there was a necessity (upon the matter) that Almighty God should use a phrase that carried such an obvious sense with it, because this was a special command given unto Abraham for a signal trial of his faith and obedience, " And it came to pass that God did tempt Abraham." (Gen. xxii. 1.) Which there could have been no proof of, if God had expounded to him the sense of his command after this manner, " Go, take thy son, &c. But thou " needest not startle at the imposition; for my intent and pur- " pose is, *only that thou shouldest bring him into the land of Mo- " riah, and bind him and expose him there upon the altar,* which " thou shalt make for that purpose, and then I will accept thy " obedience, and rescue thy son from the knife by a voice from " Heaven." If God had thus far revealed his will, Abraham's faith had found no difficulty to contest against, and [it] consequently had not been capable of an approbation. The upshot therefore of all is this,—that in this intercourse with Abraham, God revealed his will, and nothing but his will, but not his WHOLE WILL, which he was not bound to do, *neither could the doing of it* consist with his design of *trying the sincerity of Abraham's graces.* But this is not to be drawn into example when we speak of God's ordinary external intercourse with sinners, inviting and calling them to *repent, believe and obey the Gospel,* upon promise of life and peril of damnation. For,

1. This would make the Divine Call, not only a continual temptation, (which is absurd enough!) but also ridiculous: for this would not be such a temptation as that which occurs in Abraham's example; wherein the duty commanded was not only possible to be performed, but was also actually performed, so far forth, that God declared his own satisfaction in it by a voice from Heaven. But (according to the doctrine of those men [whom] we oppose) God is supposed to be always tempting and trying, whether that will come to pass which is altogether impossible to come to pass,—that is, [according to them] he tempts and tries again and again *whether the reprobate will believe and convert,* that is *whether he [the reprobate] will do that which God's own decree hath rendered impossible for him to do.* Which is, as if one should be very solicitous to make an experiment, *whether the blind would see, or the dead walk.*

2. This would make *God's calling of reprobates,* which is done by his SIGNANT WILL alone, (as they say) not only an act of hypocrisy, in seeming to wish them well, by desiring their repentance and salvation, when his BENEPLACENT WILL hath

decreed otherwise: but also an act of cruelty; because by this calling, God is not only the occasion, or cause of their infidelity and disobedience, (it being impossible for reprobates to answer that call,) but of their greater punishment likewise, into which they do necessarily fall for that their necessary and unavoidable infidelity.—From which it follows,

3. That that will whereby God wills not to give to reprobates sufficient grace to enable them to repent and believe, (much less irresistible grace, that actually they must do so,) should not be *Voluntas beneplaciti*, but rather *maleplaciti*, "a will of displeasure rather than of good pleasure;" because it is an affection of the greatest hatred and aversation; whereas, notwithstanding, God's calling unto faith and to salvation (which is done by the word) is declared to be an act of his good pleasure and grace, (Ephes. 1. 9; 2 Thes. 1. 11; 2 Tim. i. 9.) and an evidence of his compassion and love, as may easily be collected out of Holy Scripture. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 15; Rom. i. 7; Hos. ix. 15.) Lastly, according to the doctrine of that distinction, and those men that make use of it, the whole revelation and ministry of the Gospel, goes for no more, but *voluntas signi*, "the will of God to give out such a thing for a sign only," when, indeed it is *the will of God's beneplaciture* and is expressly so called, as shall appear in the second particular, wherein Tilenus offers the reader satisfaction, which is, about the sense of another text perversely cited by him above upon another occasion.

Maccovius, (Colleg. de Predest. disp. 2.) to prove that God would not have all men to be saved, (no, not *voluntate signi*) "according to his revealed will," contrary to the most express grammatical sense of scripture, (1 Tim. ii, 4; 2 Pet. iii, 9;) saith, *Voluntas signi non est propriè dicta voluntas, sed est verbum Dei*, "that which is revealed and signified (in holy Scripture) to be the mind of God, is not his will properly so called, but it is the word of God," as if it were consistent with his sacred veracity to utter something disagreeable to his own will! And he affirms further, (disp. 5.) that "God doth not will, that is, not delight in or approve of any thing, but what he doth effect;" and this he endeavours to prove out of Psalm cxv, 3; a parallel place to which we have [in] Psalm cxxxv, 6; against which doctrine these two assertions are clear:

1. *That God's word or his command, revealed in holy Scripture, is his* WILL *properly so called.*—"I came down from Heaven—to do the will of him that sent me: and this is the will of him that sent me, &c." John vi, 38, 39, 40; "Thou art called a Jew,—and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will—being instructed out of the law." Rom. ii, 18; "This is the will of God, even your sanctification." 1 Thes. iv, 3; "But he that doth the will of my Father," &c. Mat. vii, 21; See Mat, xii, 50; John vii, 17; ix, 31; Heb. xiii, 21; 1 John ii, 17.

It is "that which is right in the eyes of the Lord."(Deut. vi,17,18; Heb. xiii, 21) It is "that good, that acceptable and perfect will of God." (Rom. xii, 2.) And, if it be not so, how can we be assured that we do please him, and are acceptable in his sight, when we walk according to this rule?

2. *This will of God is not always done, but many times the contrary.*—"When I called ye did not answer; when I spake ye did not hear, but did evil before mine eyes, and did chuse that wherein I delighted not." Isa. lxv, 12; and lxvi, 4; So Jer. xix, 5; and chap. xxxii, 35; "They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind."

Now to come to those passages of the Psalmist when he saith, "The Lord doth whatsoever pleaseth him," it cannot be understood of man's work, whether we mean his SIN or his DUTY.

(1.) *Not of his* SIN; for that cannot be said "to please God."—For "he is not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness." (Psalm v, 4.) And therefore most of our adversaries are ashamed, directly to attribute the effecting thereof unto God.

(2.) *Nor yet can it be understood of* MAN'S DUTY; for that pleaseth God, not as it is *opus operatum*, (Isa. i, 12; &c.) but as it is *a duty*; and a duty it cannot be, if it be God's doing, for *a* DUTY is "a work performed by an inferior, in obedience to the command of his superior, who hath authority over him;" and consequently man's duty cannot be a work of God's only doing. Besides, he that commands a thing would have that thing which he commands, to be done by him to whom he doth command it. But he that does that thing (supposed to be under command) himself, wills not that it be done by another: Otherwise he should at the same time both WILL and NILL it to be done by that other. The Psalmist therefore is to be understood, not of the things which the Lord would have done (in a way of duty) by others; nor yet of such things as he promises to perform himself upon condition of man's obedience,—which through default hereof many times are not accomplished, as Numb. xiv, 30; 1 Sam. ii, 30; but of *all things which he intends absolutely to execute and bring to pass himself*, as Psalm xxxiii, 9. And so we may observe, that his power in these works is opposed to the impotency of Idols, who are able to do just nothing. See those two Psalms throughout, viz. cxv, 3; & cxxxv, 6; &c.

But here a question may be moved, "Whether the will of God can at any time be defeated?" To which the answer is, that it is most true, in a good sense, that the will of God is always fulfilled. For the understanding whereof, we must distinguish of God's will and the objects of it.

1. *Some things God wills* ABSOLUTELY, *and they must of* NECESSITY *come to pass*, otherwise *that will of God* could not be truly said "to be *fulfilled*." Thus when it is said, "God will "give Christ for a covenant of the people; whoremongers and "adulterers God will judge; the faithful he will save:" If Christ were not so given, or whoremongers and adulterers could avoid judgment, or the faithful fail of salvation,—God's will, declared in those promises and threatenings, were utterly broken. Thus also, it being God's absolute will, that man, being a reasonable creature, should be a FREE AGENT, he must be SO OF NECESSITY.

2. *Other things God wills* DISJUNCTIVELY; *and they come to pass* CONTINGENTLY, *or not at all;* otherwise, if they should come to pass OF NECESSITY, God's will should be crossed in them. For in these things his will is, "that neither the one nor the other particular should be NECESSARY, but either that they should NOT BE at all or be CONTINGENT."

This distinction may be seen in his judgment threatened and propounded to David: (2 Sam. xxiv, 12, 13;) "Thus saith the Lord, I offer thee three things, chuse which of them I shall do unto thee. Wilt thou that seven years of famine come upon the land, or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, or that there be three days of pestilence in thy land?"—Here God ABSOLUTELY willed to send a judgment, and consequently the coming of it was NECESSARY: but, which of the three, was referred to David's CHOICE, and so that was CONTINGENT. But this distinction is more evident in God's commands, established with promises and threatenings, relating to man's transgression and obedience respectively. So in his commands for temporal safety: "And unto this people thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord, Behold I set before you the way of life, and the way of death. He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey." Jer. xxi, 8, 9. Here God's will is DISJUNCTIVE, and whether they continued in the city, and perished there, or fled out to the Chaldeans and were preserved by them, it was a matter of their own FREE CHOICE and so CONTINGENT; but whichsoever of these two courses they took and succeeded accordingly, God's will was fulfilled.

So it is likewise in the matter of life and death eternal. "Behold, I set before you this day, a blessing and a curse: A blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God: And a curse, if ye will not obey, but turn aside out of the way, which I command you." (Deut. xi, 26, 27, 28.) And, "If ye live after the flesh ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." (Rom. viii, 13.) So that whether they live by one means, or die by the other,

God's will is necessarily fulfilled; because his will is not, that they shall either *necessarily observe* his commands, or *necessarily transgress* them: But if they do transgress, (though that transgression be *contingent*,) death is the *necessary doom* awarded to it. And if they do observe them, (though that observation be a matter of *choice* and so *contingent* also,) yet is life the *necessary* reward, and *absolutely* designed to crown that obedience.

It appears by this discourse, that God cannot fail of accomplishing such an end, and after such a manner as his wisdom thinks fit to propound in his intercourse with voluntary and free agents. For if he cannot prevail with us, (by such means, and such a manner of working as is agreeable to the condition of our intellectual nature,) to suffer ourselves to be saved by him, in performing that service to which his goodness hath ordained us, (which his good pleasure is set upon *in the first place*,) then his good pleasure is fulfilled by inflicting upon us that punishment, which he threatened; according to that saying of Saint Augustine, *Facit Deus Voluntatem suam de eo, á quo voluntas ejus facta non est.**

* "God executes his own will concerning[or through] that man by whom his will is not performed."

ANNOTATA

QUÆDAM IN FUNDAMENTALES

M^r. THOMÆ PARKERI

THESES

DE TRADUCTIONE HOMINIS PECCATORIS AD VITAM.

SOME ANNOTATIONS

ON THE

FUNDAMENTAL THESES

OF MR. THOMAS PARKER,

CONCERNING THE TRADUCTION OR DRAWING OF MAN,
AS A SINNER, TO LIFE.

LECTORI.

Siste te parumper, erudite lector, ut noris cujam et qualem pagellam comprimis, hoc scilicet solo nomine redarguendam, quod sit tota gemmea. In historiis, " compendia, dispendia;" at in Theologiâ, polemicâ saltem, μεγαλαι βιβλοι, μεγαλα κακα, atque instar montium, qui, quo sublimiori consurgunt cacumine, magis sterilescunt. Optandum ex Theologorum disceptationibus et colloquiis, (ut puta Mompelgartensi, Hagiensi, aliisque,) succum et sanguinem exprimi, responsionum lacinias abradi, in personas nominaque (quas vere " rabiem & rixas Theologorum" vocavit Melanchthon,) lituras expungi: quibus sarmentis, siquis inter בעלי אספות (quos vocat Spiritus Sanctus §) nomen suum professus, operam daret averruncandis, plus certe quam ex alio quovis scripto elenctico proficerent lectores. Dicam quod res est:|| misere ruspamur in controversâ Theologiâ, et si quando

§ Eccles. xii, 1. Ραψωδες, magistros collectionum sive pandectarum. MERC.
|| Vide Consilium J. HORNBECK in *Sum. Controvers. de Papismo*, p. 316.

TRANSLATION.

ADDRESS TO THE READER.

Stop a little, learned reader, and learn whose pages these are which thou turnest over, and what is their quality. † The only fault with which they can be charged, is, *that they are entirely studded with gems.* In historical works, *abridgments* are said to be *real detriments.* But in Divinity, at least in that which is polemic, " great books are great evils," and resemble mountains, " the more elevated their summits are, the greater is their sterility. It is very desirable, that the juice and blood were extracted out of the disputes and conferences of Divines, (such, for instance, as those of Montbelliard, the Hague, and others, ‡) that the borders of the answers were cut away, and that the blots upon persons and names were expunged, which Melancthon has truly called, " the madness and squabbles of Divines." If there be any one that has placed his name among those whom the Holy Spirit calls " masters of assemblies,"§ and if he would attempt to remove all those fragments and excrescences, he would perform a service from which a far greater degree of profit would accrue to the readers, than from any other argumentative compositions whatsoever. Shall I state what is really the fact? Unhappily we make deep researches into controversial theology;|| and, after having been almost famished through our pressing

† See Appendix A. ‡ App. B.
§ Mercer calls them, " Rhapsodists, masters of the collections, digests or pandects."
|| See the advice of Hornbeck in his *Summary of the Controversies respecting Popery*, page 316.

veritatis importunâ fame confecti, margaritam offendimus,

> Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osyri
> Invento

Nervosi siquidem sunt et acuti Theologi, Camero ubi habet Tilenum adversarium, Twissius ubi Arminium, Corvinum, eundemque Tilenum confodit; at! at! postquam pulmones in verborum cortice exagitaveris, vix tandem medullam sensûs potis eris eruere, anhelus lector. Inde est adeo laudabile institutum reverendi viri Thomæ Parkeri, authoris Thesium *de Traductione peccatoris ad vitam*, qui eadem premit vestigia, nec tædio lectorem enecat. Neminem suppilavit, sugillavit neminem. Non habent scriptores, quem incusent stellionatus, nec alii verbera violentæ linguæ patiuntur. Arminii et Socini nomina reliquit intacta; non ita causam, et argumenta. Sentiunt se mori tacito vulnere, qui in argumentis aut conversionis aut satisfactionis periculose et infœliciter disputarunt.

Hic is est, si nescis, lector, cujus pater Robertus Parker, ὁ Μακαριτης tam erudite et copiose scripsit *de Signo Crucis, Descensu Christi ad Inferos, et Ecclesiastica Politeia*, in causâ religionis patriæ exul, qui una cum Amesio, notissimum virum I. Robinsonum,†† ad sobriam in disciplinâ mentem revocavit. Dig-

†† Vide eundem Hornbeckium in Brownismo, p. 625.

TRANSLATION.

hunger for the truth, if we find a pearl, " we may be permitted to exclaim, as the people of Egypt do, when they find Osiris," *We have made a discovery!* When CAMERON † has Tilenus for his adversary, and when TWISSE at one blow despatches Arminius, Corvinus and Tilenus, both of them are nervous and acute Divines. But, alas, when the panting reader has penetrated through the rind of their words and reached the kernel, after all his trouble he will scarcely be able to find any nutriment for his understanding.

This is the reason of the very laudable design of that reverend person, THOMAS PARKER, ‡ the author of the Theses *on the traduction or drawing of man, as a sinner, to Life*. He treads in the footsteps of Cameron and Twisse, but he does not try the patience of his reader or produce weariness. From no man has he purloined, and he has not cast a reproach upon any person. There are no writers who can accuse him of knavish practices; nor do others endure from him those stripes which a violent tongue can inflict. He leaves the name of ARMINIUS and of SOCINUS § untouched; but he encounters their cause and their arguments. Those persons who have in a dangerous or inauspicious manner engaged in disputes concerning the arguments of *Conversion* or *Sanctification*, feel themselves dying through the secret wound which they here receive.

Reader, if thou be yet unacquainted with the parentage of this young man, know, that his father was Robert PARKER of blessed memory, ‖ who has written with great learning and copiousness on *the Sign of the Cross, the Descent of Christ into Hell, and on Ecclesiastical Polity*; and who, while an exile from his native land on account of religion, united with William AMES in recovering thât celebrated person, J. ROBINSON, ¶ to a sober judgment concerning church-discipline.†† Our author, therefore,

† App. C and D. ‡ App. E.
§ App. F. ‖ App. C. ¶ App. H.
†† See Hornbeck on *Brownism or Independency*, page 625.

nus est adeo hic noster author tam istoc patre, quam hac prole. Id unice agit vir doctissimus, ut gratiæ Divinæ suus constet honos sartus-tectus; ut gratia prævenions, excitans, pulsans, efficax et actuosa habeatur, non "segnis, et voluntatis nostræ pedissequa," qualem adversarii comminiscuntur, qui "Gratiæ" verbo abusi sunt, (ut Augustinus jam diu notavit) ¶ ad frangendam invidiam.

Si cui minus arridet, quod à styli evangelici simplicitate abhorrere videatur; et μορμολυκεια quædam terminorum Philosophicorum interpolasse, sciat velim, lectorem desiderari gravem, et in scholis exercitatum, cui si sit ingenium theologicum, nihil nocebit stylus metaphysicus; nec omnino desint, quod dixit in re leniori Antonius, (lib. 9. sect. 3.) etiam in phrasi φαρμακα αψικαρδια.

Prodiere sæpius hæ eædem Theses, cum aliis ejusdem commatis Amesii Tractatulis compactæ, a doctis indoctisque pro Amesianis habitæ, et citatæ; sed quod dolendum maxime, mancæ semper, et imperfectæ, ὑποδολιμαια nonnunquam addita, loca Scripturæ fœdissime distorta, et transversa tuentia: quindecim integras theses nescio cujus sacrilegæ manus depeculabantur. Pauci hæc observarunt, miratique non superesse, qui plagiarium

¶ Vidi quem admodum potuerit (Pelagius) etiam gratiam nominari sub ambigua generalitate, quid sentiret, abscondens, gratiæ tamen vocabulo, frangens invidiam, offensionemque declinans.—AUG. *de Pecc. Orig. contra Pelag. et Cœlest. cap.* 37.

TRANSLATION.

is a worthy son of such a father, and is himself the worthy father of this production. The only object which this very learned individual has in view, is, to preserve inviolate the just honour of Divine Grace,—that *preventing*, *exciting*, *propelling*, *efficacious*, and *actuating Grace* may not be accounted *idle* or *inoperative* and *the obsequious attendant of the human will*, according to the misrepresentations of our adversaries, who, as St. Augustine long ago observed, abuse the term "GRACE" to wipe away reproach. †

If any one be displeased, that "our author seems to dislike the simplicity of the style of the gospel," and that "he has interspersed certain *frightful figments* of philosophical terms," I wish such an objector to know, that, to understand this work, a deep and serious reader is required, one who is well-versed in scholastic lore, and who possesses a theological genius: To a person thus qualified a metaphysical style will do no harm. Yet there are not wanting those additions which Antoninus has described, (lib. IX, sect. 3,) under the phrase of "precepts that produce an influence on the heart."

These Theses have been frequently published, and bound up with other tracts by AMES of the same description: They have likewise been cited and esteemed, by the learned and the unlearned, as the productions of AMES. But it is much to be lamented, that they have always been printed in a mutilated and imperfect form, sometimes augmented with adulterated passages, and the quotations from scripture most scandalously distorted and made to convey a different signification. I know not whose sacrilegious hands they are which have plundered this disputation of fifteen entire Theses. ‡ Some few people have observed these defects and redundancies,

† "I perceived in what way it was also possible for grace to be mentioned under an ambiguous generality, and what sentiments Pelagius secretly held under the word '*Grace*' to break the force of public aversion, and not to give offence." (AUG. *de Pecat. Origin. contra Pelag. et Cœlest., cap.* 37.)

‡ App. 1.

et stellionem insequeretur, et in jus vocaret. Tu igitur, ingenue lector, æqui bonique consulas, quod ego, qui in sacro sum satellitio ultimæ sortis, in extremis Angliæ oris ab omnibus pæne bonis literis exul,

Αμμις γαρ ουδε τριτοι, ουδε τεταρτοι,
Ουδε δυωδεκατοι, ουτ' εν λογω, ουτ' εν αριθμω.

Hanc qualemcumque opellam dabam, tribus quatuorve exemplaribus MSS. et impressis fideliter collatis, ut authorem tibi, authorique suum nomen et Theses vindicarem.

H. S.

TRANSLATION.

and have been amazed that there is no one left to prosecute the rascally plagiarist, and call him to an account for his base conduct.

Do thou therefore, ingenuous reader, put a just and favourable interpretation upon this my labour. I am one of the sacred band [of preachers] and of the lowest condition, residing in the extreme confines of England, and doomed to almost an entire exclusion from polite literature: "For we have neither three, four, nor twelve [literary friends], either according to conception or computation." Under these circumstances I have made an effort, trifling though it may appear, to restore the real author to thee, and to claim in his behalf his own name and his Theses, which I have faithfully collated with three or four manuscript and printed copies.

H. S.

LECTORI.

Ocyus te in pedes conjice, lector φιλαλήθης, ni mavis in harum Thesium Editoris substratos encomiorum flosculis casses incidere; vel perplexis earundem Authoris plagulis irretiri. Neque tamen ab *isto* metuendum esset, Scholarum inaniis, verborumque captum humanum fugientium involucris sensa mentis intricante, nisi viam ad periculum *ille*, incautus, opinor, *Præfator* sic stravisset. Vir sane, quicunque is est, cordatus, quem nec hoc nomine tam incusandum censuerim, quod ab Ecclesiæ etiamnum Anglicanæ doctrinâ, formulisque (ex præjudiciis imbibitis) abhorrere videatur, quam jure merito laudibus efferendum, quòd placidum se, et modesti ingenii virum, indiciis minime obscuris, nec non bonarum literarum bene compotem præstiterit.

Laudet sane, ut sibi gratum faciat, Cameronem Scoto-Gallum, et Twissium Anglo-Britannum; Arminium autem et Cor-

TRANSLATION.

BISHOP WOMACK'S REMARKS

ON THE PRECEDING

ADDRESS TO THE READER.

SPEEDILY betake thyself to thy feet, my reader, if thou be a lover of truth; unless thou wouldst prefer to fall into the toils which the EDITOR of these Theses has bestrewed with encomiastic flowerets, or to be entangled between the intricate and confused meshes of that net which has been s[illegible] read by the AUTHOR. Yet, because the LATTER has involved the conceptions of his unfledged mind in the trifling inanities of the Schools, and in words that scorn to be comprehended by the human intellect, there would be no cause of fear on his account, had not this Prefacer, to whom I cannot ascribe the praise of caution, thus paved the way to danger. But whoever he may be, he is undoubtedly a person of some discretion, whom I do not consider to be blamed so much on account of his present apparent aversion to the doctrine and formularies of the Church of England, (through prejudices which he has imbibed,) as he is entitled to just praise for shewing himself to be meek and placid, and, *by tokens that cannot be mistaken*, a man of *modest genius*, and possessed of *a good and competent share* of polite learning.†

Let him eulogize CAMERON the Scottish Frenchman, that he may render himself agreeable to him, and TWISSE the Englishman; let him trample upon ARMINIUS and CORVINUS the Dutchmen, and upon TILENUS the Frenchman,‡ the three men whom TWISSE conquered; and, on the other hand,

† App. K. ‡ App. L.

vinum Batavos, Tilenum etiam Gallum, a Twissio scilicet confossos proculcet. Rursus Robertum Parkerum, Amesium, Robinsonum, ad cœlum laudibus vehat: nec tamen effecerit, ut Thomas hic tantopere prædicatus Parkerus, sanctissimum Vnici nostri Salvatoris Benedicti evangelium, decretorum Dei de salute et interitu humano fundum non subruerit, aut ipsi justitiæ soli tenebras non offuderit. Quasi vero, O boni, absque vobis esset defensoribus et hyperaspistis, ne ipse quidem Deus Socinum Arminiumque (par impar paulò invidiosiùs Præfatori conjunctum, at toto cœlo disseparandum) non esset refellendo.

Nos ad Evangelium ipsius Dei Patris, Christique Domini ex ejus sinu prodeuntis, et Sancti utriusque Spiritus imbi clarissime loquentis provocamus.

Loquere jam, mi Parkere, verum sicut Dei Christique oracula. En præsto adsumus ut Divinis Eloquiis fasces proni submittamus. Nostrûm neutri credatur: uni Deo fidei obedientiam præstare didicimus. Age ergo: arrectis enim auribus documenta cœlestia libenter expectamus.

TRANSLATION.

let him laud to the very heavens *Robert* PARKER, AMES and ROBINSON; yet, after all, he will not prevent this *Thomas*, so highly praised for bearing the surname of PARKER, from subverting the most holy gospel of our blessed and only Saviour, which is the foundation of God's decrees concerning the salvation and destruction of mankind,—nor will he prevent him from obtruding his misty darkness before the rays of "the Sun of Righteousness." All this, good men, seems as if there would be a great scarcity of defenders and partisans, were we deprived of your aid; and that God himself would need some person to refute SOCINUS and ARMINIUS,—two names between which there is the greatest disparity, and though our PREFACER has rather too invidiously joined them together, yet they must be separated from each other as far as the earth is distant from the heavens.

We appeal to the gospel of God the Father, of Christ our Lord who proceedeth from his bosom, and of the Holy Spirit both of the Father and the Son who speaks most clearly in those sacred pages.

Now commence your speech, my Parker; yet be careful to "speak as the oracles of God" and of Christ. Behold we are waiting here, prepared to lower our *fasces* in token of veneration for Divine Eloquence. Let credence be given to neither of us: For we have learned to yield the obedience of faith to God alone. Proceed, therefore; for we are waiting with open ears, willingly to listen to these heavenly documents.

THESES

DE

TRADUCTIONE PECCATORIS AD VITAM.

THESIS I.

Deus *cum sit Ens absolute Primum, (Exod. iii,* 14,*) propterea Primum est ac Summum Bonum: et quia Primum Ens, proinde omnia ab ipso sunt: quia vero Summum Bonum, Summus est Finis ad quem tendunt. Si enim aliquid esset, quod non esset ab ipso, plura prima essent, et proinde non esset absolute Primum: et si Summum Bonum, Summus Finis est, quia bonum finis est; et si Summus Finis, omnia ad ipsum tendunt, alioqui non esset absolute Summus. Hinc Deus,* η αρχη και το τελος, *(Apoc. xxii,* 13,*)*

TRANSLATION.

THESES

ON THE

TRADUCTION OR DRAWING OF MAN, AS A SINNER, TO LIFE.

THESIS I.

"Since God is absolutely the First Being, (Exod. iii, 14,) he is therefore the First and the Chief Good; and because he is the First Being, therefore all things are from him; but because he is the Chief Good, he is the Chief End to which all things tend. For if there could be any thing that was not from him, there would then be many First Things [or Beings], and therefore he would not be absolutely the First: And if he be the Chief Good, he is also the Chief End, because the Good is the End; and if he be the Chief End, then all things tend to him, otherwise he would not be absolutely the Chief. On this account God is called "the Beginning and the End," (Rev. xxii, 13,)

omnium entium ad seipsum Motor est. Irrationalium quidem, quia sensuum conclusa limitibus, mediate duntaxat: rationalium vero selectæ multitudinis ad fruendum ipso. Cum enim proxime per intellectum et voluntatem ad Deum accedant, proximum eorum bonum erit unio cum eo quod Summum est, seu fruitio Dei: quæ Divinæ amicitiæ et favoris est adeptio.

ANNOTATIONES.

Ad Thesin primam paucula hæc videntur adnotanda. 1. Vocem "omnia," lin. 2, ad *entia creata* restringendam (uti Parkerum voluisse fit vero simile lin. 8,)ne aut peccatum *ens* esse negetur,aut de numero esse creaturarum, & sub voce "omnia" comprehendi debere affirmetur. Quod quorsum tendat, judicare obvium est. 2. Eadem linea et sequentibus intelligendus videtur, quasi *entia irrationalia* (mediate licet) ab ipso Deo ad ipso fruendum moverentur: Dilute nimis. 3. Cave ne hîc Dei ipsius (naturalem an supernaturalem) quoad se, cum Dei de nobis fine libere intento de nostri ipsius fruitione confundas. Versatiles nam sunt hæ locutiones.

THESIS II.

Intentio finis hujus, pro modo independentis ac supremæ voluntatis ex consilio agentis suo, absoluta est. (Rom. xi, 34;

TRANSLATION.

the Mover of all beings to himself. He is only mediately [by second causes] the Mover of irrational beings, because they are shut up within the limits of the senses; but he is the Mover of a select multitude of rational beings to the enjoyment of himself. For as they approach the most nearly to God by their understanding and will, their nearest good will be union with him who is the Chief Good, or the fruition of God, which is the obtaining of the Divine friendship and favour."

ANNOTATIONS.

It appears necessary to note the following few things, respecting this First Thesis. (1.) The word "*all*," in the 2nd line, must be restricted to *created beings*, (as it is very probable, from line 8, that Parker wished it so to be,) that sin may not be denied to be either *a being*, or of the number of creatures, and that it may be affirmed "it ought to be comprehended under the word ALL." Every man will easily judge of the intention of such a phrase.—(2.) In the 19th and following lines, the meaning of our author appears to be, that even *irrational* beings may, although *mediately*, be moved by God to the enjoyment of himself: Such an expression is too vague.—(3.) In the concluding lines, beware lest you confound *God's own enjoyment of himself*, (whether natural or supernatural,) with *the end of God concerning us*, which end he freely intended respecting our enjoyment of him: For these modes of speech are convertible.

THESIS II.

"The intention of this end is ABSOLUTE, according to the mode of an independent and supreme will acting from its own counsel. (Rom. xi, 34;

Isai. xl, 13.) *Nec enim* ανιτιος *potest is esse, qui a conditione determinatur extrinsecâ : cui præscribitur ordinis ratio ab eo quod ordinatur ab ipso ; qui discit ab homine agendi modum ac finem, adeoque regitur ab ipso ut mensurante actum suum. Quin contra* ανιτιος *homo infinitus et inordinatus foret, quippe disponeret seipsum ad finem priusquam disponatur a Deo.*

ANNOTATIONES.

1. Intentionem "finis hujus," hoc est *Sui ipsius* duriuscule dicitur, nec tamen sano sensu acceptum, pro "perfectionum divinarum manifestatione," admodum aversor ; sed male metuo ne fallaciâ sit insidiarum integumentum.

2. Ut maxime Consilio Dei (ex citatis Scripturæ commatis) sua ab-omni-creato independentia astruatur, non sequitur tamen voluntati Divinæ ad extra, omnimodam independentiam, & finis hujus, hoc est *sui ipsius* absolutam quoad omnium, speciatim, perfectionum suarum, omni tempore, manifestationem, ascribendam esse. Non quod negetur, sed quod ex istis locis sequi non constet. Quid ! quod ex ipsa Dei voluntate absolutâ, & consilio sit, ut finis adeptio non sit absoluta, nisi media includantur ?

3. "Absolutam" esse istam finis hujus intentionem sano sensu admittimus, & libenter ; nec tamen absonum videri debet si voluntas Divina "dependere" interdum dicatur a conditione aliquâ

TRANSLATION.

Isai. xl, 13.) For he cannot be "without cause" who is determined by an extrinsic condition, to whom that which is ordained by himself prescribes the terms of order, who learns from man the mode and end of acting, and who is therefore regulated by him as the rule of his acting. But, on the contrary, were man "without cause," he would be infinite and destitute of order, because he would dispose himself to the end before he was disposed [or appointed] to it by God."

ANNOTATIONS.

1. "The intention of this end," that is, "of himself," is rather a harsh expression ; yet I am not much averse to its being received in a sound sense, for "the manifestation of the Divine Perfections." But I am sadly afraid, that a fallacy lurks under this insidious disguise.

2. In order to establish God's independence of every creature principally from the Divine Counsel, according to the passages of scripture which are quoted,—it does not follow as a consequence, that every kind of independency, and the absolute independency of this end, (that is, of himself,) especially with regard to the manifestation of all his perfections at all times, must be ascribed to the Divine Will *ad extra*, [in its motion upon something beyond itself.] It is not intended by these remarks to deny the assertion, but only to shew, that the proposed inference does not evidently follow from those passages. What is that inference ? It is through God's absolute will and counsel, that the obtaining of the end should not be absolute unless the means be included.

3. We willingly admit that the intention of this end is absolute in a sound sense. Yet it ought not to appear an absurdity, if the Divine Will were sometimes said "to depend on some condition, which God appoints and princi-

(quam ipse [Deus] & statuit, & principaliter efficit) non quidem dependentiâ caus alitatis utpote ανατιος sed dependentiâ quâdam relationis, uti *Patrem à filio dependere, ut sit Pater,* nemo sanus, opinor, negaverit. Nec obstat quod sequitur. Ipse nam Deus determinavit se hoc sic facturum, & homines ad finem (prout novit justitiam, misericordiam & sapientiam suam decere) dispositurum.

THESIS III.

Hinc multo minus ex prævisâ fide; hæc enim medium est ad fruitionem Dei qui finis est: idcirco non antecedit intentionem finis ut conditio.

ANNOTATIONES.

1. Aliud est "Prævisa fides," & "ex eâ": aliud "Præscientia fidei," & "secundum eam." (1 Pet. i, 2.) Fides nam est "actus officii nostri:" Præscientia "actus perfectionis Divinæ." "Ex" causam, "Secundum" ordinem notat. "*Ex præscitâ fide*, tanquam causâ, dependere Dei intentionem finis seu præmii nostri," negamus; "fieri SECUNDUM *præscientiam,*" cum sanctâ scripturâ affirmamus.

2. Finis hic, scilicet ad Deum unio fruitioque, (cum perfectionum divinarum, viz. misericordiæ glorificatricis pariter et gloriosæ, reliquarumque manifestatione plenissimâ conjunctus) in-

TRANSLATION.

pally effects,"—not by *a dependence of causality*, because it is "without cause," but by a certain *dependence of relation*: Thus, I am of opinion, no rational person will deny, that *a Father depends on his Son in order to his being a Father.* Nor does the inference [at the close of the Thesis] injure this position: For God has determined, that he will in this manner perform this act, and that he will dispose men to [the accomplishment of] the same end, according to the knowledge which he possesses respecting what is most suitable to his own Justice, Mercy and Wisdom.

THESIS III.

"Hence, much less is it from *faith foreseen*: for this is a MEANS to the enjoyment of God, who is the END: Therefore the end, as a condition, does not precede the intention."

ANNOTATIONS.

1. "Faith FORESEES" and "*from* faith foreseen," is one thing: "The FOREKNOWLEDGE of faith," and "*according* to that foreknowledge," is another. (1 Peter i, 2.) For FAITH is an act of *our duty*: PRESCIENCE or Foreknowledge is an act of Divine Perfection. "*From* faith foreseen" marks the CAUSE; "*According* to Faith foreseen" marks the ORDER. We deny, that God's intention of the end or of our reward depends UPON *faith foreseen*, as upon the cause; but we affirm, with the sacred scriptures, that it is formed ACCORDING TO *the Divine Prescience or Foreknowledge.*

2. This end, "union with God and the fruition of him) when joined with the fullest manifestation of the Divine Perfections,—that is, of his mercy which glorifies and is at the same time rendered glorious, and of his other

telligitur vel ut finis ex consilio voluntatis nude consideratus, de quo hîc non quæritur; vel quasi judicialiter, et politice, ut præmium et merces ex beneplacito Dei miserentis, mero, libero, absoluto, et independente, omnesque causas secundas antegrediente manans, et certis legibus promissa; at ex Dei veracitate et constantiâ, legum seu conditionum harum observatoribus præstanda. Hoc modo recte, secundum s. scripturam, Voluntatis et Consilii Divini declaratricem, affirmatur, *fidem* etiam in Dei intentione (*præscitam*, nondum præstitam) præmii et mercedis *adeptionem* antecedere.

3. Notandum authorem sibi non satis constare in fine Dei intentionis assignando, quem interdum *scipsum* respicere *intendentem*, interdum *hominem intentum* indicat.

THESIS IV.

Via ad finem istum exhibita homini fuit in statu primævo, quo viribus instruebatur idoneis, quibus Deo, si voluisset, potuit frui. Verum quia finitus, ideo mutabilis, et quia mutabilis, seducente diabolo descivit a statu illo: unde summi boni interrupta est adeptio. Iis tamen quos ad finem istum destinarat, ex misericordia reconciliari voluit Deus; ita tamen ut simul justitia maneret illæsa: quare tum pro offensa satisfacere oportuit prius, quam in conditionem

TRANSLATION.

perfections,—this end, when thus conjoined, is understood, (1.) either as *the End nakedly considered* through the counsel of his will, about which end there is no question in this place; Or, somewhat *in a judicial and political sense*, as a reward and recompence emanating from the mere, free, absolute and independent good-pleasure of a merciful God, which is antecedent to all second causes: This reward is promised by certain laws; but, through the veracity and constancy of God, it will be conferred on those [only] who observe these laws or conditions. In this manner according to the Sacred Scripture, which is the declaration of the Divine Will and Counsel, it is rightly affirmed, that, "even in God's intention, *faith* precedes *the obtaining* of the recompence and reward;" for it is foreseen, though not then performed.

3. It is worthy of remark, that the author is not sufficiently consistent with himself in assigning the end of God's intention; for he sometimes intimates, that the end has respect *to himself* as the person intending, and, at other times, that it has respect *to man* as the object intended.

THESIS IV.

"The way to this end was shewn to man in his primeval condition, by which he was furnished with such suitable strength or power as rendered him capable of enjoying God, if such had been his own choice. But since man was a finite being, he was also mutable; and on account of this mutability, when he was seduced by the devil, he declined from that state: And thus arose an interruption in his obtaining the Chief Good. But it was the will of God to be reconciled through mercy to those whom he had destined to this end; yet in such a manner as not to suffer his justice to sustain any injury. Wherefore it was then necessary to render satisfaction for the offence, before man could be restored to a condition of righteousness. But since this satis-

justitiæ restaurari. Quia vero hoc a nobis, quippe "nullarum virium," (Rom. v, 6,) effici non potuit: aut per alium effici oportuit, aut de reconciliatione nostra actum. Hoc autem quia perficere non debuit alius nisi homo, nec sufficere potuit nisi Deus: hinc Christus Θεανθρωπος *mediator designatus; qui redemptionem a peccatis virtute satisfactionis, et restaurationem virtute justitiæ procurans, reconciliationem impetravit iis quibus voluit Deus.*

ANNOTATIONES.

1. Cavendum est, ne prima Theseos hujus verba temerè deglutiamus. Viam nam ad finem istum, Dei fruitionem (omni modo consideratum, scilicet ut fruitio etiam Christi Mediatoris existentis, et Judicis, Remuneratorisque futuri, ex misericordiâ, justitiâ temperata, includatur) non fuisse, homini in statu primævo exhibitam, nec in isto statu, viribus ad Deo, hoc modo considerato, fruendum hominem instructum fuisse, fidenter asserimus. Quod est Authoris nostri Πρωτον Ψευδος.

2. Ut facile largiar (quod tamen vix quivis capit) "hominem primævum ideo mutabilem quia finitum (quamvis *finitum* et *mutabilem fuisse* procul sit omni dubio) summique boni adeptionem ex istâ suâ voluntariâ defectione, seducente diabolo, interruptam fuisse;" non sic tamen, ut Christus, Mediator Judexque noster, sub istâ Summi Boni consideratione veniat: ne (ut cætera infi-

TRANSLATION.

faction could not be effected by us, because "we were without strength," (Rom. v, 6.) it must either have been effected by another, or there was an end of our reconciliation. But because no one except A MAN ought to effect this, and because none but GOD could be sufficient for this, CHRIST, who was *both God and man*, was appointed Mediator. After this Mediator had procured redemption from sins by virtue of his satisfaction, and restoration by virtue of his righteousness, he obtained reconciliation for those on whom it was the will of God to bestow it."

ANNOTATIONS.

We must beware not to receive the first words of this Thesis with too much rashness. We confidently assert, that "the way to this end was not exhibited to man in his primeval state,"—that is, the way was not shewn to the enjoyment of God, considered in every respect so as to include the enjoyment of Christ who then existed as Mediator, and who was afterwards to be the Judge and the Rewarder, through the Divine Mercy and Justice which were attempered together. We also assert, "in that state man was not furnished with strength or power to enjoy God considered in the manner which we have just described."—This is the first of our author's falsehoods.

2. I am ready to grant, what scarcely any one will comprehend, that "the first man was *therefore* a mutable being *because* a finite one." (though it is placed beyond all doubt, that he was both *finite* and *mutable*,) and that "his obtaining of the Chief Good was interrupted through this his own voluntary defection, and the seduction of the devil." Yet this concession must be made so as not to let Christ our Mediator and Judge come into the consideration of this Chief Good; lest (omitting the mention of other infinite inconveniences,)

nita incommoda taceam) Christus noster in Adamo primævo, integro censitus, in ipso nobiscum laberetur, peccatoque Originali se alligaret, aut a Deo Patre ejusdem reus censeretur, unde satisfactio (quam eum divinæ justitiæ præstitisse, nemo præterquam qui absolutas Dei intentiones esse omnes crediderit, negare, nisi læsis principiis, potest) salusque omnis nostra corruat necessè est.

3. Si per "eos quos ad finem istum destinarat Deus," intelligi vult "absolutâ et precisâ salvandi, seu ad summum finem perducendi, intentione destinatos," non video ut seipsum sibi in eadem oratione reconciliet. Mox nam subjungit, "iis ex misericordia reconciliari voluit Deus," &c. † Sed cave, mi Parkere, ne ejusmodi absoluta ad finem istum destinatio reconciliationi dictæ repugnet, et universam Christi satisfactionis necessitatem, vel etiam utilitatem funditus evertat et aboleat. Quos nam ad finem istum destinarat (intellige *absolute*) Deus, iis certe jampridem erat reconciliatus, absque hoc, ut Christi interventu fieret satisfactio, et inde manans reconciliatio. Non insto ne asperior paulo videar.

Cætera de satisfactione, sana existimo, nisi quod quædam in fine sint obscura, et phrasis ultima "reconciliationem impetravit (Christus) iis, quibus voluit Deus" animadvertenda. Quid

† En Sublapsarium! Vide quæ ad Thes. 10 de "suprapositis fundamentis" notavi.

TRANSLATION.

Christ our Lord, after being reckoned in Adam while he retained his primitive state of innocency, should afterwards fall with us in him, and connect himself with original sin, or should be accounted guilty of it by God the Father. The satisfaction which Christ rendered to Divine Justice, and all our salvation, must in this case be necessarily involved in one common destruction.—That Christ made such satisfaction, it is impossible for any one to deny without a breach of his own principles, except he be a person who believes all God's intentions to be absolute.

3. If by the phrase "those whom he had destined to this end," our author wishes us to understand "those who are destined by an absolute and precise intention, to be saved or to be conducted to this Chief End,"—I do not perceive in what manner he can reconcile himself to himself in the very same sentence. For he immediately subjoins, "It was the will of God to be reconciled through mercy to those," &c.† But, my Parker, stand on your guard, lest such an *absolute destination* should be contradictory to the reconciliation which had been previously mentioned, and should entirely subvert and destroy the universal necessity of Christ's satisfaction, or even its utility. For, undoubtedly God had long before been reconciled to those whom he had absolutely "destined to this end," without any satisfaction being made by the intervention of Christ, or without any of that reconciliation which emanates from it.—But I do not pursue these arguments, lest I should seem to manifest too much severity.

4. I consider the rest of the expressions concerning *the satisfaction of Christ* to be sound, with the exception of some toward the close which are involved in obscurity.—Thus, the last phrase requires some animadversion: It states, that "Christ obtained reconciliation for those on whom it was the

† Behold here a Sub-lapsarian! I refer the reader to my annotations on the tenth Thesis, concerning "the foundations which are placed above."

nam pro quibus voluit Deus ut impetraret? *Pro lapsis et perditis omnibus?* Non opinor dicturum te cum s. scripturis. Pro Reprobis? Nequaquam. Pro Electis ergo? Fieri non posse, aut esse superfluum videri potest, si absolute et præcise ad finem summum a Deo prius destinentur, quam in Christum ponantur credituri, imo quam Christus satisfecisse, aut in satisfactionis pretium destinari dicatur.

THESIS V.

*Hinc quotquot reconciliandi fuerant, propter Christi merita reconciliari oportuit: proinde ut applicetur reconciliatio, merita Christi applicanda prius. Applicandi vero homini cum sint qua intellectu ac voluntate prædito, propterea ut ab ipso (*Scal., *ex.* 307, *sect. xxvii, lin.* 2,*) recipienda, applicanda sunt. Hinc fœdus Dei cum electis emergit, se recipientibus Christum reconciliatum ini. Conditio a parte Dei, reconciliatio est, in qua tamen debitor non nobis est Deus, sed sibi, qui scipsum negare non potest. Ea etiam finis ipse hominis est, non quidem quoad rem alius a fruitione Dei; relatione solum distinctus interruptionis præviæ. Conditio vero a parte nostra est Christi receptio: conditio autem non ut ab homine dispensatore actus hujus, sed ut in homine quid ad reconciliationem prærequisitum.*

TRANSLATION.

will of God to bestow it."—For whom then was it the will of God to obtain this reconciliation?—Was it *for all those who had fallen and destroyed themselves?* I do not think, that you will speak thus, with the holy scriptures.—Was it for the Reprobate? By no means.—Was it then for the Elect? It was impossible for this to be done; or it may seem to be superfluous, if God absolutely and precisely destined the elect to the Chief End before they were considered as afterwards believing in Christ, and even before Christ is said to have rendered satisfaction, or to be destined for the price of satisfaction.

THESIS V.

"Hence, as many as had to be reconciled, must have been reconciled on account of the merits of Christ: Therefore the merits of Christ must be first applied in order to the application of the reconciliation. But since they are to be applied to man in reference to his being endowed with an understanding and will, they must therefore be applied as to be received by him. Scalig. Exer 307. § 27. lin. 2. Hence arises God's covenant with the Elect, who betake themselves to Christ for the purpose of being reconciled. On God's part the condition is, *reconciliation*; yet in it God is not a debtor to us but to himself, since he cannot deny himself: That [reconciliation] also is the end of man, not differing as to substance from the enjoyment of God; it is distinguished from it, solely in relation to the previous interruption.—But on our part the condition is, *the reception of Christ*; yet this is a condition not as if FROM man the dispenser of this act, but as being IN man a certain prerequisite to reconciliation."

ANNOTATIONES.

1. Nota ut hîc sermonem in re prorsus eâdem licenter variet. In Thesi quartâ legimus "Deum reconciliari voluisse quibusdam;" hîc "homines reconciliandi et reconciliari" dicuntur, idque "propter Christi merita." Quid ergo? An Christus non meruit ut Deus hominibus reconciliaretur? Non dixeris, opinor. At tantundem hîc dicitur. Certe Christus *Deo,* non *hominibus* satisfecit. Verissimum quidem est, nos recte dici Deo "esse reconciliandos," ut applicetur reconciliatio merito Christi impetrata: utinam autem apertius et liquidius nos docuisset, quo pacto "merita Christi prius applicanda" fuerint.

2. Ex meritorum Christi, ad hominem, qua intellectu et voluntate præditum, applicatione, fœdus Dei cum Electis emergens, hoc esse dicitur, "*se recipientibus Christum reconciliatum iri,*" quod oracularem ambiguitatem, ex vocum sono, referre videtur. Sed præstat sic intelligere, ac si clare affirmetur, "Deum reconciliatum iri recipientibus Christum:" Quid autem sit hoc, "Christum recipere," utinam explicasset. Sed quid si noluit, ne quid infirmum subter latens exponeretur: aut non potuit, Thesibus, dicam, an *hypothesibus* salvis?

3. Non moror sequentium amphibolias dictionum, nec minus exactas loquendi formas vellico. CONDITIONES audio; placet. At "reconciliationem" ad Deum non esse rem aliam ab "ejus-

TRANSLATION.

ANNOTATIONS.

1. Observe with what licentiousness he varies his expressions, in this place, on a matter that is entirely alike. In the Fourth Thesis, we read, "It was the will of God to be reconciled" to certain individuals: while in this, men are said "to be reconciled," and "the subjects of reconciliation," "on account of the merits of Christ." What is the inference? Has not Christ merited, that God may be reconciled to men? I think, you would not venture to speak thus: Yet in this passage is expressed the same sentiment. Christ has undoubtedly rendered satisfaction to God, and not to men. It is a grand truth, that we are rightly said "to be reconciled to God, in order that the reconciliation obtained by the merits of Christ may be applied." But I wish our author had taught us in a clearer and more luminous manner, by what means "the merits are first to be applied."

2. "From the application of the merits of Christ to man, considered as endowed with an understanding and will, arises God's covenant with the Elect." This is said to be "a betaking themselves to Christ to be reconciled;" which seems, from the sound of the words, to be the rehearsal of an oracular ambiguity. But it is better to understand it as though it was openly affirmed, that "God is ready to be reconciled to those who receive Christ." I wish, however, that he had explained what he means by "receiving Christ." But if he be unwilling to give this explanation, it is lest some concealed weakness should be exposed: Or, perhaps, he was not able to do this with safety to his—"Theses" shall I call them, or "Hypotheses?"

3. I will neither detain myself with the equivocations of the subsequent expressions, nor criticize those forms of speaking which are not the most accurate. I am delighted at hearing the word "conditions." But I confess, I cannot sufficiently comprehend how "*reconciliation to God* is not a different

dem fruitione," sed idem hominis finis, nisi quod "relatione interruptionis prævіæ distinguatur,"—fateor me non satis capere; non quod *minus intelligam*, quam quod *minus sanum esse* judicem. Sed transeat.

4. "Conditionem a parte nostra," scilicet "*Christi receptionem*, ab homine non *propriis naturæ viribus* præstari, sed *a Dei* præsertim *gratia*," damus: modo "hominis esse actum, a nobis, mediante Dei evangelio, per Spiritus Sancti gratiam productum," non negetur.

5. Meminerit lector, "conditionem hanc," ab authore concedi, "esse in homine *quid ad reconciliationem prærequisitum.*

THESIS VI.

Applicatio utriusque conditionis fit primo per deductionem *earum ad actum, ut sint: deinde per* conservationem *in actu, ut porro sint. Deductio autem ad actum est receptioni Christi prius, cum ea tanquam medio prærequisito reconciliatio ineatur. Hæc vero* vocatio *dici solet, quæ motus est a Deo, quo Christi receptionem electis ingenerat.*

ANNOTATIONES.

1. Advertat etiam, quod "ex ea, tanquam medio prærequisito, reconciliatio ineatur," eodem hic fatente. An vero "hæc VOCATIO dici soleat," in sacris literis, ambigo.

TRANSLATION.

matter from *the enjoyment of God*," or how "it is the *same end* of man, differing from it in relation to the previous interruption:" Not so much because I cannot understand some part of his meaning, as because I consider it to be unsound. But, let that pass.

4. We grant, that the condition on our part, ("the reception of Christ,") is not performed by man through the strength of his own nature, but that it is specially performed by the grace of God. Provided that it be not denied to be the act of man, produced by us through the medium of the gospel of God, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

5. The reader must recollect, it is the author's own concession, that "this condition is in man as a certain *pre-requisite to reconciliation.*"

THESIS VI.

"The application of both these conditions is made, *First*, by the deduction of them to action, that they may be; and, *Secondly*, by [their] preservation in action, that they may be [proceed] further. But deduction to action is prior to the reception of Christ, since from it, as from a mean pre-required, reconciliation is commenced. But it is usual to call it VOCATION, that is, a motion from God, by which he produces the reception of Christ in the Elect."

ANNOTATIONS.

1. Observe, that "from this deduction, as from a mean pre-required, reconciliation is commenced," is the author's own confession in this passage. But I have my doubts whether, in the sacred scriptures, "it is usual to call it VOCATION."

2. Reconciliatio hic dicitur *vocatio*, quæ " motus est a Deo, quo Christi receptionem electis ingenerat." Quid audio? " Reconciliatio generat receptionem, quæ receptio est reconciliatione prior, seu quid ei prærequisitum?" Annon hæc sunt valde operosum nihil? Capiat qui potest. Fallor? An hæc sibi contradicunt? Certe Robertus Parkerus pater tuus fuit, non idem tuus filius.

THESIS VII.

Motio hominis est: ideo movens requiritur, et mobile quod movetur, et motus moventis actus, et res motu facta: De quibus ordine.

ANNOTATIONES.

" Motio hominis est," inquis. Cave dixeris. Quid? An hominem affirmas actus hujus dispensatorem, quod modo Thesi Quintâ negasti? Rursus hæreo, nisi " motio" pure pute passive intelligatur. Pergo.

THESIS VIII.

Movens est, qui intendit finem: principium et finis Deus. Movens autem est, ut consilio agens; proinde decreto, quod pariter secundum proportionem decreti circa

TRANSLATION.

2. Reconciliation is here said to be " vocation, that is a motion from God, by which he produces the reception of Christ in the Elect." What do I hear? Does reconciliation produce reception, which reception is prior to reconciliation and is " something that is a pre-requisite to it?" Are not these very operose nullities? Let him comprehend them who is capable. Am I deceived? Is each of these expressions contradictory to the other? Undoubtedly ROBERT PARKER was your father, but your production is not of *the same lineage*.

THESIS VII.

" Moving is the duty of man: A Mover therefore is required, as well as something movable that may be moved, a motion as the act of moving, and a thing produced by motion: Of each of which [we will treat] in its order."

ANNOTATIONS.

" Motion," you say, " is the part of man." Beware of what you assert. What! do you affirm " man to be the dispenser of this act," which, in the Fifth Thesis, you just now denied?—I hesitate again, unless " moving" be understood purely in a passive sense. But I proceed.

THESIS VIII.

" The Mover is he who intends the end, God is both the beginning and the end. But a Mover is one who acts by counsel, and therefore by a decree, which is absolute at the same time according to the proportion of the

finem, absolutum est. Nec enim finis absolute ab ipso intenti, ex fallibili conditione suspendi eventus potest.

ANNOTATIONES.

De "fine," qui *ipse Deus* dicitur et est, litem non moveo. Sed an "eodem modo Deus intendat SE ut *finem suum*, et *hominis finem*, seu *mercedem magnam*, consilio, proinde decreto," merito ambigo. Intendit quippe SE *finem suum*, opinor, naturâ; SE autem *hominis finem*, consilio. Nec satis assequar, nisi statuendum sit "Dei decreta esse ipsum Deum," et "posse SEIPSUM non velle sicut DECRETA potuisse facere non voluisse; et Deum *seipsum*, sicut decreta, secundum voluntatis suæ consilium facere," arbitremur.

Non tamen negaverim *hominis finem* DEUM (si media ad eum assequendum connotet,) a Deo homini absolute intendi. Neque hinc metuendum est, si Dei intentio finis humani sic explicetur, ne ex *fallibili* (Deus nam falli nequit,) conditione (non dico *necessitatâ*) eventus suspendatur, quam conditionem supra, Thesi Quintâ, statuisti esse "Christi receptionem." Hanc nam secundum Evangelii vocem, dicentis *Qui credit salvabitur*, in decreto hoc circa hominem includi affirmo. Adeo ut certo certius et infallibiliter, finis hujusmodi eventus "ex fallibili conditione NON suspendatur."

THESIS IX.

Et sicut in comparatione ad finem, sic qua id quod de-

TRANSLATION.

decree concerning the end. For the event of the end which has been absolutely intended by him, cannot be suspended on a fallible condition."

ANNOTATIONS.

I enter into no controversy respecting the end, which is stated to be God himself, and is so in reality. But I entertain some just doubts, whether in one and the same manner God, by his counsel and therefore by his decree, intends himself *ex his own end*, and *as the end of man*, or [his] "exceeding great reward." Because, I think, he intends himself *as his own end*, by [his] NATURE; but *as the end of man*, by COUNSEL. Nor can I properly comprehend [his assertion], unless it be stated, that *the decrees of God are Himself*, and that it is possible *for him not to will Himself*, as it might be possible *not to will to make decrees*: and unless we suppose that *God makes Himself, as he does his decrees*, "according to the counsel of his own will."

Yet I have not denied, that God absolutely intends himself to man as man's end, if he points out the means to obtain it. Nor is there any cause to fear, when the intention of man's end is thus explained, lest "the event should be suspended on a condition that is fallible," (for God is not fallible,)—I do not say *on one that is necessitated*,—which condition you have stated in the Fifth Thesis to be *the reception of Christ*. For I affirm, that this condition ["the reception of Christ"] is included in this decree concerning man, according to the expression of the Gospel which says, *He that believeth shall be saved*. It is therefore most certain and infallible, that "the end of an event of this description is NOT suspended on a fallible condition.

THESIS IX.

"And as in comparison to the end, so in reference to what is decreed

cernitur est effectus entis primi; a quo sicut omnium entium dependent essentiæ, virtutes, actiones, (Rom. xi, 36,) sic præcipue supernaturalis boni. (Jac. i, 17.) Hinc vocationem independente consilio producens, tum per sapientiam de forma deliberat, tum per voluntatem intendit secundum illam formam ex suppositione potentiæ. Forma illa exemplar est et mensura veritatis in re, ut prout ipsa fuerit, sic rem fore necesse sit dependenter ab ea. Hinc ex conditione in re non vult conversionem Deus, sed secundum deliberationem sapientiæ suæ, voluntas intendit, et potentia exequitur immutabilis. Et quia secundum sapientiam et bonitatem vult et potest, proinde futuram prævidet virtualiter a voluntate pendentem.

ANNOTATIONES.

Sicut decretum circa finem, seu "decretum secundum proportionem decreti circa finem," (stylo et phrasi horridis, hactenus inauditis, et mortalium captum pene superantibus,) statim dixerat, "sic" (quod hoc "sic" sibi vult?) "id quod decernitur" (quid tibi est "id" istud? An neque *motio*, nec *movens*, nec *mobile*, nec *motus*, nec *res motu-facta?* Quanta hîc confusio, quantus tumultus!,) "sic id quod decernitur," inquis, "est effectus Entis Primi; a quo dependere omnium essentias,

TRANSLATION.

being the effect of the First Being, on whom (Rom. xi, 36,) the essences, virtues, and actions of all beings depend, and principally those of supernatural good. (James i, 17.) Hence producing vocation by [his] independent counsel, he deliberates concerning the form by his wisdom, and he intends [purposes] by his will according to that form on the supposition of power: That form is the exemplar and measure of truth in the thing; that as it [the form] was, so the thing itself must of necessity be, dependently on it. Hence from *the condition in the thing* God wills not conversion; but according *to the deliberation of his own wisdom* his will intends, and his immutable power executes [it]: And, because according to his wisdom and goodness he employs his will and his power, therefore he foresees that it [conversion] will afterwards occur, being virtually dependent on [his] will.

ANNOTATIONS.

After having said, that "as the decree concerning the end," or "the decree according to the proportion of the decree concerning the end," he immediately adds, (in a style and phraseology that are most barbarous, that have never before been heard, and that nearly transcend the comprehension of mortals,) "*so* in reference to *that which is decreed* being the effect of the First Being," &c. What meaning has this particle "so?" And what do you do with the phrase, "that which is decreed?" Is it neither something moving, a Mover, something that is movable, motion, nor the thing produced by motion? [See page 182.] What confusion and tumult are here! You state, that "what is decreed is an effect of the First Being;" and I do

virtutes, actiones præcipue boni supernaturalis," nullus dubito. Quid ergo? "Hinc," inquis, "vocationem" (*reconciliationem* supra † dixeras) "independente consilio producens," (*in fieri* intelligis dum producturus est, an *in facto esse* quando produxit? ambigua nam est oratio,) "tum per sapientiam," inquîs, "de forma deliberat, tum per voluntatem intendit secundum illam formam ex suppositione potentiæ." Quid audis, lector? Evangelium an scholam? Apostolos an Sorbonnam? Transeat hoc omne. "Sapientia Divina de reconciliationis formâ deliberat, Voluntas secundum formam illam intendit, Potentia exequitur:" Concedo. Perge.

Forma, inquis, illa exemplar est, et mensura veritatis in re, ut prout ipsa fuerit, sic rem fore necesse sit dependenter ab ea. Audio, sed cave me mox μεταβασει εις αλλο γενος, te fallas et incauto lectori scandalum objicias. Jam metaphysica veritas seu rei, quasi thematis incomplexi auditur, postea (ut mihi etiam liceat griphos loqui) logicam axiomatis affectionem, veritatem thematis complexi, quasi formæ dictæ exemplaris exemplatum, veritas rei, esset veritatis axiomaticæ exemplar, deducere satages. Frustrà. Reconciliatio seu vocatio (quando visum est sic confundere) sit sanè res a forma ista dependens. †

† Thes. vi.

† Hanc rem motufactam, vocationem seu reconciliationem non esse, sed receptionem Christi prærequisitam.—*Thes.* 6.

TRANSLATION.

not doubt, that "on Him depend the essences, virtues, and actions of all beings, and particularly those of supernatural good." What is the inference? "Hence;" you say, "producing vocation by his independent counsel," &c. But, in the Sixth Thesis, you had called this *vocation* "RECONCILIATION." And when you mention the term "producing," do you understand it *as in a course of making*, while he is about to produce it, or *as being actually done*, when he has produced it?—for that phrase is ambiguous. You proceed, "Producing vocation by his independent counsel, he deliberates concerning the form by his wisdom, and he purposes by his will according to that form on the supposition of power." Reader, what expressions are these which you hear? Is it the language of the Gospel or of the Schools, of the Apostles or of the Doctors of the Sorbonne? But suffer all this to pass.—"Divine Wisdom deliberates concerning the form of reconciliation, the Divine Will purposes according to that form, and it is executed by the Divine Power." This I readily grant, proceed therefore.

You say, "That form is the exemplar and measure of truth in the thing; that as it [the form] was, so the thing itself must of necessity be dependently on it." I hear all this; but take care lest you soon "migrate into another region," deceive yourself, and place a stumbling-block in the way of the incautious reader. The metaphysical truth, or the truth of the thing, as of a simple proposition, is already heard: If I also may be permitted to speak in enigmas, you will now endeavour to deduce the logical affection of the axiom, the truth of the complex proposition,—as though "the truth of the thing" (which is a copy from "the form" called "the exemplar or pattern,") were the pattern of the axiomatic truth. But vain will be your attempt. Let *reconciliation* or *vocation* be "the thing dependent on this form," since it is your pleasure thus to confound the two terms. † But no

† Yet this thing produced by motion, is stated, in the Sixth Thesis, to be neither *vocation* nor *reconciliation*, but "the pre-required reception of Christ."

Non quæritur verum de modo et ordine, quem satius est erudite ignorare, quàm in abscondita Dei βαθη te ingerere. *Hinc*, inquis: *Unde*, inquam? "Ex conditione in re non vult conversionem Deus;" (reconciliatio, vocatio, conversio, Christi receptio, idem tibi sunt; verùm quo Doctore præeunte?) *Ex?* Absit. Quid si *secundum?* Non affirmo: *Sine* conditione non vult. Quid si asseram? Certe bonâ tuâ cum veniâ fecero, utpote qui "receptionem Christi esse quid reconciliationi prærequisitum," modo bis διαρρηθην, affirmaveras. Sed de his, post opportuniorem dicendi locum inveniam.

Quomodo igitur vult Deus conversionem? "Secundum deliberationem sapientiæ suæ, voluntas," inquis, "intendit, et potentia exequitur immutabilis." Recte, si dictio "immutabilis" pro *non mutanda postquam eventum sortita est, vel actu superaverit humanam resistentiam*, intelligatur. Quid balbutis? Eloquere: Potentiam intelligis "irresistibilem;" et "hanc Deum exerere," clare fatebor, "in rebus, actibusque ab IPSO SOLO, nullo mediante, productis." Sed an conversio, &c., sint hujusmodi, suo loco.

2. An satis has voces "secundum sapientiam et veritatem *vult* et *potest*" ad exactam dicendi rationem et obrussam exegerit, lector judicet. "Proinde futuram," pergis, "prævidet et virtualiter a voluntate pendentem." *Futuram* scilicet *rem*. Quam? "Conversionem, Christi receptionem, prævidet futuram." Recte,

TRANSLATION.

enquiry is instituted into the mode and order, of which it is much better for you to observe a learned ignorance, than to obtrude yourself into the hidden depths of the Deity. "Hence," you say; and I ask, "Whence?" "Hence from the condition in the thing, God wills not conversion." *Reconciliation, vocation, conversion*, and *the reception of Christ*, are all one and the same thing to you; but what Divine is your precursor in this mode of speaking? Do you say, "FROM the condition?" Let not such an expression escape! What, if you were to say, "ACCORDING to the condition?" I do not affirm: "God wills it not *without a condition*." What if I should make such an assertion! With your good leave, I certainly will do it, because you are the man who has twice affirmed, that "the reception of Christ is *a certain pre-requisite*." (Thesis 5 and 6.) But I shall find a more suitable opportunity to treat on these topics.

In what manner then does God will conversion? You reply, "According to the deliberation of his own wisdom his will intends, and his immutable power executes it." This is correct, if the epithet "immutable" be understood to mean "something that cannot be changed after it has appointed the event, or has actually overcome human resistance." Why do you stammer or hesitate? Speak out plainly: By this expression you understand *irresistible power*. Such a power, I will frankly confess, God exerts in things and actions produced by himself alone, without any means: But we will enquire, in the proper place, whether *conversion, reconciliation*, &c., be actions of this description.

2. The reader must judge, whether this phrase, "According to his wisdom and goodness *he employs his will and his power*," will bear examination by the method and test of exact speaking.—You proceed to say, "Therefore he foresees that it will afterwards occur," and that "it is virtually dependent on the will." What is this which will occur? "Conversion, the reception of Christ:" You state very correctly, "He foresees that it

sed vereor an sensu tuo. "A voluntate pendentem" (Dei, intelligis, opinor,) recte, "præcipue," sed quid sibi vult "virtualiter?" Nugæ!

Hactenus fundamenta operose, in metaphysicæ nescio cujus arenâ, et scholarum quisquiliis jacta, mole quantum vis exigua ruunt sua. Quî possunt ergo quæ superstruuntur omnia non labi, non concidere? Tantum abest ut "his fundamentis positis *error concidat*," nisi qui istis inædificatur.

THESIS X.

Ex supra-positis hisce fundamentis concidit error in gradu triplici.—Primus. *Decretum* VELLEITATIS, *quo determinationem ad conversionis actum, ad quem necessitate hominem non posse creditur*, desiderare *solum fingitur Deus.*—Secundus. *Desideratæ illius determinationis* PRÆVISIO *per* scientiam mediam, *qua dependentis ab homine.*—Tertius. *Ex prævisâ determinatione*, conditionati concursus INTENTIO *concomitanter in effectum.*

Et Primo: *Velleitas illa decretum non est: hoc enim imperantis est ex suppositione potentiæ; illa vero purus voluntatis actus cum potentiæ defectu. Si enim quod possum volo, effectum impero: si quod non possum, desidero; assequi*

TRANSLATION.

will occur;" but, I fear, it is not true in your acceptation. When you say, "It is dependent on the will," I suppose you mean "on the will of God." This is right, if you add the word "principally." But what meaning has the word "*virtually?*" Mere trifling!

The foundations which have hitherto been laid with such great labour in the sand of I-know-not what kind of Metaphysics, and in the rubbish of the Schools, now give way and fall down under their own weight, however light they are or trifling. How is it possible, therefore, for all the superstructure erected on these foundations to avoid falling down together and being completely subverted? So far is *the fall of error* from being a consequence of the laying of these foundations, that *no error* is overthrown *except that which is built upon them.*

THESIS X.

"From these foundations supra-posited [placed above], error falls down together in three degrees. FIRST. *The Decree of Velleity*, by which God is only supposed *to desire* a determination to the act of conversion, to which he is believed not to be able to necessitate man.—SECONDLY. *The foresight* or *prescience* of that desired determination by means of MIDDLE SCIENCE, † with regard to that determination being dependent upon man.—THIRDLY. Through the foreseen determination, *the intention* of a conditional concurrence accompanying the effect.

"And, *First*, That *Velleity* is not *a decree*: For the latter is the part of one who commands, on a supposition of power; but the former [velleity] is a pure act of the will, with a defect of power. For if I will that which I am able [to obtain], I command the effect: But if I will any thing which I am

† App. M.

enim non possum quod volo. Proinde etiam indignum Deo: Nam OMNIPOTENTI *potentiæ defectum adfingit, et assequendi voti incertam spem* FELICISSIMO. *Quid enim felicitas aliud, nisi* boni expetiti certa fruitio? *Quid vero omnipotentia, nisi* potentia omnium in omnibus? *Denique, objecti etiam ratione impossibile. Primam enim potentiam transfert in hominem, qui creatura est et* ψυχικος.

ANNOTATIONES.

"Ex supra-positis," inquis, "hisce fundamentis concidit error in gradu triplici." Quid video—"Fundamenta supra-posita?" Certe humi sternatur ædificium necesse est, mox fundamenta concidunt. Cave ne Jesus Christus inter "supra-posita fundamenta" subvertatur.†

Sed ad rem: Neque nam in vocabulis moramur. "*Ex supra-dictis,*" vis dicere, "*fundamentis error triplex concidit:* De velleitate, prævisione per scientiam mediam, ex prævisa determinatione conditionati concursus intentio concomitanter in effectum." Laconice satis! Sed quid, si nemo mortalium hos errores, aut eorum aliquem erraverit sic enunciatum? Velleitatem agnoscet non-nemo ανθρωποπαθως Deo recte ascribi posse;

† 1 Cor. iii, 11. Vide Annot. ad Thes. 4.

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not able [to gain], I desire it,—for I cannot obtain that which I have willed. Therefore it [Velleity] is unworthy of God; because it betokens a defect in that power which is Omnipotent, and an uncertain hope in One that is MOST HAPPY of obtaining his wishes. For what is FELICITY, except *the assured fruition of the good desired?* And what is OMNIPOTENCE, but *the power of all in all?—Lastly.* It is also impossible with regard to its object. For it [or He] transfers the first [or primary] power to man, who is a creature and sensual."

ANNOTATIONS.

You say, "From these foundations which have been placed above, error falls down in a three fold degree." What is this which I see? "Foundations placed above!" The edifice must undoubtedly dispread the ground, as soon as the foundations fall down together. Beware lest Jesus Christ be subverted among "those foundations which have been placed above." †

But, not to be detained by mere verbiage, we proceed to the matter. Instead of "foundations *placed above*" and "an error *in three degrees*," you wish to say, "From the foundations *above-named*, a *three-fold* error "falls down: (1.) That concerning Velleity; (2.) that concerning foresight, "by means of middle knowledge; and (3.) that concerning the intention, "through the foreseen determination, of a conditional concurrence accom-"panying it into an effect." All this is said Laconically enough. But of what use is it, if no mortal man ever yet fell into such errors, or into any one of them as it is here described! Speaking according to the feelings and affections of men, any one will acknowledge that Velleity may be correctly attributed to God: Yet he who will not attempt to deny, *that God can ne-*

† 1 Cor. iii, 2. See the Annotations to the Fourth Thesis.

qui tamen "eum ad conversionis actum necessitare potuisse" (absque esset decreto suo in contrarium) inficias non iverit; "velle autem Deum, ordine decretorum stante," ægre concesserit. SCIENTIAM MEDIAM ex permultis sacræ scripturæ periodis astruent nonnulli, qui tamen "determinationem" (nota bene) qua ab homine (solo, aut principaliter "dependentem") rotunde negaverint. Denique vix, aut ne vix quenquam reperias, qui errorem tertium, prout hîc expressum, intelligat, nedum teneat. "Conditionatum quendam concursum quidem concomitanter in effectum" recte explicatum, viz. ut "post Dei gratiam pulsantem, prævenientem, operantem cum co-operante," si quis asserat errare eum ostendendum erat, non præstruendum, ex fundamentis (quid dico *labilibus?*) corrutis et collapsis.

Quid si "decretum *velleitas* non sit?" Non est ergo (ut hominum more et ad captum mortalium loquamur) velleitas? Est quidem voluntatis actus, non autem (uti affirmas) "in Deo cum potentiæ defectu." Voluntas Divina a me supponitur potentiam Omnipotentis quandam habere comitem, et executricem quoties et quatenus voluntati ejusdem libet eam ex consilio suo exercere. Non autem semper *per potentiam* OMNIPOTENTIÆ ubique voluntatem suam exequitur Deus: Præsertim ubi decretum est (ut formulis tuis utar) "imperantis" (scilicet obedientiam) aut "prærequisitum quid" (agnosce phrases tuas!) homini, sub præmii et pœnæ spe metuque. Pergis. "Si enim," inquis, "quod possum volo, effectum impero: Si quod non pos-

TRANSLATION.

cessitate to the act of conversion, (unless it be contrary to his own decree,) will scarcely be induced to grant, that God can will [such necessity] as long as the order of his decrees remains unchanged. Some persons will establish *middle knowledge* from many passages of scripture, who will yet roundly deny *the determination* with respect to its being "solely or principally dependent on man." Indeed, you can scarcely find any one who will be able to understand the third error as it is here expressed; much less can you discover a solitary individual who holds such an error. If any one asserts, that "*a certain conditional concurrence, which is accompanied into an effect*, is rightly explained when it is stated to operate, after the propelling and preventing grace of God, with him who is a co-worker,"—it must be shewn, that such a person is in an error, before any further erections be placed on foundations—shall I call them "liable to give way," or "already fallen down and collapsed together?"

If "*Velleity* be not *a decree*," what is the consequence? That we may speak after the manner of men and in accommodation to the capacities of mortals, is it therefore any less *Velleity?* It is truly "an act of the will;" but it is not, as you assert, "an act of the will in God *with a defect of power*." The Divine Will is supposed by me to have a certain power of an Omnipotent Being accompanying it, and executing [or acting] as often and as far as it pleases this Divine Will to exercise it [the power] according to its own counsel. But God does not always and in every place execute his will by *a power of Omnipotence*; especially in those instances in which, to employ your own expressions, "the decree is of one who commands" obedience, or as "some pre-requisite to man," (you will recollect your own phraseology,) under a hope of reward and a fear of punishment.—You then proceed:—"For if I will that which I am able [to obtain], I command the effect: But if I will any thing which I am not able [to gain], I desire it;

sum, desidero; assequi enim non possum quod volo." Quid *mihi* et *tibi*, bone vir, quid velis aut possis? De Deo loquimur, qui quod vult facit, et quod velle potest, facere vel effectum dare potest. Quod vult facit, quatenus et quousque facere vult. Quid autem si non semper velit, quousque tu eum velle facere opinaris? Noli Deum αυτεξσιον et Omnipotentem tuo modulo metiri. Et tu tamen, nunquamne experiris voluntatem tuam potentiæ tuæ non imperare ut ad extremum virium ubique et semper agat?

Si a te causâ solitariâ res in arbitrio tuo penitus sita agenda fuerit, effectum dabis: Secus opinor, eveniet, si cum causis sociis, aut instrumentalibus (quæ ab officio cessare, vel te destituere possint, præsertim si hoc ex tuo ipsius instituto sit ut possint) imperatum sit perducendum in actum. Sed quid tibi vult "effectum impero?" Ambigua locutio, et Anglicismum sapiens, si etiam intelligatur ut significet (uti hic videtur) "finem seu effectum intentum assequor." Præterea, "si volo," inquis, "quod non possum, desidero:" Rursus ambigua dictio. "Desidero," si *careo* significet, recte: si *cupio*, male: Quippe doles, desperas, irasceris; sic homines solent, quando quod non possunt volunt. At "indignum est Deo," et "proinde:" Quare *proinde?* An quia, quod tu vis et non potes, "desideras?" At Deus quodcunque vult, quatenus vult, potest, et facit. At "indig-

TRANSLATION.

for I cannot obtain that which I have willed." Good man! what have you and I to do with what *you* will to be done or what *you* are capable of doing? We are speaking about God, who does whatever he wills; and who is able to do, and to give effect to, whatever he is capable of willing. He does whatever he wills, so far and so long as it is his pleasure to do it. What harm is there, if he does not always will to act so far or so long, as *you* think it is his pleasure to do? Allow not yourself to measure God, the Independent and Omnipotent Being, by your own small and slender proportions.—And yet, on reflection, do you never experience, that your own will does not command your power to act in every case and on all occasions according to the extreme stretch of its capabilities?

If a thing, placed entirely in your own will and power, is to be performed by yourself as a solitary cause, *you will produce the effect:* But *this will not be the case*, I think, if it be commanded to be brought into performance by associated or instrumental causes, that can cease from fulfilling their duty or can abandon you,—especially if *their being capable of cessation or abandonment* be in accordance with your design. But what do you intend by the words, "I command the effect?" It is an ambiguous expression that savours of an Anglicism,—even if it be understood to signify, what it seems to do in this place, "I obtain the end or effect intended."—You next say: "If I will that which I am not able [to gain], I desire it." This is another ambiguous expression. If *desidero* signify "to want" or "to be without any thing," your phrase is correct. But if it be intended to convey the meaning of "I long for it," or "I covet it," the phrase is improper; because, in such circumstances, you indulge in grief, despair, and anger, as men usually do when they will what they are not able [to obtain].—You then say: "It is therefore unworthy of God." But why is this word "therefore" used? Is it because *you* desire that which you will, and which you are not able [to obtain]? But God is able to do and actually performs whatever he wills, and as far as he wills. But, I ask, "Why is it unworthy of

num est Deo:" Quare?, inquam. "Quia Omnipotenti potentiæ," inquis, "defectum adfingit." Minime, inquam, nec OMNIPOTENTIS *potentiæ* cujuscunque modi, nedum omnipotenti potentiæ cui resisti nequit. Si quem defectum adfingeret, hic esset *voluntati* adfingendus *non imperanti*, minime autem *potentiæ*, voluntatis (ut ita dicam) imperata *semper facienti*, sed secundum voluntatis intentionem et imperium, et eorundem mensuram. At "adfingit etiam," inquis, "assequendi voti incertam spem FÆLICISSIMO." Noli timere, bone vir, salva res est. Falli aut incertus esse nequit Deus: Hoc certo certiùs scio, etiamsi nec tu, qui metaphysicâ totâ imbutus es, modum explicare potis fueris. "Nescire velle quæ Magister Optimus docere non vult, erudita est inscitia." Quod de *Fœlicitate* et *Omnipotentia* philosopharis, prætereo, ne actum agam.

"Denique," inquis, "objecti ratione est impossibile." Quid est hoc *impossibile?* Quid *objecti ratione?* Scilicet, opinor, vis, "*velleitatem* (more humano loquor) *quandam esse in Deo*, impossibile esse." Quare?, inquam. "Primam," inquis, "potentiam transfert in hominem, qui creatura est et ψυχικος." Quis "transfert primam," &c.? Deus? Quid *primam &c. transfert?* Hic de velleitate error, opinor. Minime autem inquam ego: sed "HOMINEM," non negabit, "quoad sensum gratiæ pulsantis et prævenientis esse omnino PASSIVUM, quamvis in *consensu*" (dicam et *assensu* interdum?) "esse plerumque, a gratia actum,

TRANSLATION.

God?" You reply, "Because it imputes a defect to that Power which is Omnipotent." It ascribes no such deficiency to any species of Omnipotent Power, much less to an Omnipotent Power that cannot be resisted. If it betokened any defect at all, that defect would be imputable to *a Will which did not issue its commands;* and on no account to *a Power which always performs* (if I may so term it,) *the commands promulgated by the will*, but which executes them according to the intention and mandate of the will, and according to the measure of the commands themselves.—You also declare, that "it attributes, to ONE who is MOST HAPPY, an uncertain hope of obtaining his wishes." Good man! never fear; that matter is in perfect safety: For God can neither be deceived nor be uncertain. Of this truth I am persuaded with the assurance of complete certainty,—although you, who are entirely imbued with Metaphysical lore, may not be capable of explaining the manner. "An unwillingness to become acquainted with those matters which the Best Master is unwilling to teach, is [a good trait in] learned and skilful ignorance." That I may not appear to discuss those points upon which I have already treated, I pass by all that you are pleased to philosophize about Felicity and Omnipotence.

You tell us, "*Lastly*, It is impossible with respect to its object." What is intended by "impossible," and what by "relation to its object?" I think you wish to state, that "it is impossible for such a thing as *Velleity* to be in God,"—speaking after the manner of men. Again I put the question, "Why?" You reply, "For it [or He] transfers the first [or primary] power to man, who is a creature and sensual." Is it God that is the transferrer? And what is this *primary power* which he transfers? I think this must be erroneous—to talk of *primary power* when treating about *Velleity*. But I say, this transferring to man is not true, and he will not deny, that man is altogether *passive* with regard to his sense or perception of propelling and preventing grace; although, when acted upon by

ACTIVUM." Sed *primam potentiam* omnes, certe Christiani, in Deum transferunt, eique acceptam ferunt. Facessant, qui aliter sentiunt.

THESIS XI.

2. *Proinde nec observatur determinatio illa* SCIENTIÆ MEDIÆ. *Hinc enim idea rei prius in creatura esset, quam in Deo: cognitionis etiam Divinæ principium a re finitâ procederet: ipsumque adeo Summum Bonum, Omnipotens, Infinitum, Purus Actus, dependenter a voluntatis creatæ consilio et providentia moveret. Quinetiam impossibile idem: Quippe scibile est ante scientiam, sicut* το ον *ante* το περι. *Præest autem, dum præcedit ipsius* ειναι, ωσια, υπαρξις. *At nihil est nec existit, quod a Dei voluntate non est nec existit. Si præscit igitur priusquam velit, præscit nihil. At si aliquid esset in homine, quod sine præcunte voluntate præsciret, quale est in fieri, præsciretur a causa dependens. Causa vero si non prædeterminetur a Deo, mere contingens est. Hinc incerta vicissim esset Divina cognitio. Quare præscientia non esset, quæ effecti est non contingentis sed necessarii judicium.*

TRANSLATION.

grace, he is generally *active* in giving his *consent*—shall I also call it his *assent* sometimes? But all true Christians transfer *the primary power* to God, and declare that it is received by him. Let those persons be dismissed who entertain different sentiments.

THESIS XI.

"*Secondly.* That determination therefore of MIDDLE KNOWLEDGE is not observed. For, from hence the idea of a thing would be in the creature before it was in God; the commencement of the Divine Knowledge would also proceed from a thing that is finite; and thus the Chief Good itself, which is an Omnipotent, Infinite, and Pure Act, would move in dependence upon the counsel and foresight of a created will. Besides, it is impossible; because *that which is capable of being known* must be in existence before *the knowledge of it*,—as *entity* itself must have precedence of *its circumstances*. But its being, essence, or existence, while it has the precedence, enjoys also the pre-eminence. But nothing is or exists, which has not its being or existence from the will of God. If therefore he foreknows before he wills, he foreknows nothing. But if there was any thing in man, which he [God] could foreknow without the aid of his will preceding, (such as any thing that is in a course of being made,) it would be foreknown as *dependent on a cause*. But if the cause be not predetermined by God, it is merely contingent: Hence, of course, the Divine Knowledge would be uncertain. Wherefore, it would not be foreknowledge, which is *the judgment of an effect is* NOT CONTINGENT *but* NECESSARY."

ANNOTATIONES.

Quamvis mihi nulla necessitas incumbat SCIENTIAM MEDIAM astruendi, quædam tamen non obscura hujusmodi scientiæ rerum, ex suppositione circumstantiæ hujus aut illius eventurarum vel secus, vestigia in sacris literis apparent. Ut exemplar mittam de Davide in Keilah notissimum, (Sam. xxiii, 12,) de Chorazin etiam et Bethsaida; (Matt. xi, 21; Luke x, 13;) consule, inter alia ejusdem numeri, dicta Salvatoris nostri ad sacerdotes et scribas sciscitantes, *Num tu es ille Christus? Dic nobis:* dicentis, "Si vobis dixero, nequaquam credetis." Et versu sequente, "Quod si etiam interrogavero, nequaquam respondebitis mihi, neque absolvetis." (Luke xxii, 67, 68.) En tibi tres eventus non eventuros ex suppositione etiam ipsius Christi Domini nostri! Cætera mitto. Frustra ergo a te quæritur, vel potius supponitur, quid prius sit aut posterius; frustra etiam, (quod non capis) "impossibile" affirmas. Nec rationes a te productæ aliud quid probant, quam quod plurimis sacræ scripturæ affirmationibus sole clarioribus oculos obnubis, ut refrageris. Nec minus ideo *præscientia Dei,* eaque *certa* de effectis naturâ

TRANSLATION.

ANNOTATIONS.

Although no necessity is imposed upon me of establishing *Middle Knowledge*, yet in the sacred scriptures certain not obscure vestiges are apparent of this kind of Knowledge,—of things that will happen thus or otherwise, on the supposition of the occurrence of this or that circumstance. Omitting the the well-known example of David in Keilah, (1 Sam. xxiii, 12,) † and of Chorazin and Bethsaida, (Matt. xi, 21; Luke x, 13,) consult, among other sayings of the same description, the answer of our Saviour to the Chief Priests and Scribes who had asked, "Art thou the Christ? Tell us." And he said unto them, "If I tell you, ye will not believe." In the subsequent verse he adds, "If I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go." (Luke xxii, 67, 68.) You have here three events specified, which yet will not occur even on the supposition of Christ our Lord himself. The rest of your remarks I pass by. In vain therefore is the question, or rather the supposition, which you raise about what is *prior* or what is *posterior;* and useless is your affirmation respecting "the impossibility [of middle knowledge]", which you do not comprehend. Neither do the reasons produced by you tend to prove any thing more than this,—that you shut your eyes against several of the affirmations in the Holy Scriptures, which are clearer than the sun, for the purpose of contradicting them. The foreknowledge of God would be no less CERTAIN respecting effects which are in their own nature *contingent*, although it may appear *uncertain* to you who measure

† This case is very remarkable: David had ordered Abiathar the priest to bring the ephod, and enquired of the Lord, "Will the men of Keilah deliver me up into the hands of Saul? Will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard? O Lord God of Israel, I beseech thee, tell thy servant." And the Lord said, "He will come down."—Then said David, "Will the men of Keilah deliver me and my men into the hand of Saul?" And the Lord said, "They will deliver thee up."—Then David and his men, which were about six hundred, arose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go. And it was told Saul, that David was escaped from Keilah; and he forbore to go forth.

Respecting Chorazin and Bethsaida, it is said: If the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and shes—EDITOR.

suâ *contingentibus* esset, quamvis tibi SCIENTIAM DIVINAM ex tua finita et fallaci omnium mortalium metienti ita videatur. Quid nos scire ex suppositione possimus, vix ipsi cognoscimus: quid autem scire possit Deus, vix, ac ne vix; nisi quod OMNISCIUM EUM ESSE, infallibiliter scire possumus, ac debemus.

THESIS XII.

Denique. *Corruit simul ex conditione prævisa* concursus intentio, *quippe quæ tum independenti naturæ Dei repugnat, tum vocationis decretum non est, ut postea declarabimus.*

ANNOTATIONES.

Quia te postea declaraturum, ais, paucula ista, quæ de errore tertio dicenda habuisti, hîc istorum examine supersedebimus, te illic præstolaturi.

At at talia cogitanti mihi jam subolet, dum sequentia perfunctorie lustro, quamobrem "hæ Theses totæ, scilicet *gemmeæ*, et hoc solo nomine redarguendæ," (si præfatori credimus,) *Latine* etiamnum prostent, necdum *vernaculum* calleant: Nemo, opinor, apte et ad mortalium captum, *Anglico* redderet, aut redditas intelligeret. Lectorem haud facile invenissent, quæ jam a nonnemine, nescio quo, eruditionis laudem captante, immane quantum!, allaudantur. Quid ais, Clarissime Præfator, "Istæne

TRANSLATION.

the DIVINE KNOWLEDGE by your own, which is finite,—or by that of mortals, which is fallacious. We ourselves scarcely understand what it is possible for US *to know on supposition*. But to measure the extent of the possibility of GOD'S *knowledge*, is beyond our power: The only thing concerning it which we may and ought infallibly to know, is, that HE IS OMNISCIENT!

THESIS XII.

"*Lastly. The intention* of a concurrence from a foreseen condition is at the same time destroyed, both because it is repugnant to the independent nature of God, and because it is not the decree of vocation, as we shall hereafter declare."

ANNOTATIONS.

Because you say, that "you will hereafter declare the few things which you had to say about *this third error*," we will now cease from our examination of them, being willing to wait till you have them ready.

But while I slightly cast my eyes over those which follow, and was reflecting upon such topics, I began to suspect the reason why these Theses are still sold in Latin, and why they have not yet been published in our native language; although, if we may credit the editor, "the only fault with which they can be charged, is, that *they are entirely studded with gems!*" The reason of their yet remaining untranslated, is this,—no man could, in my opinion, render them into English so as to be grasped by the comprehension of mortals, or could himself understand them when translated. A single reader would with difficulty be found engaged in the perusal of a production, that has been thus immoderately extolled by some one whom nobody knows, and who plumes himself greatly on the praise to which he considers himself entitled for the extent of his erudition. What, most famous Prefacer, do you say, "These Theses have been frequently pub-

eædem Theses cum Amesianis tractatulis, idque sæpius compingebantur?" Quam nollem credere virum istum tam gravem, tot, tantaque, tamdiu (a patriâ *exulem* an *profugum*) perpessum, ob solam sacrarum literarum (uti præ se tulit) confessionem et defensionem, has metaphysicas, aërias, a Sancti Spiritus stylo penitus abhorrentes, Theses cum suis ipsius operibus quicquam commercii habere permissurum. Verum sic usu venit, ut hujusmodi scripta se in celebris alicujus Doctoris clientelam recipiant, cujus ut splendore cohonestentur, est votorum summa.

Me quod attinet, potui hoc tribonium non sic perdere; nec libet cum juvenilibus his an anilibus larvis luctari, non tam quod difficiles esse nugas duxerim, quam quod inutiles et viris gravibus indignas. Prætereo, quod supervacaneum prorsus fuerit in superstructis "gemmis" diutius immorari, quarum "fundamenta *supra-posita*" corruisse jam vidimus. Hoc interim sancte spondeo, me totum in veritatis fideique obedientiam (Deo bene juvante) libentissime transiturum; eumque me esse profiteor, qui, ex his Thesibus aut alicunde, *veritatem secundum pietatem* docenti, cumprimis herbam porrigam.

Restat, ut apud Deum Optimum Maximum supplicibus votis contendam, ut ne porro gliscat inter Christiani nominis professores, de vocabulorum minutiis, qualis hodieque regnat con-

TRANSLATION.

lished, and bound up with other tracts by AMES of the same kind?" How unwilling am I to believe, that a man of so much gravity [as Ames], who, either as an exile or a runagate from his native country, has long endured such a number and such a weight of troubles, solely (as he pretends) on account of his confession and defence of the sacred writings,—how can I believe, that such a man would allow these metaphysical and light Theses, which are utterly abhorrent to the style of the Holy Spirit, to have any connection with his productions! But this is now a common practice,—to place writings of this description under the patronage of some celebrated Doctor; and when his name reflects splendour upon them, [the writers have attained] to the summit of their wishes.

With reference to myself, it was in my own power not to have lost these three hours [in composing annotations]: For there is no pleasure in contending with these phantoms†—shall I call them the productions of *a boy* or of *an old woman?* I find such an occupation unpleasant, not because I consider trifles to possess any difficulty, but because they are useless and unworthy of serious men's attention. I pass them by, because it would be quite superfluous to remain any longer engaged in [contemplating] "the gems" which are built up, when we have already seen "the foundations *supra-posited*" (Thess. x,) fallen down [and blended in one common ruin]. In the mean time, I enter into this sacred engagement, that I will most cheerfully, by God's gracious assistance, devote myself entirely to the obedience of the truth and faith; and I profess myself to be among the foremost of those who yield the pre-eminence to the man that teaches us, out of these Theses or from any other source, '*the truth which is according to godliness.*'

It now remains for me humbly and earnestly to beseech Almighty God, that the contests which in our days prevail concerning minute expressions, may spread no further among professors of the name of Christ. Keep

† App. N.

tentio. Tacete, O Parkere, Twissi, cæterique Metaphysico-verbipotentes Logodædali, ut audiantur JESUS NOSTER in æternum benedictus, et a SANCTO SPIRITU acti Prophetæ, Evangelistæ, et Apostoli. ILLE EX ÆTERNI PATRIS sinu ab intima inibi secretorum intuitione prodiit. Hi ab Eo, quicquid apud Patrem viderat et audiverat didicerunt; cumque ecclesiâ, qua sermone qua scripto, communicarunt, "integrum Dei de nobis consilium secundum beneplacitum;" (Act. xx, 27; Eph. i, 9;) omne voluntatis suæ circa salutem humanam mysterium, etiam "secundum propositum." Hoc de uno S. Paulo, qui utrobique ad Ephesios verba facit, in sacris literis affirmatur. Quid attinet reliquos Spiritus Sancti amanuenses commemorare?

Denique rationum momento artificialium, et testimonia humana, si hîc adsint, non rèspuo; si absint, non desidero. Decidi autem quæ de hominum salute et interitu lites incidunt, ex Sanctis præsertim Literis, nominatim Evangelio, et posse et debere, hoc est quod contendo. Vale, mi Parkere, et vivere malimus quam disputare; aut saltem sacris scripturis magis quam futilibus cerebri nostri argutiis rixisque mulieribus, amice colloquamur.

Raptim.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

TRANSLATION.

silence, Parker, Twisse, and the rest of the tribe of potent metaphysical verbalists and expert fabricators of verbal phraseology! Let our JESUS be heard, who is blessed for evermore; and let the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles be heard, who were actuated and influenced by the Holy Spirit. Christ proceeded from the bosom of the Eternal Father, from the intimate inspection, in that [favoured] place, of his secrets. His Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles learnt from him whatever He had seen and heard while with the Father; and have, both by their discourses and writings, communicated to the church '*the whole counsel of God*' concerning us '*according to his good pleasure;*' (Acts xx, 27; Ephes. i, 9;) '*all the mystery of his will*' respecting human salvation, even '*according to his own purpose.*' This is affirmed in the sacred writings concerning St. Paul alone, who, in both the passages which we have quoted, addresses himself to the Ephesians. To what purpose is it to recount the rest of the Holy Spirit's amanuenses?

LASTLY. If the powerful motives of *artificial reasons*, and if *human testimonies*, be here presented, I do not refuse them; if they are absent, I do not desire them. But for this one thing I contend,—that these controversies, which arise about the salvation of men and their destruction, both *may* and *ought* to be decided by the sacred writings, and particularly by the Gospels.

Farewell, my Parker, and let it be our choice to live [well], rather than dispute: Or at least let us hold friendly colloquies together out of the Holy Scriptures, rather than indulge in foolish and subtle devices or in feminine squabbles.

Written in much haste.

TO GOD ALONE BE ALL THE GLORY!

END OF BISHOP WOMACK'S ANNOTATIONS.

APPENDIX.

A.—Page 166.

The history of these Theses is very curious. To understand it aright, the reader must previously be introduced to the hero, John Makowski, [or Maccovius,] of dubious celebrity.

Maccovius was born in 1588, at Lobzenick in Poland. His studies were neglected in early life; but after he had seriously applied himself to them, he soon repaired that defect, by intense assiduity and the natural acuteness of his genius. He made himself acquainted with the Latin language, and passed through a course of Philosophy, at Dantzic. Under the instructions of the famous Keckerman, his progress in academic lore was considerable: Among his fellow students, he became particularly distinguished for his skill in the management of extemporaneous arguments, or regular scholastic disputations. On his return from Dantzic to his father's house, he was appointed tutor to some young gentlemen, of the name of Sieninski. With them he travelled into several parts of Europe; and, at every opportunity, cultivated his talent for popular argumentation. At Prague, he attacked the Jesuits in a public disputation. At Lublin, he frequently entered the lists against the Socinians. While he was pursuing his studies at Heidelberg, he went to Spire to dispute with the Jesuits, instead of Bartholomew Coppenius, to whom they had transmitted a scholastic challenge, but who could not obtain leave from the Elector Palatine to make his appearance on that occasion. Beside the Universities of Prague and Heidelberg, he visited those of Marpurg, Leipsic, Wirtemburgh, and Jena. At length he arrived at Franeker in Friezland, and, upon the 8th of March, 1614, he had the degree of *Doctor of Divinity* conferred upon him. His *peculiar talents* were highly appreciated in that University; which was then famous, if not *infamous*, throughout Europe, for the wrangling disposition, the dictatorial conduct, and the doctrinal vagaries of its Professors. To such men the endowments of Makowski's mind, and the volubility of his tongue, were at first considered great acquisitions. The Curators of the University therefore resolved to retain him in their service; and accord-

ingly presented him with the honourable appointment of *Professor Extraordinary of Divinity*, on the 1st of April, 1615. In the following year he was constituted *Professor in Ordinary;* and fulfilled the duties of that office nearly thirty years—till his death in June 1644. A Funeral Oration was pronounced on him by his colleague Cocceius; who relates it, as a trait of goodness in Maccovius, that he was not one of those dogs which are afraid of barking during the troubles of the Church, but that he fought valiantly for the true faith. He adds, "As this kind of warfare, on account of human infirmity, usually produces suspicions, enmities, and discords, it is not wonderful if *this weakness of the flesh* caused much trouble to Maccovius. It is peculiar to people of warm dispositions, that, while engaged in defence of the good cause, they seem occasionally to throw themselves into transports of passion. It fares with them as with good dogs, that, while guarding their master's house, bark at all strangers, not excepting the best friends of the family. The defenders of the truth are commanded by the prophet Isaiah (lvi, 10,) to bark well; but while, in this manner, they attack the enemy, and have all their thoughts engrossed with fighting, they are frequently too unguarded in their sallies, and sometimes vent their spleen and animosity on the innocent."—Nicholas Arnold, a Polish Divine, who was naturalized in Friezland, and who afterwards succeeded Cocceius in the Professor's Chair at Franeker, published several of his countryman's productions. Among the rest of his curious compilations, is a work entitled, "Πρωτον Ψευδος, *sive ostensionem Primi Falsi Arminianorum.*" It is in allusion to this title, that Bishop Womack says, in his Annotations on the *Fourth Thesis*, (page 177,) "This is the First of our author's Falsehoods."—Indeed, Maccovius himself published very few works, most probably for a very good and sufficient reason—*because he was conscious of being a grand plagiarist.* Saldenus, who was one of his real admirers, gives the following relation concerning him: 'Among our Di-'vines, that (otherwise) most acute man, John Maccovius, 'cannot be entirely acquitted of this charge. For if you have 'no objections to examine his Exercitations, which he 'opposed some years ago to the hypotheses of the Remonstrants, 'your own eyes will teach you, that a very large portion of 'them are compiled from the famous Peter du Moulin's *Anato-'my of Arminianism*,—not only with respect to the matter, but 'likewise with respect to the very words in which they are 'composed, and which have been translated for this purpose 'out of Dutch into Latin. I have often wondered at this 'practice in a Divine who in another respect was entitled to 'the greatest honour and celebrity for his extemporaneous 'acumen.' (*De Libris*, p. 156.)—Saldenus has, in this last sentence, given a reason why he should not have evinced the least

wonder at Makowski's plagiarism: This Professor's excellence lay almost exclusively in his ready enunciation, and in the ability with which *vivâ voce* he could form a syllogism or enforce an argument. How dextrous soever he might shew himself to be in *the Schools*, his productions, when perused in *the closet*, do not display any of the grand characteristics of an original genius or of an accurate and deep reasoner.

The popularity which he gained at Franeker by his ready wit, and by the violent epithets which he bestowed on all adversaries, especially on the Arminians, gave vast umbrage to that morose and bitter old Calvinist, his superficial colleague SIBRANDUS LUBBERTUS. Makowski had been made Professor of Divinity only four years prior to the meeting of the Synod of Dort; and as the Predestinarian Controversy was about that period conducted on both sides with much spirit and ability, some of the Calvinistic Professors, who had been accustomed to utter the wildest and most desecrating opinions that ever escaped from human lips, were compelled to observe greater reserve and caution, lest their adversaries should expose the irreverence or blasphemy of all such expressions. But Maccovius, who appears to have possessed none of the subtilty of Lubbertus, continued to speak and to act in the same fearless and unguarded manner as he had always done; and the Arminians, as might have been expected, quoted several of his expressions in proof of the demoralizing tendency of Calvin's doctrines.

This served as an opportunity to Sibrandus, for venting his private spleen against his colleague, while he discharged a public duty. The whole Calvinistic brotherhood throughout France, Germany, and the Low Countries, had received warning letters to be guarded in the delivery of their opinions; and, as Maccovius had disregarded this caution, the Presbyterian Class of Franeker prepared a charge against him before the States of Friezland, who, apparently desirous to preserve *the purity of the Calvinistic Doctrine* in their University, finally empowered the Lay Commissioners at the Synod of Dort to bring the case of the accused Professor, for adjudication, before that reverend tribunal. No doubt was entertained by the best-informed members of the Synod of Dort, that Sibrandus was the real mover in this action against his colleague; but when he was charged with it, and publicly invited to come forward as the chief accuser, with consummate art he refused to undertake that odious service, and declared that he had acted *ministerially* and not *personally*, when, as President of the Class of Franeker, he had heard the charge against Maccovius, and, in accordance with the votes of the Class, had as their accredited organ pronounced the judgment which they decreed: That is, he wished to make it apparent, that he had been *an impartial chairman*.

The whole of the proceedings against Maccovius, as related by that eminent Scotch Calvinist Walter Balcanqual, are given in the Notes to the *Works of* ARMINIUS. (Vol. I, p. 506, &c.) Among other matters, he states, that "a letter was read in the Synod, from the Professors of Divinity at Heidelberg, to the States of Friezland, in which that learned and reverend body exhorted their Lordships 'not to suffer such *frivolous*, '*metaphysical*, *obscure*, and *false* propositions to be disputed in 'their colleges, as had lately been done in the University of 'Franeker, under the direction of Maccovius, in the Theses on '*the Traduction (*or *drawing) of man, as a sinner, to Life.*'" These were the very Theses which, in the preceding pages, are the object of Bishop Womack's animadversions: And the character which the Heidelberg Divines here attribute to them, will not be found to be inappropriate or overcharged. The same day, the different members of the Synod gave their votes concerning the mode of proceeding to be adopted in the case of Maccovius. Balcanqual says: "When Sibrandus had to deliver his opinion, he inveighed with great immodesty against Festus, upbraiding him with the height of his ingratitude to him. He also recited a new catalogue of the opinions of Maccovius, which were of the same class with the former. Festus, having obtained the President's permission to speak, answered Sibrandus in a modest manner, and stated, that those Theses had not been composed by Maccovius, but by *a certain very learned young man* of the name of PARKER, who was removed far above the slightest suspicion of heterodoxy. He also said, though Sibrandus might now refuse to sustain the part of a public accuser, yet he had received information, from some persons in every respect entitled to credit, that Sibrandus had pillaged, from those Theses and from some other of his lectures, all the errors which had been objected against Maccovius.—When Sibrandus heard all this, he was agitated with a most violent passion, and *twice invoked* [*Deum vindicem,*] *the vengeance of God upon his soul, if there was any truth in those statements!* So that the President was compelled frequently to remind him of the sacred modesty and reverence which were due to the Synod."—In Bernard, Birch, and Lockman's edition of Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, the last clause is thus translated: "This put Sibrandus all into a fume, and *he swore once and again*, that it was not true." Now, though the Latin expressions admit of being thus construed, yet it can scarcely be imagined, that a grave Professor of Divinity, and one of the greatest sticklers for Calvinism, would utter profane oaths and disgrace himself before the whole brotherhood. I am aware, that Balcanqual has represented him as a most passionate man; and, after describing one of "his fits of madness," he adds, "I blame him and Gomarus no more for these ecstasies, than I do

a stone for going downward, since *it is both their* NATURAL CONSTITUTION." This excuse, though very charitable, is rather too extensive, and might be quoted in palliation of the most gross offences and criminal conduct. How passionate soever men may naturally be, if the grace of God be suffered to exert its proper transforming influence upon them, it will

> Lay the rough paths of peevish nature even,
> And open in their hearts a little heaven.

Balcanqual proceeds: "On the 27th of April, progress was made in requiring the votes and opinions of the members on the cause of Maccovius. Many persons wondered how he could possibly be accused of heresy on account of those Theses; especially since one of the members for South Holland declared, that *they had formerly been seen by Mr. Ames, and had obtained his approbation: and that he was, even now, prepared to defend them.*" Because such a sound Calvinist as Mr. Ames could swallow and digest the blasphemies of Maccovius, the majority of the members ultimately agreed to receive the whole on the credit of his *taste* and *digestive powers,* and suffered the heretical Maccovius to escape with scarcely the semblance of a reprimand.

Before this notice of Maccovius be dismissed, the reader may derive some faint knowledge of the glaring errors of which he was guilty, from the following favourable statement by Balcanqual, himself a member of the Synod of Dort: "On the 30th of April, was read the Report of the Synodical Committee on the case of Maccovius, the sum of which was, 'that Maccovius 'could not be considered guilty of any thing like Heathenism, 'Judaism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, or any other kind of 'heresy; and that he had been unjustly accused; but that his 'offence consisted in employing certain ambiguous and obscure 'scholastic phrases, in endeavouring to introduce into the 'Dutch Universities the scholastic mode of teaching, and in 'selecting those questions for disputation which were accounted 'the Pests of the Dutch Churches; that he ought therefore to 'be admonished, no longer to employ the expressions of Bellarmine and Suarez, but to speak in the language of the Holy 'Ghost; that these things ought to be considered as faults in 'him—his assertion that the *sufficiency* and the *efficacy* of the 'death of Christ is a foolish distinction,—his denying that *the 'human race considered as fallen* was not the object of predes-'tination,—and his maintaining, that *God has both willed and 'decreed sins,* that *God has by no means willed the salvation of all 'men,* and that *there are two elections;* and that, according to 'their judgment, the slight quarrel between him and Sibrandus 'ought to be terminated, and no person ought hereafter to pre-'fer against him any more such accusations.'"

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This therefore is the history of PARKER's *Theses*, which, it will be observed, are of infamous celebrity, since they were accounted, even by the high Calvinists of the Synod of Dort, extremely reprehensible and fraught with dangerous errors. Of all the members, Festus Hommius was the most consummate politician; and it was one of his artful contrivances to screen his Supralapsarian friend Maccovius from a more severe censure, by attributing the composition of these Theses "to a very learned young man of the name of PARKER." To every one conversant with the literary history of that period, it is well-known, that even in the best-regulated Universities the students in Divinity were accustomed to compose propositions, for public disputation in the Schools: This was a good exercise for those among them who were possessed of the requisite qualifications; but prior to such Theses being announced for disputation, they were revised and amended by the particular Professor under whom the youthful metaphysicians severally studied, but who was not always the Moderator *pro tempore* in the Divinity Schools. The Theses under discussion must be regarded as the joint production of the youthful Parker and his *profound* instructor Makowski; the latter of whom was not only consulted respecting the composition, but was the Moderator under whom they were disputed. Between these two worthies, therefore, the consequent disgrace of them must be divided.—How artful soever this contrivance of Hommius might be, it would be viewed by the learned members of the Synod as a subterfuge that was exceedingly disreputable.

B—Page 166.

THIS is a very good hint. If such a principle of compression and abridgment were applied, by a man of competent attainments, to some of the ancient polemical treatises in our own language, the religious public would have good reason to bless the abbreviator's memory. It ought, however, to be a stipulation, either expressed or implied, that no Calvinist should attempt to abridge the works of an Arminian, and *vice versâ*.

C—Page 167.

JOHN CAMERON, or CAMERO, was born at Glasgow in Scotland, in 1579. When little more than twenty years of age, he read lectures on the Greek language in the University of his native city. Feeling an inclination to travel, in 1600 he went to Bourdeaux, when the Protestant ministers of that city were so captivated with the behaviour and accomplishments of the young man, as to appoint him Master of a College, which they

had founded at Bergerac, for instruction in the Latin and Greek languages. From that situation he was removed, at the instance of the Duke of Bouillon, to Sedan, and made Professor of Philosophy. At the end of two years he resigned his Professorship, went to Paris, and soon afterwards, in 1604, he returned to Bourdeaux. The Church of that city gave a stronger proof of their attachment to Cameron, (in a manner that was very common at that period and worthy to be more generally adopted in modern times,) by offering to defray his expenses for four years while he completed his studies in Divinity at any of the contiguous Universities. He accepted of these proposals, which were accompanied with the usual condition, that *he should at the end of four years serve the Church of Bourdeaux in the capacity of Pastor.* The first year he spent in preparatory studies at Paris, in the house of Calignon Chancellor of Navarre, to whose sons he became tutor, and accompanied them to the University of Geneva, in which he devoted two years to theological pursuits. His fourth year was passed in the University of Heidelberg. In 1608, he was recalled by the Church of Bourdeaux, and chosen to supply the vacancy occasioned by the removal of M. Renaud, one of their Pastors. In this new sphere he acquitted himself during ten years with singular reputation; and was in high esteem among all ranks, till in 1617 he incurred the censure of the parliament of Bourdeaux, who had condemned to death two captains convicted of piracy.—Cameron had been permitted to visit the unhappy culprits in prison, and to administer the consolations of religion to them at the place of execution. They evinced great courage as well as resignation when broken alive on the wheel; and Cameron thought it right to record their penitence by an account of the befitting manner in which they met their doom. He accordingly published a pamphlet, entitled, "Constancy, Faith, and Resolution at the moment of death, displayed by Captain Blanquet and Gaillard;" but instead of making his publication a vehicle of religious instruction and moral warning to survivors, he contrived to introduce indirect reflections on the constituted authorities of his adopted country. The two condemned captains were of the Protestant religion, and had addressed a petition to the Parliament, praying that their cause might be heard before the *Chambre Mipartie*,—a court of justice in which one half of the Judges consisted of Roman Catholics, and the other half of Protestants. This was one of the important privileges which were granted by the Edict of Nantz to the Protestant community; but the Parliament of Bourdeaux determined that this privilege could not be claimed by the pirates. On this alleged infringement of Protestant rights, Cameron animadverted in his pamphlet; in consequence of which a decree was passed by the Parliament, adjudging the libel to be burnt by the common executioner. The same

decree interdicted Cameron "from writing or publishing in future any such letters as were calculated to raise a sedition, to misrepresent the decrees of Parliament, to exasperate the King's subjects against the sovereign Courts of Judicature, and to render his officers despicable,—under the penalty of being punished in an exemplary manner and prosecuted as a disturber of the public peace." But by his prudent conduct he outlived the odium which he had incurred by this publication.

In consequence of his great talents he was elected Professor of Divinity by the University of Saumur, in the place of Gomarus, who, after the death of Arminius, had refused to remain at Leyden as an associate to the newly-elected Professor Vorstius. Cameron began the exercise of his functions in 1618, and remained at his post in the University till it was dispersed in 1621 by *the Civil*, or rather *the Religious Wars* with which France was soon afterwards distracted.

It was during his abode at Saumur that he had the argumentative encounter with the celebrated Daniel Tilenus to which our Prefacer alludes. Tilenus had been previously deprived of his Professorship at Sedan by the Duke of Bouillon, on account of some differences which had arisen. The Duke had married the sister of the Prince of Orange, and, with the obsequiousness which was then displayed in all directions by every branch of that family, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, at the instigation of Peter du Moulin, were soon afterwards imposed by the French Synod of Alez, as the only regular test of orthodoxy for the Protestant ministers and Professors in France. Tilenus retired to Paris; and while he resided in that city, an appointment was made for a Conference between him and Cameron. It was accordingly held at L'Isle, the country-seat of M. Groslot, near Orleans; it commenced on the 24th and was concluded on the 28th of April, 1620, having continued five days. The disputation was oral; and an account of it was taken, at the time, by Lewis Capellus and De la Milletiere, (or Mileterius,) both of whom were Cameron's disciples. Indeed, it does not appear, that Tilenus had any one present to do justice to his arguments; and we know, that such accounts, unless approved and signed by each of the parties at the close of the dispute, are generally amended and embellished by the party that afterwards publishes the statement and claims the victory for itself. This was the case with regard to the meeting between Cameron and Tilenus; an account of which was published at Leyden in 1621, and is entitled, *Amica Collatio de Gratiæ et Voluntatis Humanæ concursu &c.* "An amicable Conference between those two famous men, Daniel Tilenus and John Cameron, concerning the Concurrence of Grace with the Human Will in the Vocation [of Men to Salvation], and on certain other topics connected with that subject." It is inserted among the works of Cameron; and when a man tells his own

tale, or when (as in this instane) his warm partizans do it for him, we must not be surprised to hear such a sound Calvinist as the Editor of *Parker's Theses* exclaim, as in page 167, "When Cameron has Tilenus for his adversary, he is a nervous and acute Divine."

After the dispersion of the University of Saumur, he retired with his family into England, and settled in London, where he obtained leave to give lectures on Divinity at his own house. He was soon afterwards appointed, by royal authority, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. His predecessor, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, was a mighty favourite with the Puritans; and though Camero had, in early life, assented to the lax and pernicious sentiments respecting civil government maintained at that period by nearly all the Calvinists throughout Europe, yet, being a man of good sense and of a peaceable disposition, he had at length been induced to entertain such sentiments on that subject as were more in accordance with the scriptures of truth. His affair with the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and the obstinate and turbulent conduct of the men among whom he had been doomed to dwell, produced a most salutary revolution in his political opinions; and, like many other men of strong minds in that age, he refused so far to pamper the base passions of the multitude as to dignify every effervescence of popular feeling, or seditious tumult, with the elevating title of PATRIOTISM. On this account, therefore, Camero was in very low repute with his factious countrymen, who were infected with as vile a spirit of insubordination as any of their brethren on the Continent. He soon quitted Scotland and returned to France, carrying with him the reputation of enjoying the friendship of King James, who certainly was an excellent judge of literary merit, though he had not always the means of being its most liberal rewarder. In allusion to this trait in the King's character, one of Cameron's adversaries says, in a work which he published, in 1637, against the Ceremonies of the Church of England, "He departed with an empty purse from *his friend* the King, who was otherwise a profuse monarch."

On his arrival in France, he repaired to Saumur again, and delivered private lectures on Divinity, because the Court of France had forbidden any to be taught in public. When he had remained a year at Saumur, he was chosen Professor of Divinity at Montauban, and entered on the duties of his vocation at the close of 1624. The next year he lost his life in consequence of his strenuous opposition to the democratic and litigious opinions of the French Calvinists, whose restless spirits were at that time excited by the emissaries of the Duke de Rohan, to engage again in an armed confederacy. The following account of this tragical event was given by Peter du Moulin, whose principles and conduct were not equally pacific:

"When Camero inveighed in that city against those who were opposed [to him in political principles,] and endeavoured to stem the torrent of popular fury by chiding or admonishing those persons whom he encountered, the populace contracted such a hatred against him that at length one of the citizens, who was a passionate man, attacked him in a horrid manner both with his fists and with cudgels, and almost killed him. Removing the covering, he offered his naked breast to the man who was beating him, and said, *Wretch, strike here!* After having been thus mal-treated, he retired from Montauban to the contiguous town of Moissac, to recruit his shattered frame. In a short time he returned to Montauban, where, in the course of a few days afterwards, he died through grief of mind, and peacefully fell asleep in the Lord." (*Jud. de Amyraldi Lib., p.* 229.) In Andrew Rivet's Works, (*tom. 3, p.* 898,) the circumstance of baring his breast is thus related: "To one of those persons who had uttered threats against Cameron he instantly exposed his naked breast, as soon as he had unclasped the vestment which covered it, and cried out, *Wretch, strike here!* He had scarcely spoken these words before the villain threw him on the ground with great violence, and would have killed him, had not a female run up to Cameron and leaned over him while he lay upon the ground; by thus covering his body with hers, she protected him from blows." But this improved version of the fatal catastrophe must be received with much caution: It was written a long time afterwards, as a sort of popular palliation of that horrid tragedy, and an answer to the just animadversions of Grotius. In it Rivet evidently wishes to tax Cameron with great imprudence in braving danger, by opening his waistcoat to the villain who had employed threats against him. Indeed, in both productions, a feeling of malevolence towards the memory of Cameron is displayed. Peter du Moulin had incurred the censure of the French Court for his violent proceedings and seditious conduct: By him, therefore, the example of Cameron, in opposing the bad principles and infuriate behaviour of the misguided populace, would not be viewed with complacency, or represented with adequate justice.

The death of a Calvinistic pastor, who was half murdered while in the act of warning the populace against the crime of rebellion, was a circumstance of such an uncommon complexion among the Divines of that school, as to be the subject of general astonishment in the civilized and religious world. The very lax interpretation which the early pastors of the Genevan school gave to the doctrine of civil obedience, as contained in the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, is matter of history; and many of them have not hesitated to bestow upon those who refuse thus to explain away some of the express commands of scripture, the opprobrious epithets of "the patrons of the Divine

Right of Kings and the slaves of Passive Obedience." The quibbles which are necessary to the very foundation of Calvinism, contributed their aid to soften down the scriptural obligations of subjects to their rulers; and the most ignorant mechanic or husbandman in a Calvinistic congregation soon comprehended the doctrine of *conditional obedience*,—the only trace of CONDITIONALITY which is to be found throughout their fatal system. Most apposite therefore was this address of the venerable Hooker to the men of that school: "For whereas the name of DIVINE AUTHORITY is used to countenance these things which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections, on Him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error, the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases, if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion, concerning the lawfulness thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of Divine Authority."

Grotius thus alludes to the death of Cameron in his *Wishes for the Peace of the Church*: "I said, in my annotations at the close of the First Book *On the Laws of War and Peace*, that the Canons which prohibited the Clergy from the use of arms have been observed with greater strictness in the East than in the West. That remark was undoubtedly true, both as applied to those and to other Canons; because dispensations are unknown in the East, except in some few and trifling affairs. This busy intermeddling with other men's matters has already produced disastrous consequences to several persons; and if we enquire into the cause of those wars by which Europe has now for a long time been desolated, we shall find this flame to have been principally excited by those whose duty it was to be the heralds of peace. I can require no testimony of greater validity than that which is fresh in the recollection of Kings, Nobles, and People, when I affirm, that many of the civil wars in France have been excited by those who style themselves 'ministers of the gospel.' No stronger proofs can be required than those furnished by several letters from the Duke of Bouillon and of Philip Mornay Lord du Plessis Marli, in which both of them complain of this circumstance: In addition to which, might be quoted the Commentaries on the last of those wars, which were composed by the Duke de Rohan. Yet [from such ministers of the gospel] I except CAMERON, who always entertained other sentiments, and on that account endured much hard usage. If in this respect there were others who resembled him, they also have my warm applauses. There were some pastors who kept

themselves quiet, because they were in those situations in which it was impossible for them to make any attempts. The faults of the adverse party do not operate, in their behalf, as an excuse. We have in these days beheld a prodigious circumstance,—we have seen troops enlisted and regiments embodied, arms and warlike engines assembled together, under the name of the REFORMED CHURCHES. Had this power its origin in heaven or on earth?"

Grotius then adverts to the doctrines contained in the Commentary of old David Paræus of Heidelberg on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The transaction to which Grotius alludes was the following: "On the 14th of April, 1622, being Palm Sunday, it happened that a certain clergyman [Mr. Knight, of Pembroke College] preaching at Oxford upon these words, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, among other positions advanced the following, 'that in case the King 'should misbehave himself, inferior magistrates had a right to in-'form him better, and to correct or amend him.' For the explanation of this doctrine, he made use of the words of the Emperor Trajan, which he spoke to the captain of the guards, 'Take this sword, and if I reign well, draw it FOR me; if 'otherwise, draw it AGAINST me.' Hereupon this preacher was summoned by Dr. Pierce, one of the Canons of Christ Church and at that time Vice-Chancellor, to appear at his Court. He was then ordered to deliver a copy of his sermon, which he did. The King having heard of this matter, sent for him up to London, where he was strictly examined about his sermon, and asked *how he came to preach it?* He laid all the blame upon certain modern Divines of the foreign Churches, especially on Paræus, Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, who, in his Expositions on the Epistle to the Romans, had advanced the same Theses and quoted likewise that passage of Trajan. Upon this confession the king forgave the minister his fault, he being a young Divine who might easily be misled by such a famous writer. But his Majesty ordered the said book of Paræus to be publicly burnt, not only in both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but also at London on a Sunday at St. Paul's Cross:" * This royal mandate was duly executed. To remove every seditious imputation from their body, the University of Oxford, in a full Convocation on the 25th of June, 1622, condemned four of the most obnoxious propositions of Paræus, and added to each of them a scholastic censure.

* A loyal old English writer, in reference to this public burning of the books of Paræus, calls it "an accident much complained of by the Puritan party for a long time after, who looked upon it as the funeral pile of their hopes and projects; till by degrees they got fresh courage, carrying on their designs more secretly, by consequence more dangerously, than before they did. The terrible effects whereof we have seen and felt in our late Civil Wars and present confusions."

Grotius quotes this decree of the University which contained the positions condemned, and then subjoins: "If these exceptions of Paræus, that is, if so many subversions of St. Paul's rule be admitted, I declare that no empire will be in safety any longer than while those who hold such principles are destitute of power. But because it is not sufficient to know the evil unless at the same time its sources be made known, I will disclose those sources as far as I have been permitted to penetrate into their mysteries. These then are their sentiments: 'In 'every country there is a certain covenant between God, the 'King, and the People; and it is formed on this condition, that, 'if the King forsakes God, it is also lawful for the people to 'forsake the King.' *Those who have forsaken God,* they consider to be, *First,* 'Those who acknowledge the supremacy of 'the Pope in the Church; for they have by that means fallen 'from the power which they delivered to the beast.'—*Secondly,* 'Those who attempt any reconciliation with that Church which 'adheres to the Church of Rome; that is, with *the synagogue 'of Satan,'* as they are pleased to express themselves.—*Lastly,* 'Those who retain any portion of their [ancient] rites, not 'only such as are retained in England, but in other kingdoms 'still further northward; for all those rites are Popish and 'therefore idolatrous.'

"2. Another of their sentiments is this: 'In the Revelations '(xviii, 6,) it is written, *Reward Babylon double according to 'her works.* But this Babylon is that Church which is con-'nected with the Roman See. In this passage every believer 'receives a Divine command, to demolish altars and the images 'of saints, and to remove all this worship together with the 'worshippers; for unless this be done, Babylon can neither be 'destroyed nor receive *double according to her works.* And 'cursed be they who do this work of the Lord negligently! '(Jer. xlviii, 10.)'

"3. Another of their opinions is that which, they say, is to be found in the prophecy of Daniel, (vii, 18, 22,) 'All 'Kings and rulers whatsoever are bound to serve *the saints of 'the Most High;* that is, *the saints of the Reformed* [or *Calvin-'istic*] *communion.*—This prediction is so evidently written, 'that those persons must be blind who cannot see it.'

"4. To these sentiments some of them add, 'All things belong 'of right to *the elect,* all the rest are robbers.' Who these *elect* are, is a point which with them admits of no controversy, by placing *themselves* in the elect number; 'because Christ died 'for them in particular; and of this circumstance they are well 'assured, *because they believe it,* or *because* BY FAITH *they appre-'hend this benefit!*' This is sad trifling; but it is such as conduces to serious evils."

The reader who is conversant with the writings of the venerable Hooker, will perceive a great co-incidence between this statement by Grotius, and that given in the Preface to the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." It must also again be observed, that the term REFORMED is assumed by the Calvinists on the Continent, in the same manner as the epithet EVANGELICAL is claimed by their brethren in England.

Rivet, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, wrote an answer to these statements; and Grotius thought it necessary, for the defence of truth, to expose the quibbling of his adversary, which he did in his *Discussion of Rivet's Apology*, from which the following is a very instructive extract containing another allusion to the case of Cameron: "It is the duty of the man who is studious of the peace of Christians, to destroy those dogmas which disturb the peace of society. A man must become a good citizen, before he is a good Christian. Subversive of civil peace is the dogma of those who call themselves THE REFORMED, which declares it to be 'lawful for subjects to rise in arms 'against their Kings or rulers;' which that most noble man, Philip Mornai Lord du Plessis Marli, inserted in his last will as a sentiment agreeable to piety. From this source arose the insurrection at Amboise, when the Reformed Renaudiere convened some persons like himself to a private conclave, and delivered to them the power over the States of the realm. From the same source arose Beza's seditious and warlike orations. * This also

* The phrase in the text is, *Hinc Bezæ conciones pro classico;* which was an allusion well understood at that period. It will be illustrated by the subjoined quotation from the History of Thuanus, (lib. 53,) who, in giving an account of the letter of the Protestant Charpentier concerning the causes which conduced to the bloody French tragedy of *St. Bartholomew's Day*, says: "Charpentier declares, 'that there were two parties amongst the Protestants,—the 'one consisting of peaceable persons, who acted with sincerity and from a 'religious principle, and who followed the maxims of the religion which they 'professed,—the other consisting of persons who acted from a spirit of faction, 'and who were seditious men and enemies to the public peace and tranquillity; 'that each of those parties had at its head particular pastors; and that the 'moderate leaders were obnoxious to the more violent, and especially to Beza,' whom he calls *the trumpet of Seba*, and against whom he utters in his book the most bitter exclamations.—Charpentier not only excuses the massacre, but likewise proves, at great length and in a very artful manner, 'that it was 'just and necessary, in order to subdue an impious faction, whose sole design 'was to subvert the royal authority, to withdraw the chief cities of the realm 'from the allegiance which was due to their sovereign, and to disturb the pub-'lic tranquillity;—a faction that seemed to have been formed for the ruin of 'the Protestant religion itself, by some seditious individuals who were the ene-'mies of their country.'"

SEBA, in the phrase *The trumpet of Seba*, is an anagram upon the name of BEZA, and refers to the following passage of Scripture: "And there happened to be there a man of Belial, whose name was *Sheba*, the son of Bilcri, a Benjamite: And *he blew a trumpet*, and said, 'We have no part in David, 'neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. Every man to his tents, 'O Israel!'—So every man of Israel went up from after David, and followed

gave origin to the impudence of the Convention of Rochelle, which declared that all the Papists in the Kingdom, and even those among the Reformed who adhered to the authority of the King, were to be removed from all public honours and offices ; it likewise appointed to the government of the provinces throughout the kingdom whatever persons it thought proper. Theophilus Milletiere,* a nobleman who is exceedingly well-inclined

Sheba," &c. (2 Sam. xx, i.) This allusion to the political meddling of the early divines of the Genevan School, but particularly to those of them who adopted the *platform* as well as the *doctrine* of Calvin, was peculiarly appropriate, and became a standing proverb in all countries in which such injudicious pastors endeavoured to excite seditious movements, for the purpose of introducing what they called THE LORD'S DISCIPLINE. With what degree of justice this charge was preferred against them, the reader may easily learn, by the various apologetical or palliative writings published by the offending parties themselves, were there no other equally valid documents in existence.

* The memory of *Theophile Brachet Sieur de la Milletiere* has been greatly traduced by the French Calvinists. He was the intimate friend of Cameron, after whose death he published some of the enlarged religious views of the man whom he admired. In the book which Du Moulin wrote against Amyraut, he speaks thus of Milletiere : " After Cameron's removal from things terrestrial, an affair happened which brought a grievous stain upon that great man's reputation. For a short time after his decease, Milletiere, his Achates and sole companion, who always paid the most devoted attention to what he spoke, produced those monsters which he had conceived under Cameron's tuition. For he published a book against Du Moulin, who expected nothing of that description, in which he defends *merits* and *justification by works*, and speaks in such a manner about *the Sacrament of the Eucharist* as betokens a person far too much inclined towards transubstantiation. He also makes honourable mention of the Church of Rome, and declares she has preserved all the capital articles of the christian faith pure and untainted, although in some things she may have wandered from the right path. All these novelties he professes to have received from that incomparable man, Mr. Cameron ;" &c.

But it must be recollected, that these are the exaggerated statements of a violent adversary, who hated him for his approaches towards Arminianism, which had formerly been an object of his greatest aversion. In quality of elder of the Reformed Church of Paris, Milletiere was deputed as the representative of that church at the seditious assembly at Rochelle, to which he was appointed secretary, and wrote an answer to Tilenus, who had reprehended the conduct of the Calvinists on that occasion. He was afterwards seized at the Court of France as one of the most outrageous partizans of the Duke de Rohan ; after having been put to the rack and suffered a long imprisonment, he was at length liberated. Like his friend Cameron, he became more moderate in his politics and more charitable in his religious principles ; and, placing *Cameronism* as the basis of his scheme, he tried by it to effect a union between the Protestants and the Papists. This attempt only tended to increase the hostility of the French Calvinists against him. Several of his writings were condemned by the National Synod of Alençon in 1637 ; and " a letter was addressed to him by this assembly, informing him, that, unless he gave a satisfactory declaration of his penitence to the Consistory of Paris within six months, he would not be accounted a member of the Reformed Church. After several warnings, which proved of no service to him, the Synods declared him to be no longer a member of the churches, and not one of them would admit him into its communion : So that he became a Catholic of necessity, that he might be of some religion." He was rejected from the bosom of the Reformed Church in 1645, during the session of the National Synod of Charenton. It is related of him, that, when he began to attend the service of the Romish Church, he heard a sermon preached by a Popish Bishop, who, in

towards those who call themselves 'the Reformed,' testifies that Peter du Moulin was the author of such counsels. But, because the King pardoned the criminality of those very wicked attempts, let not M. Rivet suppose, that on this account historical and other writers are deprived of all the right of recording such transactions, even when their sole purpose is—to teach people to avoid Divines of this description.

"With regard to the decrees of the Pope, it is the opinion of both the [French] King and Parliament, that they are not bound by those of them which are repugnant to the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the common consent of the Ancient Fathers, or if they be contrary to those constitutions of Councils or of the Fathers which have been received in France. The man who inspects the Acts of the French Parliament, will perceive several decrees of this kind to have been rejected both now and formerly, by the Parliaments at the advice of Bishops and Divines, when such rejection was required by circumstances. No reason therefore exists for any one to veil his encouragement of party-disputes under a pretended dread of the Pope's omnipotency. * Grotius has not made mention even of local constitutions without some design: For when many speak of them as of burdens oppressive beyond measure to the conscience, it was necessary to shew the estimation in which real Catholics hold such constitutions, and the nature of the obligation arising from them, which is by no means intolerable.

"The Pastors of the Church, whatever may be the title which they bear, act contrary to the Canons, in the opinion of Grotius, when they are in warlike actions: This opinion he recorded long ago in writing, at the close of his First Book *On the Laws of War and Peace.* He also thinks, that it is the duty of ministers, not to excite the flame of new wars between Christian princes,—a practice which too many of them pursue,

drawing a parallel between Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, adjudged the superiority to the Virgin: This gave Milletiere such a shock, that he declared, with his usual frankness, rather than be frequently compelled to hear sermons of that kind he would return to the bosom of the Protestant Church.—In favour of his plan of pacification and re-union between the two churches, he continued for some years to write books, which are commended by many of the moderate members of both communions. Some further account of him will be found in the subsequent extracts from the letters of Grotius.

* But what good effects did all these checks produce on "the omnipotence of the Pope," when the realm was governed by an imbecile Monarch, whose prime minister was a Cardinal? The horrid massacre of the Protestants of France on St. Bartholomew's day, and the cruel as well as impolitic Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, are, of themselves, sufficient answers to this question.

No considerate Protestant can approve of all the palliations which Grotius offers in behalf of Popery. On this point he was evidently misled by his great learning, by which he traced some of the originally innocent observances of the Romish Church up to the purest ages of Christian Antiquity. At that period, too, he saw the Catholic Religion assume a milder aspect, and supported by such moderate reformers of it as Thuanus, Cassander, &c.

to the great injury of nations; but, on the contrary, to extinguish those which have already arisen: This topic likewise he has briefly noticed in the Second Book of the work just mentioned, chap. 23.—If M. Rivet entertains a different opinion, he gives a demonstration that he either is or has been in the number of those pastors who excite wars; if his opinion is not different, then why does he carp at expressions uttered with a pious intent? Though M. Rivet is sufficiently audacious when fortune favours him, yet we could not have conceived that he would venture to deny those facts which have transpired in the view of all men, and the recollection of which is still vivid in the minds both of Governors and People.—'Who are the individuals that compelled sixteen thousand men to perish by famine at Rochelle, rather than experience the clemency of their King?' They were ministers who called themselves *Reformed*.—'Who are they that inflamed all Languedoc and the contiguous provinces with addresses and libels?' They were the same ministers.—'Who are they that brought down the hatred of the populace upon CAMERON, because he was not equal to them in madness and extravagance, and thus caused him to be treated in such a cruel manner as produced disease and death?' They were men who call themselves *Ministers of the word of God*. The chariot steeds have heard too many of the smacks of these [exciting] whips.

"But the dogmas of Paræus are injurious to M. Rivet for this reason—because he attempts to defend them by interposing the person of Paræus junior;* those dogmas will likewise injure the reputation of that society into which he has been adopted, since he denies that the extracts were made in every instance with fidelity. But the colour with which the younger Paræus paints his father's writings, is evidently false and adulterated. He says, 'his father was there treating about 'those potentates who were admitted [to the exercise of sove-'reign power] under conditions.' But the elder Paræus was not discussing the laws of Germany. Yet even that country contains many princes who denied that they were admitted [to the sovereignty] under limitations: But the knowledge of this matter is not the occupation of a Divine, but of lawyers. Paræus did not engage in the interpretation of PAUL *the Professor of Law*, but of PAUL *the Apostle*, who treats about all the higher

* Philip Paræus was alive, and Principal of the College of Hanau in 1616, when Rivet wrote a most virulent reply to these animadversions, interspersed with the most gross slanders concerning the life and death of Grotius. Like a dutiful son, he tried various methods to vindicate the memory of his pious father. In doing this, particularly with respect to his father's *Exposition on the Romans*, he vindicated the positions of the old gentleman, according to M. Arnaud's statement, "in the same manner as the Jesuits defend themselves when accused of corrupting Christian Morals,—*by shewing that they are neither the first nor the only persons who have inculcated any particular doctrine.*"

powers. The elder Paræus, in his explanations, by various methods overturns the expressions of the apostle; and he allows to Christian subjects, even to those in private stations, the very things of which the apostle deprives such subjects. This has been demonstrated correctly and with the greatest fidelity by the University of Oxford, and by King James himself, who declares, that he 'was always hated by the Puritans for no 'other reason than that of his being a King.'*

"But granting that Grotius during former days may, in some instances, have exceeded the bounds of moderation,—either through the inexperience of youth, the influence of his great attachment to the station in which he was born and educated, or through his adherence to other writers of great reputation,—and granting also, that he may have spoken some things in too general a manner, which ought on the contrary to have been uttered with restrictions, or that he has employed examples which have not been at perfect agreement with each other; yet, after all these concessions, Grotius may now surely be permitted to amend and grow better, after he has by a more extensive course of reading and continued meditation become older, and attained to a state of life that is uninfluenced by party-interests. He undoubtedly always disapproved of the violence used in breaking images and altars, of warlike assemblies, and of those armed forces that were raised among the Dutch prior to any decree of the States, and merely by private enterprize. Yet these were the deeds which are called 'the commencement of this reformation,'—a kind of commencement with which neither Christ, his apostles, nor the Christians of the best ages were acquainted. Such actions as these accord most completely with the writings not only of Philip Mornai Lord of Plessis Marli, Hottoman, and Buchanan, but also with those of Peter Vermilius surnamed *the Martyr*, (on the third chapter of the Book of Judges,) Cæsman, Althusius, Lambert Danæus in the passages quoted by Arnisæus, and of as many more of this description, whose writings have never been contradicted by any of that tribe. From the words and deeds of these men we understand what is the signification of that part of the Confession, belonging to those who style themselves THE REFORMED, which says, 'Tribute and obedience are due to kings, *pro-* '*vided God's supreme authority remains safe and secure.*' For by this phrase *God's supreme authority*, they understand 'the liberty of their own religion,'—but such a liberty as, when they are the prevailing party, they do not grant to others.

* "And for this cause, there never rose faction in the time of my minority, nor trouble sen-syne, but they that were upon that factious part, were ever careful to persuade and allure these unruly spirits among the ministry, to spouse that quarrel as their own: Wherethrough *I was oft-times calumniated* in their popular sermons, not for any evil or vice in me, but *because I was a King*, which they thought the highest evil."—*Basilikon Doron, lib.* 2.

" M. Rivet dare not declare which of those fountains of evils that Grotius has here indicated, he will acknowledge for his own, and which of them he will disavow. The reason of his hesitation undoubtedly is, lest he should either desert such great defenders of his own cause, or lest he should expose his colleagues [the Professors] in France to great and deserved hatred by openly explaining the meaning of their expressions. On this account therefore he throws dust into the eyes of his readers, to prevent them from seeing through the whole matter. He is desirous, indeed, to defend the saying of M. du Moulin:* But the client exclaims against his advocate. He who does not worship God is not *a just man,* because the worship of God is a great part of justice [or righteousness] : But such a person is *the just possessor* of those things which he holds by that title which the laws approve. To discuss the righteousness of POSSESSION, is one thing ; and the righteousness of THE PERSON, is another. Yet Du Moulin must not be accounted the inventor of this contrivance, which confounds two things [that are different] ; for the same sentiment was one of those which were condemned in Wicliffe, and with great propriety. Because if the ELECT have now a right to those things which the REPROBATES possess, it follows, that they may claim such things for themselves."

But though much and deservedly blamed for the open manner in which he evinced the Genevan antipathy to the regal authority, Paræus seems actually to have considered that he was imparting greater stability to a proviso in Calvin's Institutes by propounding it in a more scholastic form, and deducing some of its legitimate consequences. Calvin had introduced it, with that consummate art which he evinced on some

* This expression occurs in that furious publication the *Anatome of Arminianism,* which was published by Peter du Moulin in 1619 ; and which was ably answered by Corvinus in 1621. Prior, however, to the appearance of this Reply, the banished Remonstrants addressed a letter to Moulin, of which the subjoined paragraph is an extract :

" There are some persons who also place a black mark of disapprobation upon the following axiom which you have derived from the school of Machiavel : ' He who is destitute of faith in Christ, is not a child of God ; and, ' consequently, *he cannot be the heir and just possessor of earthly benefits,* ' whatever may be the civil virtues with which he is adorned.' If this be not *plotting against the sceptres of Kings,* we cannot certainly perceive in what that crime consists. Are you then beginning to accommodate the Reformed [Calvinistic] Theology to seditions, rebellions and demands upon Kings ? What insanity is this of yours !—*that Princes who do not believe in Christ, are not the rightful lords of their own kingdoms and dominions !* By what law is this just title of possession invalidated ? Relying on the strength of this axiom, you presumptuously claim for yourself and the princes of your religion the kingdom of France : For the answers to the Heidelberg Catechism teach, ' that the Roman Catholics (of whom the King of France is one,) do in reality ' deny Christ.' *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear !*"

To this seditious sophism Grotius, in the text, returns an appropriate answer.

other occasions, into the doctrine which he delivers concerning the duty of subjects to their Princes and Rulers, thus: "For if the vengeance of the Lord is the correction of unrestrained domination, we must not on this account instantly suppose that such vengeance is committed to us, who have received no other command than *to obey and suffer*. I am [in this chapter] always speaking about men in private stations. In former days there were popular magistrates, who, as *Ephori*, were placed in opposition to the Spartan Kings; as *Tribunes of the People*, were opposed to the Roman Consuls; or, as *Demarchi*, to the Athenian Senate: And the same kind of power perhaps is exercised, in the present state of society, throughout different kingdoms, by *the three Estates* of each realm when they hold their grand assemblies. If there be now any such popular magistrates appointed to restrain the licentiousness of Kings, I am far from forbidding them, in accordance with their duty, to obstruct [or oppose] the ferocious liberty of Kings: So that if they should connive at Kings when conducting themselves tyrannically, and when they insultingly lord it over the humbled people, I would declare that their dissimulation [or connivance] is not devoid of nefarious perfidy, since they thus deceitfully betray the liberty of the people, of which they knew themselves to have been appointed the protectors by God's ordination."—Among other *improvements* on Calvin's doctrine, Paræus ascribes to these subordinate magistrates "a power to defend themselves, the Commonwealth, and the Church, even by arms, against the superior magistrate." Buchanan carried this doctrine still further, by asserting, "that the whole body of the people have as much authority over the persons of their kings as they have over every one of their own number;" and he thinks it "unreasonable and absurd, that kings are not made amenable to the ordinary judges of their several kingdoms, as often as any of their subjects may accuse them of murder, adultery, neglect in government," &c. In proof of this reforming position, Buchanan then quotes twelve instances of Scottish Kings, that had either been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or had by voluntary death or exile escaped the punishment due to their crimes.—Cambden tells us, that John Knox, the Calvinistic Reformer of Scotland, delivered this as a political axiom, "It is the duty of the nobles to take away idolatry by their own authority, and to reduce Kings by force within the prescribed bounds of the laws."* To every unprejudiced reader,

* In a letter addressed by Grotius, in 1638, to the Rev. Sampson Johnson, he says: "Those neighbours of yours [the Scotch] are actuated by the spirit of the flock to which they belong: And unless some method be discovered for dissolving the unlawful confederacy, I entertain apprehensions of a great wound being inflicted, I will not now say *upon the* EPISCOPAL, but *upon the* REGAL AUTHORITY. I cannot express the solicitude which this affair

the turbulent character of Knox will not appear to much advantage, after all the ingenious palliations of Dr. Mc'Crie, who, like a devoted friend, is at once his biographer and apologist.

Dr. Thomas Pierce, who was, during the Inter-regnum, one of the most intrepid champions for the genuine doctrines and discipline of the Church of England in those her days of mourning and depression, speaks thus, in his *Divine Philanthropy Defended*, which was published a few years prior to the Restoration: "What shall we think of the Aërian or Presbyterian 'flaunt,' which *denieth a supremacy to all civil power*, in all cases and over all persons as well *ecclesiastical as civil*, and for this very reason were never known to be quiet any longer than they were flattered or kept in awe? *The power to excommunicate the supreme civil Magistrate* was never arrogated by any, except the POPE and the PRESBYTERIAN, in direct opposition to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England, and to the Protestant

gives me, on account of the great affection which I feel for your nation. That [seditious] trumpet of Knox and Buchanan possesses uncommon influence in exasperating and inflaming ignorant and inexperienced men, especially when they have before their eyes examples of successful revolutions."

This is the language of a kind friend and of a true prophet. But, though thus laudably anxious for our national prosperity and for the due maintenance of the regal authority, he was a decided enemy to all harsh and imprudent measures, as will appear by the subjoined extract from one of his letters at that period to the Swedish Ambassador at the Hague: "These commotions in Scotland occur most unhappily at a very bad juncture. I wish both parties may possess sufficient prudence and moderation of mind to discover some remedy for such a dangerous evil. Of this I am well assured, that if any thing be extorted by force from the King in Scotland, the infectious example will extend to England, since there are in that kingdom not a few individuals to whom the present state of affairs is exceedingly displeasing."

In a letter addressed to the same personage, about a month afterwards, he gives the following just and statesman-like views of our national concerns at that crisis; which, let it be observed, are the more valuable because they are the views of an impartial person who was competent to form a correct opinion concerning their causes and issue, long before the civil wars commenced. To a historian of those events, such brief notices are worth a thousand pages of those combined reasonings and statements, which have since been written by prejudiced partizans: "The affairs of Scotland fill me with anxiety. I think, if that nation had received the English Liturgy and the ceremonies which are agreeable to antiquity, as it had already received Bishops, it would not have committed any offence, and such a conformity in public rites might likewise have been of service in cementing together the two nations who are under the rule of the same sovereign. But now, when they have evinced an aversion of mind, which probably does not arise so much from things themselves as from mere suspicions, the deliberation is altered, and becomes truly difficult through the commotions of the people and the diminution of the royal authority: I humbly beseech God that the plan adopted may be such as will be salutary to the Monarch and to both nations. The University of Aberdeen, in Scotland, has condemned these commotions as illegal and disgraceful to Christians. But I entertain serious doubts, whether such [an Academic decree] can possibly assuage or pacify people that are thus highly excited and inflamed." —Many other equally pertinent extracts might be here adduced: But these will shew Grotius to have been a good man and an able politician.

Heirarchy by whom they were composed, and who never were known *to beard their Sovereigns*,—a thing as natural to the Scottish Presbytery as eating and drinking to other men. And what affinity (or *identity* rather) there is betwixt the Scottish and English followers of Aërius, their *League and Covenant* hath made apparent."—The venerable Hooker has shewn, in his Preface to the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the progress which the English Calvinists made in this kind of learning; and, among other "methods of winning the people's affections unto *a general liking of the cause*" of the Genevan Discipline, he adduces the three following: "*First.* In the hearing of the multitude the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof, &c.—*The next thing* hereunto, is to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established, &c.—Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a *Third* step is to propose their own form of church-government as the only sovereign remedy of all evils, and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be," &c.—Most justly therefore might Dr. Heylin say: "As for points of practice, should we look that way, what a confusion should we find in most parts of Europe, occasioned by no other ground than the entertainment of *these principles*, and the scattering of *these positions* among the people! —And, to say truth, such is the genius of the sect, that though they may admit an EQUAL, (as *parity* is the thing most aimed at by them both in Church and State,) yet they will hardly be persuaded to submit themselves to a SUPERIOR, to no superiors more unwillingly than to Kings and Princes; whose persons they disgrace, whose power they ruinate, whose calling they endeavour to decry and blemish by all means imaginable. The designation of all those who bear public office in the Church, the calling of Councils or assemblies, the presidency in those Councils, ordaining public fasts and appointing festivals, (which anciently belonged unto Christian Princes as the chief branches of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which is vested in them,) are utterly denied to Kings and Princes in their *Books of Discipline*. —As for their power in temporal or civil causes, by that time Knox's *Peers* and Buchanan's *Judges*, Paræus's *Inferior Magistrates* and Calvin's *Popular Officers*, have performed their parts, (in keeping them within the compass of the laws, arraigning them for their offences if they should transgress, opposing them by force of arms if any thing be done unto the prejudice of the Church or State, and, finally, in regulating their authority after the manner of the Spartan Ephori and the Roman Tribunes,) all that is left [of the regal authority] will be by much too little for a *Roi d'Ivitol*, or for *a King of Clouts*, as we English phrase it."

But leaving the Genevan Fathers, from whose writings might be quoted passages still more objectionable than these, we proceed to observe some of the doctrinal peculiarities of Cameron, which caused him to be greatly maligned by the violent Predestinarians. Like his great cotemporary, Piscator, he rejected the doctrine of *Christ's imputed righteousness;* and was, on this account, objected against by the Synod of Poitou, when in 1618 he accepted the Divinity Professorship at Saumur. But, two years afterwards, this objection was declared to be untenable, by the National Synod held at Alez. He, and many other good men, had viewed with grief the obloquy and persecution to which the pious Arminius had voluntarily exposed himself by asserting the scriptural doctrine of *the concurrence of the human will with the grace of God*, &c.; and they endeavoured, by lopping off some of the rotten and unfruitful branches of Calvinism, to accommodate doctrinal matters so as to preserve themselves free from ecclesiastical censures, while they imparted to the rigid Predestinarian scheme a greater show of probability, and exhibited it in a form less liable to exception. Among the doctrines thus discarded was what is often called "the imputation of *the active righteousness* of Christ:" For they perceived, that, by admitting such a tenet and allowing it to be carried onward to its legitimate consequences, they opened the flood-gates to every species of unrighteousness. When men were taught to consider their righteousness as being only *imputed*, they soon inferred that no attempts were necessary on their part for the attainment of *actual* holiness: So that, except in the idea itself, (which, when unaccompanied by holy endeavours, has a tendency to puff up rather than to humble,) those persons who gave it entertainment had no personal experience of that transforming power of Divine Grace which the Scriptures describe. In their erroneous account, Christ had repented for them, had believed for them, and had been clothed with the Spirit of holiness for them, (or rather, *instead of them*,) what need therefore had they to take any thought about repentance, faith, and holiness? Several churches had become infected with this *imputation-mania*; and the Calvinistic pastors had not, among their treasures of things new and old, any doctrine which they could employ in counteraction: For, in other parts of their heterogeneous system, they had represented all the striving and endeavours of man, though undertaken and prosecuted at the express command of God himself in his blessed word, to be nothing better than legality. Cameron, therefore, Piscator, and a few other celebrated Divines of that age, fully aware of the sad and desecrating effects of such a doctrine, totally discarded it from their systems, and taught their hearers to estimate their standing in religion by their actual progress in holiness, and in humility—its inseparable attendant.

But Cameron, who was a man of vast comprehension, exceeded Piscator in his endeavours to render Calvinism popular, if not invulnerable. It was not because he did not understand Arminianism, but *because he wished to avoid the fate of Arminius,* that he and his famous disciples in France chose to misinterpret some of the tenets of the Leyden Professor, in order to prepare a way for their own inventions. Cameron was the founder of that theological system which in England is generally known under the name of "Baxterianism:" He borrowed the doctrine of *General Redemption and the Universal Offer of Grace* from Arminius, but it will be subsequently seen that these points were completely neutralized by the other appendages of his amended scheme of Calvinism.* Baxter says, in the Preface to his *Saints' Rest:* "The middle way which Camero, L. Crocius, Martinius, Amyraldus, Davenant, with all the Divines of Britain and Bremen in the Synod of Dort go,—I think, is nearest the truth of any that I know who have written on those points of *Redemption* and *Universal Grace.*" In this manner Baxter quotes Cameron perpetually, as the inventor of this reputed "middle way."

Amyraut, or Amyraldus, of whom some mention is made in a preceding page, (16,) was in France the great patron of this more specious mode of Calvinism. He had studied Divinity under Cameron at Saumur, and had imbibed from his great master the principles of his religious and political creed. On the latter subject it is a pleasure to quote the following paragraph from Bayle: "In the Apology which Amyraut published in 1647 in behalf of the Protestants, he excuses, as well as he can, the civil wars of France: But he declares at the same time, that he by no means intends to justify the taking up of arms against one's lawful sovereign upon any pretence whatever; and that he always looked upon it as more agreeable to the nature of the gospel and the practice of the primitive church, to use no other arms than patience, tears, and prayers. 'And whenever I reflect,' says he, 'on the history of our an-

* This epithet seems to be contradictory to the following remark by Dr. Mosheim. "The more I examine this reconciling system [of the French Universalists], the more I am persuaded, that it is no more than ARMINIANISM or PELAGIANISM artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half-transparent veil of specious but ambiguous expressions; and this judgment is confirmed by the language that is used in treating this subject by the modern followers of Amyraut, who express their sentiments with more courage, plainness, and perspicuity, than the spirit of the times permitted their master to do."

But both these statements are reconcilable; for the Doctor's observation applies only to those Universalists who were the successors of Amyraut, and who had been gradually liberated from the trammels imposed upon them by the Dort Synodists and their intemperate French Partizans.

Mosheim's description is also confirmatory of the results, which Professor Poelenburgh has ably detailed, page 226.

'cestors, I cannot avoid being grieved that they have not 'crowned so many other noble virtues, which they have pro- 'posed for our example, with the imitation of the primitive 'Christians in the invincible patience with which they bore 'the persecutions of the Emperors.'" These were the political principles of all the Universalists or Cameronists of France; and they were under no small obligation to Grotius for his *Wishes for the Peace of the Church*, and others of his apologetical pieces, which taught them *a more excellent way* than that which their turbulent predecessors had trodden. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, they carried these and their enlarged religious principles into Holland, much to the regret of the rigid Dutch Calvinists, who openly complained, that the French Refugees had imported into that country a refined species of Arminianism.

But, on examination, the scheme of Cameron will not be easily mistaken for Arminianism. After Grotius had been appointed the Queen of Sweden's Ambassador to the Court of France, he informs his brother, that several of the French Protestant ministers had waited on him and given him a pressing invitation to join their communion in Paris. Among the rest, he states, M. Rivet's brother had called upon him, and then adds: "Amyraut, a Pastor and Professor at Saumur, has also written in a most honourable manner concerning me to Marbaud, and has subjoined a hope *that I will produce some degree of moderation in these controversies.* He has written on those questions which have been discussed in Holland. He says, that 'the design of God in the creation of man, was, to bless 'man by the knowledge of himself; that Christ died simply 'for all men; and that it is the will of God that all men be 'saved, but under the condition of faith.'—Yet this doctrine is weakened in no small degree by his asserting, 'that faith itself is 'bestowed through a decree which has in it no condition, and no 'respect to any thing that either is in man or from him; and that, 'when this faith has been once imparted, it cannot be over- 'thrown.'—He adopts the sentiment of Cameron, as do also many others, 'that the actions of the will in determining de- 'pend, by an inevitable necessity, upon a mode of the under- 'standing;' from which flows this consequence, acknowledged by himself, 'that the first man did not possess powers sufficient 'to repel the suggestions of the devil.' With this likewise agrees this other consequence, which he does not express, 'that even 'the fall of the devil was inevitable.' It is difficult to conceive, how the men who hold such sentiments can explain the sins against conscience, and particularly that which is called *the sin against the Holy Ghost.*"

In another letter to his brother, Grotius communicates the following most interesting information: "I had with me to-

day (Aug. 2, 1635,) three of the most learned of the Reformed Pastors,—Foucheur of Montepelier, and Mestrezat [Metresatus] and Daillé of this church [at Paris]. They intreated me to join their communion; and said, 'that the resolutions of the 'Synods of Alez and Charenton had been altered by new 'decrees, and that communion had been offered to the Luther-'ans. They hoped we accounted theirs to be a Christian Con-'fession; they entertained this opinion about that of the 'Remonstrants. They recollected this expression of mine in 'answer to Sibrandus—*If St. Chrysostom or Melancthon were to 'come to them [the Calvinists], I wonder whether they would 'deny them the right of communion.* They had read my book on '*the Truth of the Christian Religion*, and my last counsels for 'concord, both of which excited their high approval.'—In reply, I commended these sentiments as being most consonant to the designs which I had always cherished, and said, that I had never concealed the wonderful pleasure which I derived from the opinions of Melancthon. In reference to the peace of the churches, I knew that it ought not to be disturbed by violent modes of acting, and that the conferences between learned men ought to be unfettered.—They said, 'that they 'were labouring for the reception of the Dutch Remonstrants 'into communion with them, and had written to Rivet: Since 'they had themselves been rendered more prudent by time, 'they hoped the Dutch [Calvinists] would do something in 'their favour, after they had maturely considered their reasons.' —When this conversation had passed between us, I added, that I was prepared, by those external symbols which had been instituted for this purpose, to testify the communion of spirit which I had always held with them; and that I had at no period determined to abstain from communion. If I should go into a country, in which the Lutherans might be desirous to admit me to communion with them after knowing my sentiments on the Lord's Supper, I would act there in the same manner.—Of this mode of procedure they also approved.—I thank God, that the counsels of moderation have been so far of service, as to cause gentle breezes to blow from that quarter from which in former days the most furious blasts proceeded. I have no doubt, that not a few of these men entertain similar sentiments to ours on this subject. You will be able to speak about this affair with those of the Remonstrants who contain themselves within the bounds of modesty and of wishes for a fair and honourable concord; communicate it likewise to Uitenbogardt; that both he and they may may understand, that what I do is done for the most equitable reasons,—these reasons indeed are of such a description as, were I not to comply with them, would cause the crime to recoil upon me from those persons [the Dutch Calvinists] by whom we had been unjustly

condemned.—The [French] Pastors requested me to publish my notes on the New Testament."

No person in modern times can form a just idea of the virulence with which Amyraut was attacked, by the rigid chiefs of Calvinism, when he began to propound and explain the doctrines of his deceased preceptor. Those who did not approve of his hypothesis were alarmed at it as a novelty, particularly when they saw Peter du Moulin enter into a contest with him, for teaching doctrines contrary to the Synod of Dort and favouring Arminianism.* Not content with defaming Amyraut

* The intelligent reader will require no assurance from me respecting this fact,—*that the history of these contests is, in the perusal, exceedingly irksome to a benevolent mind.* Yet irksome as such an employment is, one cannot fail of being occasionally amused on instituting a few comparisons between the combatants.—The Remonstrants had stated their sentiments at the Synod of Dort, and they are recorded in a former part of this pamphlet: Du Moulin the *quondam* pacificator, to whom an allusion is made in page 153, composed a refutation, which he entitled "The Anatome of Arminianism," and in which he bestowed the most opprobrious epithets on his unoffending victims. This was the reward which the Arminians obtained for asserting *the Universal Good-will of God to man.*—Amyraut and his Cameronists arose, and taught the same doctrine *in appearance*,—but with such a cunning salvo in favour of Calvinism, as, when properly understood, leaves that rigid system in the state in which it was from its commencement. They too decried Arminianism; and, as a proof of their predestinarian orthodoxy distorted its doctrines. Du Moulin became again a combatant, and, because his co-pastors would not express their Calvinism in the very terms which he employed he became far more furious against them than against the Arminians.—Du Moulin, however, ought not to have been thus severe against his brethren; for he had, in his *Anatome of Arminianism*, been guilty of *reforming* "the received doctrine." He thought that Calvinism would be rendered more attractive when divested of the obnoxious branch of *Absolute Reprobation*—the idea of which separation, Calvin himself had before very justly ridiculed. On this topic Du Moulin had used strong expressions: "How abhorrent," says he, "is this from the benignity and the justice of God, to give an *infinite evil* to a creature on whom he had bestowed a *finite good*,—and to create man for the sole purpose of destroying him, that he may acquire glory to himself by such destruction!" For this offence he was dreadfully mal-treated by our celebrated countryman Dr. Twisse, who, in his *Vindication of the Grace, Power and Providence of God*, reprehends in a most caustic style Du Moulin's scheme, and declares most solemnly, that, by it, "he imported into the "Reformed Churches pure and unsophisticated Arminianism." Heavier charges than these are urged against him in eight chapters; beside which he receives occasional flagellation in common with others, whom the old Doctor attacks for the yearning of their natural affections.—Doctor Twisse himself has been blamed for some concessions which he made to innovators in certain parts of his high Calvinistic production. But this accusation has been preferred by men who have not carefully perused the doctor's huge volume. For, read in whatever part we may, if we think he has made an important concession, he will not leave us long in doubt, but with a happy inconsistency will resume in another shape what he had previously granted.

Here then are four kinds of professing Christians: Those who appear in the eyes of the other three the basest and most ignoble, receive in this instance the mildest species of correction. The petulance and visible irascibility gradually ascend through Amyraut and Du Moulin, till, like a chaplet of ill-scented flowers, they find a station, and rest on the brow of the renowned Dr. Twisse, encircling his learned temples. *Palmam qui meruit ferat!*—How weak and ignorant is human reason when it begins to frame for itself, as these quarrelsome Calvinists did, a system of Predestination which finds no countenance in scripture, and concerning which they could not agree among themselves.

and Milletiere, in his book entitled *De Mosis Amyraldi Libro Judicium* Du Moulin inveighed against the character of their deceased preceptor with all the acrimony of an unregenerate spirit, although Cameron had once been his intimate friend. The following are a few specimens of his objectionable performance: "Cameron was never tired of talking: He was an incessant chatterer that would have wearied even Bollanus to death. For if he had found a man that would give him undivided attention, he would prosecute his discourse from an early hour in the morning till late at night without the least intermission. When I was at Paris, he frequently visited me, and was always accompanied by Milletiere his admirer. Sitting down by my side, he generally commenced a harangue of infinite length, while I listened to him in the deepest silence,—for he could not endure any one to interrupt him. When on one occasion I had ventured to speak a few words, wrinkling his brow he exclaimed with indignation, *Do not give me such interruption: Allow me to speak!* Yet he talked about nothing except his own words or deeds,—what conversations he had held at different times with this or that merchant, counsellor, or divine,—how he composed a copy of verses *impromptu* after having left one of them, and sent it to him immediately,—then would he repeat those verses from memory, to the great weariness of his auditors." What criminality can be attached to all these circumstances, and to fifty others still more minute, which Du Moulin relates? Nothing is more natural than for a learned man, after being secluded from society for weeks together, to disclose his mental stores to the first person with whom he meets, and whom he considers to be possessed of sufficient sense to appreciate the value of such a communication. The want of modesty is but in appearance, and the egotism is only temporary; yet these healthful overflowings of genius are intellectual treats, which no man of letters would willingly forego.—But Du Moulin had more *serious charges* to produce: "Cameron was a man of a restless disposition; and was always revolving in his mind and talking about some novelty. Among his friends, of whom I was one, he did not conceal, *that there were many things in our [the Calvinistic] religion which he wished to see changed.*—He made a similar confession in a letter to Lewis Cappel, in which he says: *I have met with many things which I have no wish to disclose, and which the state of the times does not allow me to commit to paper.*" He then gives an extract from a letter, which a London Calvinist sent to a French Divine at Nerac, and in which, having related that he had seen Cameron pass through the Metropolis, he subjoins, "He is a man of profound melancholy, and one that would be *capable of defending a heresy.*" This was the grievance of which Du Moulin had the greatest reason to complain: He thought that

no man, after himself, ought to innovate on Calvinism, in order to accommodate it to the common sense of mankind, or to the increasing knowledge and liberality of the age. Cameron had been prematurely removed to a better world, without instructing mankind in all the amenities of his system; but his disciples Amyraut and Milletiere had, in different ways, divulged them; and they had been embraced by many warm Calvinists as the best and most plausible antidote to Arminianism, which taught men to consider God as a Being of INFINITE VERACITY,—an attribute of Divinity that seems to have been overlooked by many of the Cameronists.

To shew that all the colours which he had displayed were intended only for a lure to the unwary, Amyraut published a work entitled *A Specimen of the Doctrine of Calvin*, in which he proved that Calvin himself maintained UNIVERSAL GRACE! At the National Synod of Alençon, in 1637, he was attacked by Du Moulin and the unruly men of that party; but Amyraut explained his doctrine and defended himself with so much ability, that he was honourably acquitted, and silence was imposed on both sides with regard to the further discussion of these questions. At a subsequent Synod, a complaint was preferred against him for not having observed this silence; but he complained, on the contrary, that it had not been observed by his opponents. The orders for silence were re-iterated; yet Amyraut was allowed to answer some foreigners that had written against his system. At the National Synod of Charenton, in 1645, he was employed by that assembly to reclaim Milletiere from his errors. For several days they conferred together, but could not come to an amicable conclusion. Amyraut was a man of great eloquence and discretion; and the loyalty which he inherited from Cameron was of the greatest benefit at that period to the French Protestants. The Court of France found Amyraut to be a person of integrity upon whose allegiance some reliance might be placed; and he was accordingly treated with much distinction both by Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarine, and others of the illustrious among his countrymen who were of the Romish Communion. He fought his theological battles with great spirit and success. Cameronism, as interpreted by Amyraut, soon obtained the conquest over all its opposers in France and the neighbouring States.* Indeed, the sect of the *Universalists*, or *Cameronists*, prevailed to a far greater extent among the Calvinists on the continent, than did

* "For the sentiments of Amyraut were not only received in all the Universities of the Hugonots in France, and adopted by Divines of the highest note in that nation, but also spread themselves as far as Geneva, and were afterwards disseminated by the French Protestants, who fled from the rage of persecution, through all the Reformed Churches of Europe. And they now are so generally received, that few have the courage to oppose or decry them."—MOSHEIM.

the kindred sect of Baxterians in England. It is to this pleasing state of theological affairs to which Poelenburgh alluded in 1659, when he said: "In this age, after that unbridled passion for contending has subsided which usually transports into opposition even the most excellent men, by degrees the great mass [of professing Christians] acquiesce in this opinion of ours on Predestination, or in one equally moderate."—Bayle refers to the same peaceful æra, when, on recording the wish of several members of the Synod of Alençon to depose Amyraut, he adds: "If these men had lived 30 or 40 years longer, I do not comprehend how they could have shewn their faces: For the doctrine, which, in their opinion, deserved the most thundering anathemas, was at length embraced by the greatest men that served the Reformed Churches of France,—M. Mestrezat, Blondel, Daillé, Claude, &c. The Particularists were forced to acknowledge as their *brethren*, and as *faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ*, those who had maintained the doctrine of Universal Grace. The ministers, who took shelter in Holland and signed a Formulary at the Synod of Rotterdam, in 1686, were not compelled to make any declaration that seemed to strike at the system of Amyraut."

On the progress and defects of Cameronism, several interesting notices occur in the letters of Grotius. On the 29th of Dec. 1636, he writes thus to his brother: "It is now a year and upwards since Milletiere, who was formerly the great champion of the Rochelle party and the opponent of Tilenus, published a book in the French language which relates to the union of the Roman Catholics with the Reformed: But what his design may be, I cannot tell. Some persons say, 'that being 'a man who possesses much self-complacency, of which he 'gives many tokens, he is desirous of obtaining glory by a 'great undertaking.' Others say, 'that, being in a state of 'poverty, he is supported by the kindness of the Cardinal '[Richelieu], for whom he exerts himself, and to whom he 'dedicates his labours.' But those who have a more intimate knowledge of the man, give a milder interpretation to his design, and say, 'that, his spirit having been humbled by adver-'sity, he had turned away his mind from factious and warlike 'counsels to peaceful desires.' Salmasius is one of his friends, and has no bad opinion of the man. It is now some months since he published a book in Latin, in which he explains those things which he had formerly declared with some degree of obscurity, and yet not without some reservations, especially in that part in which he treats about the Ecclesiastical Supremacy and the Eucharist. Various have been the judgments formed by those who yield implicit obedience to the Roman Pontiff, by those who are stern followers of Calvin, and by some of the most moderate in each of the two parties. Du Moulin has

entertained the copy of the book which was sent to him, with a severe answer that has been long expected, as both he and Rivet acted towards the former production. Milletiere has written a tolerably smart reply to Du Moulin, because it is in the French language, of which he has a better knowledge, and has said some things that are not inapplicable to Du Moulin. In his Latin book, among other things on which he treats, at great length and with much plainness, is Cameron's opinion concerning Predestination and Grace: Of that opinion he so far approves as to amend it; and says, it is agreeable to that will of God concerning the salvation of all men which Cameron acknowledges,—*that there might be something in those who are converted, which it was possible for them to avoid.* Yet he does not wish to appear as an approver of the Arminians; for he says, that 'Camero was the only man who awed them into 'silence: After the chief man of that tribe had been subdued, '(he means Tilenus,) no person durst rise up and shew him-'self except one individual under a feigned name, who is un-'derstood to be Episcopius.'—Daillé has opposed Milletiere's last production in an answer composed in purer Latin than that of his adversary, and which is not deficient in tartness and acrimony. I am surprised at his extolling the decrees of the Synod of Dort: Yet, with wonderful evasions and inconsistencies, he wishes to make those decrees coincide with God's will to save all men.

"This is, I think, a proper occasion for the men who are learned in those parts to consider, if they cannot elicit some portion of light from this society of men who are sufficiently hardy. I undertook to transmit to Episcopius, some time ago, what Amyraut and Testard had written on this topic, both of whom are Cameron's disciples; and I was of opinion, that he ought now to print, with a few alterations, those arguments which he formerly wrote while Cameron was living, in defence of his pamphlet, which had been published anonymously, and which after Cameron's death he had suppressed, that he might not seem to contend with a shadow. Such a publication is required, principally for the purpose of exposing the fallacy of that smooth varnish, about *the immutability of the will except so far as it is determined by the understanding*, by which God is undoubtedly constituted the inevitable cause of all offences, and even of the first: Some persons will probably then be enabled clearly to see through this argument, which is a matter not so obscure in itself, as through the fault of those who enter into its discussion. Milletiere has waited upon the English ambassador extraordinary. He has not seen me, because I think he is afraid of the old offence, which I had obliterated from my recollection: For I am now daily intent upon this object—to dismiss all private thoughts from my mind and to devote my whole attention

to the public. By *the public*, I mean, 'the general good of the Christian world.'—It seems necessary to demonstrate, that *the serious will of God concerning the salvation of all men*, and *the pains of death which Christ endured for all men*, are inconsistent with *his absolute will of not affording to the greater part of them such means as are indispensably necessary to their salvation.* On this subject, the distinction which is adopted of *the will of precept*, and *the will of complacency*, is a vain one. It will be likewise needful to answer those arguments by which Cameron wished to establish *the dependence of the will in every respect upon the understanding*, and to vindicate the arguments adduced to the contrary.—I perceive Milletiere's assertions about *the liberty of man in the work of conversion*, differ very little from those of many Protestants in Germany: A foolish species of evasion, that A MORAL IMPOSSIBILITY, although it be attracted from another quarter, AFFORDS NO KIND OF EXCUSE! May not this impossibility be a physical one, particularly in infants?—It will be requisite to shew, that Daillé and his associates are the men who deceive their readers by words which express one thing but signify another, and who ascribe to God a similar course of conduct."

In March, 1637, Grotius addressed the following letter to his brother: "Within these few days, I have seen a book by Du Moulin which is not yet published, and in which he severely censures the opinions of Testard and Amyraut. His discussion of this subject is worthy of perusal. I do not blame him, when he says, 'Arminius possessed a more vigorous 'judgment than Cameron and his followers: Arminius therefore 'uttered such truths as agreed perfectly with each other, and 'as were consistent with the principles which he had once laid 'down; while Cameron and his followers utter doctrines that 'are mutually conflicting. For the man who believes that '*God seriously desires the salvation of every man*, ought likewise 'to acknowledge that God bestows gifts by which man may con-'quer the impossibility of converting himself: He declares that it 'is of no consequence whether this impossibility be called *natural* 'or *moral*, while the force remains the same.'—He frequently employs very bitter expressions against those brethren of his: For, he asserts, 'there are several of their positions which he 'could not read without horror; that, through them, the 'foundations of true piety are overthrown, and the Christian 'Religion turned into smoke; that not a grain of reason can 'be found in some of their expressions; and that they attribute 'to God injustice, cruelty, and misanthropy.'

"The principal reason of this great wrath, on the part of Du Moulin, is because he perceives their doctrines disannul a great part of the Canons of the Synod of Dort; of which he, although absent, was one of the chief fabricators and the sole cause why

that Synod [and its conclusions] were approved in France without examination. He denies, that 'any of God's decrees 'are conditional; he is on this account desirous, that both the 'promises and the precepts should be without decrees of per- 'forming or of affording strength. He accuses these men, and 'not without good reason, for denying that Adam was endued 'with power or strength, by the aid of which it was possible 'for him to avoid temptation; and he shews, to some purpose, 'that the impossibility, which they call *moral*, is in reality, 'according to their own positions, a *natural* impossibility. Uni- 'versal Grace, as expounded by Arminius, is of some utility; 'but, when explained by them, it is totally useless.'—These are extracts which I have made in the course of reading the book, and of which I accounted it necessary to certify you: Mercier is now transcribing the work, that he may forward a copy to Episcopius. Du Moulin wrote it after he had been prohibited, by the Rectors of the University of Sedan, from writing any thing on that subject. He consented to be silent in future; and he now declares, that he has not composed this book with the design of publishing it, but in order to render the adjudication of this matter more easy in the National Synod which is expected. Testard complains, that, since Du Moulin began to write against him, Rivet has also abandoned the sentiment which he formerly entertained—*that this diversity of opinions might be tolerated.* Yet the Senators of the Reformed Religion assure me, that they will endeavour to have nothing fixed, but to allow a liberty of thinking, and to repress among the people this licentiousness of disputing."

In a subsequent letter, written on the 30th of April, he says: "A Rector of the University of Sedan called upon me yesterday, who occasionally officiates as a minister, when a supply is required. He states it as his opinion, that all those among the Reformed who are eminent for acuteness, will come over to the sentiments of Arminius; but that the followers of Cameron will perceive themselves compelled to take refuge there, if they wish to speak agreeably to their own positions, and not to destroy what they have themselves erected."

On the 8th of July, he writes thus: "No messenger offers himself, or I would send you Milletiere's new book, in which he boldly replies to Daillé, and openly defends the opinion concerning Justification which is maintained by the Remonstrants, and indeed by all the Ancients. Milletiere frequently comes to me, and talks in a moderate and polite manner about various controversies. How greatly changed from the Hector which he once was!"

On the 18th of July, Grotius again writes: "In the Synod of Alençon, Testard and Amyraut were heard, but only before

a committee, lest the larger assembly should be divided into parties. Both of them explained their sentiments, and purged themselves from the stain of Arminianism: They were then slightly admonished, not to utter before the people certain unnecessary questions. Thus was the matter passed over, without any more rigid censure agsinst them or wounding of their consciences."

He gives his brother a more complete account on the 8th of August: " In the Synod of Alençon, such was the intemperate fury of certain of Du Moulin's partizans, that they wished all the men who were suspected of Cameronism to be ejected from their situations, and particularly the whole of the ministers that composed the Paris consistory, on account of their dubious purity. It appeared, that a great part of the pastors then began to exhibit a decided leaning towards the sentiments of Cameron. Du Moulin was greatly ridiculed for having said, 'They who 'ascribe to God a desire to save all men, ascribe to him human 'affections.' Amyraut produced five of Du Moulin's sermons, in which he had uttered the very same sentiment, [that God willed the salvation of all men]: He jocosely added, 'that he 'himself deserved to be pardoned though he had fallen into '*such an error*, because he had not perceived *the dreadful conse-*'*quences* which followed! But Du Moulin, who was very certain, 'that such frightful consequences ensued from that position, 'and yet in sight of them had spoken exactly in the same 'manner, had thus become at once a critic upon himself and 'a teacher of noxious doctrines.'—The warmth of Rivet* was likewise displeasing to many of the members: For after acquitting Amyraut and Testard by letter from all the charges which Du Moulin had preferred against them, with the exception of two articles which were by no means of a capital nature, he had notwithstanding inquisitively asked the opinion of all the Universities, Schools, Churches, and principal persons in the United Provinces, concerning Amyraut and Testard: But several of the answers which he received, were more temperate than he wished. For they say, he does not perfectly under-

* Rivet was Du Moulin's brother-in-law; and, according to the laudable rules of affinity, these two relations seemed to have covenanted together to hold similar opinions, and to unite their polemic forces, which were eminently diversified and brawling, against all opposers. This explanation accounts for the rancour which Rivet exhibited towards Grotius, against whose character he invented all kinds of falsehoods for many years. He, at length, accused him of Socinianism. Our countryman, the Rev. Sampson Johnson, was on terms of great intimacy with Grotius, and the latter gratefully acknowledges the benefit which he had derived from his friend's " very learned and pious discourses," while at Hamburgh. At the close of a letter, which Mr. Johnson addressed in 1655 to Dr. Hammond, he says, " For the Socinian opinion, I know he [Grotius] was free; and it was *the malice of Rivet* to bring him in question, as he did many others, out of pride and supercilium, unfitting such a professor."

stand the French language, and is therefore disqualified from passing a clear and unbiassed judgment. You can form no conception how the followers of Cameron celebrate their triumph."

In a subsequent letter, (22d Aug.) he says: "Since I last wrote to you, I have seen the Acts of the Synod of Alençon, and their contents in reference to Testard and Amyraut. Every thing was transacted in such a manner as to cause them to repeat their approbation of the Synod of Alez and Charenton, the mere echoes of that of Dort, [the Canons of which] they were prepared to sign with their blood," &c.

Thus, it appears, that many of these apparently liberal Frenchmen who espoused the doctrine of Universal Grace, were at length dragooned, by the unceasing importunity of their Calvinistical brethren, into an unqualified approbation of the doctrinal vagaries of the Dort Synodists; and, for a long time afterwards, it was an important part of their ingenious occupation to demonstrate the affinity which subsisted between the principles of Universal and Restricted Grace,—an affinity which every man of common understanding will own to have no existence in the nature of the things predicated, but which was attempted to be instituted by means of the most refined Jesuitical equivocations that the mind of man ever invented. The following brief character of the Frenchmen, as delineated by the able hand of Grotius, is equally applicable to Richard Baxter, who, on this point, was one of the warmest of Cameron's disciples: "Testard and Amyraut do nothing more than varnish over *bad doctrines* with *fair words;* and they *take away* with the one hand whatever they have been compelled by the light of the scriptures to *deliver* with the other."—Some of them were undoubtedly upright and pious individuals, and appear to have been at heart real Arminians.* But such was the overwhelming influence of the specious Calvinism which had been fabricated at Dort, that no doctrines could be tolerated in the French Churches except those which could plausibly trace their legal descent from that prolific Synodical parent. As soon as the leaders of Cameron's party, who may be safely complimented for *Gallic astuteness*, but not for *Christian sincerity*, had sacrificed the great and immoveable principles on which the more moderate among them wished to

* Mosheim styles Louis Le Blanc and Claude Pajon, "the most eminent of the reconciling Divines in the French Protestant Church."

On this clause, Dr. Maclaine, his learned Commentator, has introduced the following remark: "It is difficult to conceive, what could engage Dr. Mosheim to place Pajon in the class of those who explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner, as to diminish the difference between the doctrine of the Reformed and the Romish Churches. Pajon was, indeed, a moderate Divine, and *leaned somewhat towards the Arminian system; and this propensity was not uncommon among the French Protestants.* But few Doctors of this time wrote with more learning, zeal, and judgment against Popery, than Claude Pajon."

see their system founded, and when they had established the much-desired affinity between their doctrines and those of the Dort Synodists, all further ecclesiastical enmity ceased. To swear eternal hatred against the scriptural doctrines of Arminius, was considered a test in every respect adequate to the establishment of a man's character for Calvinian orthodoxy; and the Cameronists were not at all backward in expressing their abhorrence of every subsequent movement which betokened a closer approximation to the doctrines of General Redemption. They commenced an attack upon Arminianism; but their polemical attempts in that direction were viewed by all parties as a kind of convenient *ruse du guerre*, which served to ward off from themselves the very semblance of suspicion.*

In this vapid and inefficient manner terminated the struggle, between the high Calvinists and those who had at first evinced a decided bearing towards the tenets of the Dutch Remon-

* Stephen de Courcelles, as Reformed minister at Amiens in Picardy, had, at the Provincial Synod of Charenton, in 1621, opposed the imposition of *the Canons of Dort* on the French Clergy, as a rule of faith, and found many of his brethren in the ministry ready to give support to his opposition. He succeeded Episcopius in the Divinity Professorship at Amsterdam, in 1643; and two years afterwards published the following brief account of one of Amyraut's recent productions, at the commencement of his own Reply to it:

"When the greatest part of the preceding *Examination of the Theses of Gomarus* had been printed off under my superintendence, a friend presented me very opportunely with *Four Theological Dissertations by Moses Amyraut, Professor of Divinity at Saumur*. The Second of them is entitled, *The Right and Jurisdiction which God possesses over his Creatures*, and is opposed to my opinion and to that of Arminius: After I had perused it with some avidity, I met with a scanty return for my labour; on the contrary, I discovered throughout the production several foul errors. But that which most displeased me, was, the violent manner in which the man is borne along by his passions, being seized with an excessive propensity for contradiction, and even to cavil at those things which are truths the most manifest. On this account, I thought something ought instantly to be written in reply.

"*A Treatise on Predestination*, which Amyraut published in the French language ten years ago, was the original cause of this dispute. For in that publication he contends, that Christ suffered death equally for all men, and inculcates some other doctrines which seem to be nearly allied to the sentiment of the Remonstrants. This circumstance gave such great umbrage to Peter du Moulin, Professor of Theology in the University of Sedan, that he undertook the task of examining Amyraut's Treatise in a separate pamphlet. Having shortly afterwards obtained a copy of Du Moulin's *Examination*, I publicly, yet anonymously, delivered my *Sentiments* on the dogmas in controversy between them; and in that small work I shewed myself addicted to neither of the parties, but freely gave my suffrage first to the one and then to the other. But this I did in such a manner, as more frequently to be opposed to Du Moulin than to Amyraut, the latter of whom had in my estimation the better cause. But since Du Moulin was wishful to leave nothing undiscussed in the book of his adversary, while indulging this disposition he not only carped at those expressions which approached in the slightest degree to the doctrines of the Remonstrants, but likewise at those which were at the greatest possible distance from them, and which were quite of an opposite character. Among other instances of this kind, the following occurs in the Fourth Chapter of

strants; and though the hopes of all lovers of consistency were frustrated in the issue, yet it must not be forgotten that some good effects ensued from the controversy: These beneficial results are judiciously summed up in the following liberal remarks which occur in one of Professor Poelenburgh's letters, dated the 19th of Oct. 1655, and which prove that the writer was intimately acquainted with the genius of Cameronism:

"In the mean time, it is deeply to be regretted that the Popish writers, who much too frequently deviate from the scriptures, by ascribing too great an authority to traditions, occasionally evince a far better knowledge of Divine things, than do our Calvinists who acknowledge the scriptures as the sole rule of their faith. What can be more evident than this

Amyraut's Treatise: "If immediately after the creation of man, God had 'plunged him into the bottomless infernal abyss, without having regard 'either to his good or to his evil actions, but only for the purpose of dis-'playing his supreme right over his creatures, it was man's duty to acquiesce 'in such severity without any unwillingness; because he is the creature of 'his Creator according to an absolute and indefinite right.'—To this reasoning Du Moulin replies: 'The absolute right of the Creator does not extend 'itself to unjust things, nor can He employ it in hating his own work, or 'a just and innocent creature. For, in addition to the injustice of such a 'punishment, God would by this means render man wicked, and would 'excite him to hatred and murmuring against him: Because it is impossible 'for man to feel any other disposition towards God, of whose love towards 'him he would perceive no fruit so long as he was hated by God and eter-'nally tormented.'"

Courcelles then details his own remarks on these two contradictory statements, and adds: "I afterwards retorted Du Moulin's [general] arguments upon himself, and the other patrons of Absolute Reprobation, but principally upon those who are styled *Supra-lapsarians*; and I demonstrated, that Amyraut's opinion was more worthy of being tolerated than that which they espoused. For they teach, 'that God, through the pure good-pleasure 'of his will, and without any consideration of *sin* as the *moving cause*, (or 'at least without any regard to what deserves really to be called *sin*,) has 'destined and created by far the greatest portion of mankind for eternal 'torments.' What they without any obscurity thus ascribe to God, is said by Amyraut *to be only possible for God to do*; but he plainly denies that God ever in reality acts in any such manner.

"This is a summary of what I then wrote on this topic; and throughout the whole discussion I conducted myself with the greatest possible moderation towards Amyraut. I was therefore much astonished when I saw myself treated with very great asperity in his recent Treatise; in which he not only styles my small production *a virulent composition*, but he also calls me *a calumniator*, and charges me with *petulance* and other faults of the same nature. For after I had defended him, in many articles of doctrine, against Du Moulin's accusations, with such fidelity as could not make him wish to have a better advocate for his cause, it was nothing more than equitable that, if he was unwilling to return me the thanks which I had deserved, (which would only have been the act of an ingenuous mind,) he might at least have refrained from invective and reproach. Was he angry, because I disapproved of his dogmas in some passages, which were in my judgment not agreeable to truth, and because I expressed my concurrence with Du Moulin when he refuted them? Is Amyraut so angry, self-complaisant, and haughty, as not to be able to endure faithful admonitions? Or, rather, did he not suppose, that, *by treating me with contumely, he might be able to purge himself from the suspicion of* ARMINIANISM, which he has incurred among the men with whom he associates?"

truth—*Christ died for all men?* What doctrine is more frequently propounded in the sacred writings? Yet this truth, plain as it appears, is frittered away by these brethren under the veil of a frivolous distinction. * But it is a happy circumstance, that many eminent men have lately arisen in France, who, having imbibed better sentiments, openly profess it to be *the will of God that all men be saved*, and assert that *Christ shed his blood for all men without a single exception.* On this subject you are accustomed to dissent from me in our familiar conversations together, when you contend, 'that from this discussion '[between the followers of Cameron and those of Calvin,] we 'gain nothing in favour of the truth, because those disciples of 'Cameron openly differ from us on other primary articles in the 'controversy,—such as *the fixed number of those who are absolutely predestinated, the irresistibility of grace, the damnation of 'those who die in infancy, &c.*' This fact I confess and lament. Yet they seem to assert this last dogma with some degree of hesitancy; and they do not maintain it on the principle of *their belief of its truth*, so much as on that of *being conducted to it by other dogmas which require its assistance.*† But those other dogmas will, I hope, on this very account be soon discarded, because such dreadful consequences flow from them.

"But it must be granted, that at least a gradual advance has thus been made towards a closer inspection of the truth. This is sufficiently apparent to me at present—(1) From the circumstance of their very accurate exposition, according to our sentiments, of all those passages of scripture by which we contend for Universal Grace.—(2) Because, in arranging the Divine Decrees, they follow nearly the same order as our Divines have adopted.—(3) This fact likewise must not be overlooked —their adversaries the Calvinists openly contend, and press it upon them as a necessary consequence, that, 'if they wish ALL 'THEIR SENTIMENTS or writings to be in complete harmony, 'they ought to entertain opinions similar to ours on the other 'controverted dogmas.'—(4) Lastly, If we gain nothing else by the affair, this advantage at least will accrue to us—it will be conceded, that respecting these and similar discrepancies in the explanation of sentiments and expositions of passages of scripture, A MUTUAL TOLERATION MUST BE EXERCISED. Nay, if I

* The distinction to which Poelenburgh here alludes, seems to be that mentioned with two others, in the preceding examination of Tilenus, page 44: "The word ALL is to be understood, not for *all of every kind*, but for *some few only of every sort and nation.*"

† This clause contains a reason for the retention of one-half of the absurd contradictions of Calvinism and Baxterianism. The followers of these two discordant predestinarian schemes propound some of their dogmas, not on the principle of *a belief in their truth, as separate propositions*, but on that of *their necessity as supports to other dogmas, which, without them, could not be maintained.* There is abundance of materials, in the private correspondence of such men, to prove this fact beyond all controversy.

may be allowed to prognosticate concerning futurity, I would say, 'After our adversaries have been taught a sufficient length 'of time to bear in their communion these learned Frenchmen, 'Christ the Prince of Peace will cause them at length to exhibit 'a similar equanimity of disposition toward us who ask for 'peace with importunity.'"

Some of the most glaring inconsistencies of Cameron or Baxter's system have been pointed out in the preceding extracts from Grotius. In opposition to Amyraut's improved edition of Cameronism, Stephen de Courcelles composed a treatise entitled, *Vindiciæ de Jure Dei in Creaturas*, to which Bishop Womack adjudges this equitable commendation, (page 14,) "It is of small price and of great profit." After premising, that Courcelles' opinions on some points were neither so orthodox nor evangelical as those of Arminius, I subjoin the following quotation from the 13th Chapter of his work, as an able exposure of several of the fallacies employed by the French Universalists, which have been repeated by their friends the Baxterians in England:

"But I hear Amyraut replying thus: 'The inconveniences 'with which you charge the two preceding systems *on the ob-* '*ject of Reprobation*, [those of the Supra and Sub-lapsarians,] 'do not attach to me. For I teach, that God seriously wills 'the salvation of all men; that Christ has endured the cursed 'death of the cross for all men equally; that to all men to 'whom the gospel is proclaimed, a possibility is granted of 'believing in Christ, if they will; and that none, except the 'finally impenitent and unbelieving, are rejected from salvation.' —These doctrines, I confess, have an imposing appearance; and when I peruse them in Amyraut's book, I can scarcely refrain from exclaiming, *Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.* My sole wish is, that he would constantly persist in them, and not overturn them by doctrines of a contrary tendency: This, it appears to me, he does when he asserts, 'that 'Adam sinned *necessarily;* and that from his offence such a 'great corruption has pervaded all men, that although, *if they* '*will*, they may believe on Christ when preached to them, yet '*to will such an act* is IMPOSSIBLE to any one except he be im-'pelled *by the unconquerable force of the Holy Spirit, which God* '*communicates to a certain small number of elect persons.*' By such a mode of teaching, that which seems to be bestowed by one hand is instantly withdrawn by the other."

Courcelles having combatted with great ability Amyraut's doctrine of *the necessity of Adam's sin*, proceeds thus: "Since therefore, by asserting *the necessity of the first sin*, Amyraut has so shamefully stumbled at the very entrance, it was impossible for the other doctrines to be immaculate, which he raised as a superstructure on this bad foundation. Of this faulty descrip-

tion is that which he holds in common with the rest of the Reformed,—'Such great corruption has flowed from this first sin 'upon the whole of the human race, that we are all born the 'slaves of sin, with propensities to evil and with an inaptitude 'to every good thing; and without *special grace*, which is bes- 'towed on a few only that are *absolutely elected*, it is as utter an 'impossibility for us to free ourselves from this state of bondage, 'as for an Æthiopian to change his skin, or a Leopard its 'spots.'—If this dogma be once admitted, the benefits of Redemption are converted into a cruel tragedy, although the Holy Scriptures testify that in those benefits God has unfolded all the treasures of his grace and mercy. Tell me, what kind of grace or mercy is this—to cast the whole of the human race into an unavoidable necessity of sinning and of perishing, that *he may liberate a few only* from such thraldom?

"But Amyraut teaches, 'that Christ died for all men equally, 'and that the remedy which he has procured is as extensive as 'the disease, according to that expression of St. Paul, *God hath 'concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.*' (Rom. xi, 32.)—If this were really the case, the absurdity of his opinion would be somewhat diminished, and he would frame a God not altogether merciful, but one less cruel, because those whom he had wounded he would afterwards heal, and those whom he had precipitated into a pit he would draw out again: But this supposition is far from the truth." He then shews the incompatibility of this doctrine with the rest of Amyraut's theory, and says: "But I ask, Has not Christ paid a most complete and full satisfaction to God his Father for all that was due to Divine Justice on the part of infants newly born? They owe nothing except with respect to the sin and guilt which they contracted from Adam: For they have not yet committed any actual transgression. Since payment has been made [on their part through Christ], they must be restored to the same state in which Adam stood prior to his fall: But they are not thus restored, according to Amyraut. God therefore acts towards them with cruel injustice; for, by such a procedure as this, *he has* NOT *mercy upon all those whom he has concluded in unbelief*"—After some other reasoning on this subject, Courcelles continues his refutation in the following manner:

"Besides, since faith is necessary in order to make us partakers of the benefits which are procured by the death of Christ, and since no one can obtain it by his natural powers, (for it is imparted through a special gift, from which God by an absolute decree has excluded the greatest portion of mankind,) of what avail is it that Christ has died for *those to whom faith is denied?* Does not the affair revert to the same point, as if *he had never entertained an intention of redeeming them?*—'But,' says Amyraut, 'all men may believe in Christ if they will: For he is 'proposed to them in the gospel; and they are endued with an

'understanding and a will, which are the organs of belief. It 'remains therefore solely with themselves whether they will 'believe or not.'—If this be not a mere trifling with words, what is? As though that man who *has not the ability even to will* any thing, may do it *if he will!* And if [according to Amyraut] it be impossible for him *to will any thing*, it is likewise out of his power *to nill it;* much less is it possible for him *by an effort of unwillingness* to implicate himself in some grievous crime, as they do who refuse to believe the gospel.' 'For 'he only has the power of *nilling* who also enjoys the power of '*willing*,' as it is stated in *Digest. de Reg. Juris.—leg.* 3. If therefore the reprobates have not the ability of *willing* to believe in Christ, neither have they the ability of *being unwilling;* and on account of such unwillingness, [which according to Amyraut is inevitable,] they commit no offence. Their being endowed with an understanding and a will, is not of the least consequence: For since those faculties have been corrupted by the hereditary sin which they contract from Adam, and since they are not adapted to form that faith which is required from them, it cannot be imputed to them as a crime that they do not believe. 'But they excel greatly in other matters which 'relate to the present life.' Of what avail is this, if they [the understanding and will] be deficient and completely fettered in this the chief concern, in which they are most needed? For this circumstance was not unknown to God when he willed, that Christ should offer himself to death for them; nor was it unknown to Christ when he yielded obedience to the will of his Father. In vain therefore did both of them display such transcendent benevolence towards these miserable creatures, if it was not their pleasure to heal this original malady and to restore their understandings and wills to that integrity which was lost in Adam.—'But, [Amyraut rejoins,] it proceeds en-'tirely from their own malignity, that, after God has mercifully 'bestowed on them these natural endowments, they do not em-'ploy them in believing on Christ.' Let this be conceded: Yet the malignity here described has been implanted in them by nature; and it is more impracticable for them to lay it aside, than to divest themselves of their sex or to carry a huge mountain upon their shoulders.

"Amyraut proceeds to say: 'But this impotency is of two 'kinds,—the one *physical*, the other *ethical*. The former occurs, 'when any one is destitute of the members or faculties, which 'are requisite for the performance of any thing; but the latter '[a *moral* impotency] consists of some depraved habit, which 'creates within a man an inability to obey the Divine Will or 'Pleasure.' And he allows, 'that an impotency of the former 'description is excusable; and that a man cannot justly be 'required to fly in the air like the birds, or to live in the water

'like fishes.' But he says, 'the latter species of impotency, 'which has malignity united with it, is completely inexcusable.' But it is absurd, as well as repugnant to the usage of correct speaking, to call that *a moral impotency* which cleaves to every man from his mother's womb, and which cannot be removed by any one, except by God alone, the Author of nature. For although that malignity is opposed to natural innocence, yet it is no less *physical* than the blindness or the deafness which some persons derive from their birth. 'But,' you will reply, 'it 'consists of morals, and every thing of this description is cor- 'rectly called *ethical*.' By no means; for that alone is ethical or moral which proceeds from a voluntary usage or habit. This malignity, by which we are rendered incapable of willing to believe in Christ when he is announced to us, is said to be implanted in us from the birth, in the same manner as cruelty and rapacity are implanted in wolves: It is therefore evidently physical. But it is in the power of no man to eradicate innate vices: For the poet has properly asserted,

> Dame nature once expell'd, you soon will learn
> No barriers can prevent her quick return.

Yet those things which are ethical and contracted by habit, may be set aside by a contrary habit. Nor do they take away all capability of doing what is opposed to them; they only render such an adverse course extremely difficult and incommodious. Wherefore God can with justice require from those who have corrupted themselves by vicious indulgences, that they desist from such evil courses; and that, unless they do desist, he will punish them with severity. But imagine God to have created them corrupted individuals, and to have left them in that state,—so that, according to the common expression, it is as impossible for them to amend themselves as to raise the dead, —He would be acting unjustly, were he to issue a similar requisition, [*without furnishing the adequate powers*, according to Amyraut's theory,] and were he, in case of their disobedience, eternally to punish them in the torments of hell.

"From these premises it follows, in the last place, that God does not seriously desire the conversion or salvation of many of those for whom he provides the preaching of the gospel, and that he adopts a hypocritical conduct towards them, since [according to Amyraut] it is not his pleasure to remove from them that innate disability under which they labour of believing in Christ. For he must be accounted *not to have willed the end*, who has *not willed the means* without which the end can on no account be obtained. I am aware, that Amyraut utters this exception: 'God *wills* the conversion of certain men, 'only in such a manner as to *approve* of it; but he wills the

'salvation of others, so as likewise to *effect* it. Towards the former 'class of men, he acts as a *Legislator;* but his conduct towards the 'latter, is that of a *Father.*' But this objection is devoid even of common speciousness. For it is the province of *a tyrant,* and not of *an equitable legislator,* to command impossibilities, and, in consequence of disobedience, to subject the offending parties to a cruel punishment. Much more tyrannical still must it be, if he is himself the cause why those things which he commands are impossible to be performed; as if he should order a man to run after he had broken his legs, or should command another man to read whose eyes he had plucked out. Yet this is exactly the doctrine which Amyraut's opinion inculcates: that is, 'God, under the penalty of eternal damnation, enjoins *the per-* 'formance of good works on those men whom, on account of the 'sin of their first parents, he has created in such a state of cor- 'ruption that it is impossible for them to do any otherwise than 'commit iniquity.' Nor is it of any importance, that they are said *to have merited such punishment;* for although they might have been most deserving of it, that could not in equity be required from them which he had under a penalty rendered impossible to be done.—'Nevertheless,' says Amyraut, 'God 'would be pleased with their conversion, if they would con- 'vert themselves at the external hearing of the Gospel: For 'this would be a matter that would be wonderfully agreeable to 'him!' Is this the expression of one who seriously wills conversion, or is it not rather that of one who mocks and trifles with the misery of another? For since the external preaching of the word is insufficient for this purpose, and since God knows for a certainty that without the aid of *his determining grace* no person can either will or effect this [conversion], the performance of it cannot be pleasing to the Divine Mind so long as He does not bestow such grace: In the same manner as it cannot be pleasing to him, that a dead person to whom he has not restored life should rise out of the tomb. For he who alone has in his own hand all those means which are necessary to the performance of any thing, and denies them to another, cannot possibly (except with deep dissimulation) command that other person to perform it: Under such circumstances, the more earnest and frequent the exhortations, promises, and threats which he employs, the more completely does he betray his own hypocrisy, malice, or folly. Suppose me now to be on an island with some servants, and that only one ship is there, which is solely in my own power: Suppose me then to command *all those servants* to sail over the sea from the island to the distant continent, and to grant the use of that single ship to *a few* of them only, but absolutely to deny to *all the rest* any such accommodation: In this case, who will be so foolish as to suppose it to be my serious will or intention, that those persons

to whom I deny the use of the ship, should sail over to the continent? Were I, in addition to all this, to employ magnificent promises and atrocious threatenings, should I not be called *a dissembling and unjust man*, who was mocking those unhappy servants whom I hated, and was seizing an opportunity of treating them with cruelty? But this is precisely the kind of conduct which Amyraut ascribes to God: From which it is evident *how egregiously* he extols the Divine Mercy in procuring the salvation of the whole human race; and *in what manner* he teaches us, that God acts towards us *without the least dissimulation and in perfect sincerity!!*"

As the preceding elucidations of the political and religious creed of the early French Protestants have been derived principally from such sources as have not been pointed out by the learned Mosheim, I here quote from him the following Propositions, in which he has briefly and judiciously summed up the *peculiar doctrines* of the Universalists:

"That God desires the happiness of all men, and that no mortal is excluded by *any divine decree*, from the benefits that are procured by the death, sufferings, and Gospel of Christ.

"That, however, none can be made a partaker of the blessings of the gospel, and of eternal salvation, unless he *believe* in Jesus Christ.

"That such, indeed, is the immense and universal goodness of the Supreme Being, that he refuses to *none* the power of believing; though he does not grant unto *all* his assistance and succour, that they may wisely improve this power to the attainment of everlasting salvation.

"And that, in consequence of this, multitudes perish through their own fault, and not from any want of goodness in God."

I am also much pleased with the candour and moderation which breathe in the following observations on this topic, and which are the more remarkable as proceeding from Dr. Maclaine, a Presbyterian Calvinist: "This mitigated view of the doctrine of Predestination has *only one defect;* but it is *a capital one.* It represents God as *desiring* a thing (that is, salvation and happiness) for ALL, which, in order to its attainment, requires a degree of his assistance and succour, which he refuseth to MANY. This rendered grace and redemption UNIVERSAL only in *words*, but PARTIAL in *reality;* and therefore did not at all mend the matter. The Supralapsarians were consistent with themselves; but their doctrine was harsh and terrible, and was founded on the most unworthy notions of the Supreme Being. And, on the other hand, the system of Amyraut was full of inconsistencies: Nay, even the Sublapsarian doctrine has its difficulties, and rather palliates than removes the horrors of Supralapsarianism.

"What then is to be done? From what quarter shall the candid and well-disposed Christian receive that solid satisfaction and wise direction, which neither of these systems is adapted to administer? These he will receive by turning his dazzled and feeble eye from the secret decrees of God, which were neither designed to be rules of action, nor sources of comfort, to mortals here below; and by fixing his view upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ, the pure laws and sublime promises of his Gospel, and the respectable equity of his present government and his future tribunal."

But Dr. Maclaine was not aware, that in the last paragraph he has given a good description of Arminianism, or he would not thus have committed himself. His decided partiality for the Dutch Calvinists is apparent throughout his annotations on *Mosheim's History;* for, in whatever part any mention is made of the persecuted Remonstrants, he shews that he has little acquaintance with their principles or their conduct, except such as he collected from the statements of their enemies. But when he delivers his own opinion about the bigoted conduct of the Calvinistic opposers of Amyraut, he was less guarded in his expressions; and, after informing his readers, that neither Supra nor Sublapsarianism, nor even "the system of Amyraut full of inconsistencies," has furnished them with "worthy notions of the Supreme Being," he advises them "to turn their dazzled and feeble eyes from *the secret decrees of God,* and to fix them upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ [in] his Gospel," &c. Now this is exactly the course which Arminius wished every man to pursue; and the sole crime with which his adversaries could justly charge him, after all their subterfuges, was this,—his paramount desire for all men to leave under the Divine management "*the secret things* which belong unto the Lord our God alone," and to engage them in the study of "*those truths which are revealed,* and which belong unto us and to our children for ever." (Deut. xxix, 29.)

D.—Page 167.

William Twisse, D. D. was born at Spenham Land, near Newbury, in Berkshire, in 1575. He received a good classical education at Winchester School; and, after passing through his early academic degrees at Oxford, with considerable reputation, was chosen Fellow of New College, in that University. His great learning, and popular talents as a preacher, gained him high applause.

He remained at the University till he was chosen, by King James I. to attend the Princess Elizabeth, as her Chaplain, to

the Court of the Elector Palatine, to whom she was given in marriage, in 1613, and who was the nephew of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and of the Duke of Bouillon, the latter of whom, on account of the Calvinistic connections of his family, expelled from the Divinity Professorship, at Sedan, the celebrated Daniel Tilenus after his conversion to Arminianism. While the Doctor was in attendance at the Court of Heidelberg, he witnessed one of the most extraordinary and baneful effects of the Synod of Dort which can be imagined.

King James, as an important branch of the family, sent a deputation of respectable British Divines to that Synod, for the double and undisguised purpose of condemning the Remonstrants, (but especially Vorstius, whom his Majesty had long before exposed to the world as an arch-heretic,) and of assisting the Prince of Orange in his design of usurping the liberties of the United Provinces, and assuming the supreme authority. The Elector Palatine sent his Heidelberg Divines for the same family purposes; and the Duke of Bouillon employed all his influence with the chief pastors among the French Reformed, one of whom, though not permitted to appear at Dort, sent a violent, but very superficial, letter to the Synod, in which he assured them, *that he condemned Arminius and his followers,* though he had never heard them, and knew little about their writings. But it was a part of King James's infelicity, that his deepest designs, though displaying considerable ingenuity in their formation, frequently miscarried, or only partially succeeded. Thus the Remonstrants and Vorstius were condemned (unheard) at the Synod; but Prince Maurice was not crowned *King of the Netherlands.* The failure of this part of the Prince of Orange's scheme was a circumstance about which our great historian, Camden, expressed his great satisfaction: but though that was ultimately its fate, yet, at the period to which we allude, (when Dr. Twisse resided at the Court of Heidelberg,) its success was, to all human appearance, inevitable and certain.

For his part in these services, Frederick the Fifth, the Elector Palatine, very naturally considered himself entitled, in return, to some effectual assistance from his relations. Soon after the conclusion of the Synod of Dort, the crown of Bohemia was offered, by the Protestants of that kingdom, to this young Prince, in consequence of some dissension between them and their fellow-subjects, the Roman Catholics. His competitor for the kingdom was Ferdinand, Arch-Duke of Austria, who was soon afterwards elected Emperor of Germany. Brandt informs us, (book 52,) "This matter [the offer of the crown] seemed to have been long concerted; for it is said, that the Advocate Olden Barnevelt opposed it when he was in the ministry, and that he had been heard to presage, with great concern, its

dismal issue. The Elector Palatine had likewise been earnestly dissuaded from accepting the crown of Bohemia, and forewarned of the unpleasant consequences, by the Electors of Mentz, Triers, Cologne, and Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Landgrave of Hesse, at Catsnellebogen. Among those who promoted this design, are reckoned Prince Maurice and the Duke of Bouillon, and particularly his own consort, the Electress, [daughter of the British Monarch,] who is stated to have employed the following expressions to him: 'Had you 'the courage to become suitor to the daughter of a King, and 'have you not now the heart to accept of a crown?' Concerning Prince Maurice it is related, that, hearing of a certain nobleman, at Heidelberg, having propounded this question, *Ought the Elector Palatine to be advised to accept of the crown of Bohemia?* he rejoined, 'I would have asked that gentleman, '*Is there any green cloth to be purchased at Heidelberg?*' And when some one enquired, *for what purpose he would have asked that question*, the Prince replied, 'To make caps for the 'heads of those men who asked such foolish questions!' The Elector, having resolved to improve such a favourable opportunity, accepted the crown which was offered to him by the Bohemians, and proceeded to Prague, the capital of that kingdom, where he and the Electress were crowned with great pomp and ceremony. But his father-in-law, James, King of Great Britain, an enemy to all wars, was decidedly opposed to his acceptance of the crown, and said, 'It was a rash and too 'precipitate a resolution, proceeding from bad counsel.' He ordered, that his son-in-law should not be styled *King* in the public prayers, but only *the Elector Palatine.*" But the British Monarch's refusal of assistance to his son-in-law may be traced to another more potent cause than *his love of peace*,— to his absurd tampering with the Court of Spain, of which proud house Ferdinand the Second, poor Frederick's rival, was a powerful branch.

King Frederick, immediately after his coronation, published a manifesto, in which he stated the reasons which had induced him to accept of the proffered kingdom. Many persons, however, were surprised to find in it the following sentiments concerning religion, especially when they proceeded from a man who, through his agents at the Synod of Dort, had scarcely a year before professed sentiments the most co-ercive, and whose immediate predecessors had expelled the Lutherans from the Palatinate: "Now, in these latter times, and among so many "different opinions in matters of faith and religion, it has been "effectually discovered, that, according to the contents of the "Holy Scriptures, and agreeably to those established prin- "ciples of doctrines, which are of the greatest antiquity, men "will not be led, driven, or forced, with respect to conscience;

"and that, whenever such force or co-ercion has been "attempted, though in the most private manner, it has always "produced pernicious consequences, and occasioned great revo- "lutions in the most considerable kingdoms and provinces."

Abraham Schultetus, as one of the Palatine deputies at Dort, the preceding year, had been most violent in his conduct against the Arminians; but, in the capacity of Chaplain to the new King, he then directed his talents to a more grateful occupation to serve his royal master. In the treatise entitled *Curriculum Vitæ*, or "A Relation of the course of his Life," Schultetus says, "King Frederick, having promised liberty of con- "science to all the people of his kingdom, strictly observed "that promise as long as he was possessed of the crown; and "he did not retain any church for the exercise of his own re- "ligion, except that of the Castle at Prague, which he purged "from Popish idols."—Brandt says, "This purgation was made at the pressing instance of the said Schultetus, who, in a sermon, which he preached for that purpose, in the chapel belonging to the Court, said, that such images, which he called *idols*, 'ought neither to be made nor worshipped, nor the worship of them tolerated.' He afterwards published his sermon, which gave grievous offence, not only to those Bohemians that were Papists, but even to the Lutherans themselves, who allowed the use of images. The Divines of Wurtembergh, Tubingen, and Leipsic, and those of Mentz and Ingolstadt, wrote in defence of images; but Schultetus was vindicated by one Theophilus Mosanus. Some persons have thought, that this abolition of images ought not to have been thus attempted at the commencement of King Frederick's reign; but that they should first have been rooted out of the people's *hearts*, and then cast out of their *churches*. It was likewise believed, that this unseasonable zeal gave a check to the King's affairs, and alienated the minds of many." On the 15th of April, 1620, the confederacy was renewed between the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; on which occasion, Schultetus, before King Frederick and the Deputies of the two kingdoms, maintained in his sermon, 'that fraternal love and unity might be 'established between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, not- 'withstanding their disagreeing on a few points; and that he 'was well assured, from the word of God, that the sanctity of 'mutual prayers, and the sincerity of brotherly love, found 'more favour in the sight of God than all the contentions about 'the ubiquity and the carnal manducation of Christ's body.' This would have appeared very tolerant and catholic, had it been uttered fourteen months before, at the Synod of Dort; but as it now seemed to be spoken only to serve a political purpose, it did not captivate the Lutherans. Indeed, the grand instance of Calvinistic intolerance at that Synod was long remembered

by the Lutherans, who refused, for many years, to hold communion with them, though, at several subsequent periods, solicited, in various parts of Europe, to enter into fraternal concord. See the preceding important extract, from Mosheim's small treatise, page 152—155.—On mentioning the sermon of Schultetus, Brandt adds, "But these fair words could not so far work upon the Lutherans as to remove all jealousies and suspicions from their minds; for, when they considered what had befallen the Remonstrants in Holland, they expected the same fate, as soon as the Calvinists should be once fixed in the saddle. These and similar considerations caused several of the Lutheran Princes to stand neuter between the contending parties, and even induced others of them to embrace the party of the Emperor, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Bavaria, and the other Potentates of the Romish Church, and to oppose the new Monarch. He could not, therefore, withstand the force that overwhelmed him on every side, while he was supported only by the assistance of this state, [Bohemia,] and the few Princes who had espoused his cause. One part of the Palatinate was taken from him this summer, (1620,) by the Spanish General Spinola; and the Bohemian army was defeated by the Duke of Bavaria, upon the White Hill near Prague, and was totally dispersed on the 8th of November, the very Sunday on which it was usual to expound that gospel in which we find the expression of '*Render unto* CÆSAR *the things that are Cæsar's.*' That defeat was followed by the flight of King Frederick and his Queen, and by the loss of the capital and all the kingdom. When the report of this misfortune reached Holland, for some weeks no credit was given to it by the Contra-Remonstrants. And I remember to have frequently heard, in my youthful days, that when Peter Plancius [of Amsterdam] was preaching in the tabernacle, on the Keysersgracht where the Western Church now stands, he cried publicly in the pulpit, *The report of the taking of Prague is one of those lies which the Papists, Arminians, and other enemies of the church, have circulated!* and that a certain waterman laid his barge as a wager, *that Prague could not be surrendered, for he had heard Plancius say so from the pulpit.* Such an assertion the man considered a good demonstration of the truth; but he found himself mistaken."

At this period of the Lady Elizabeth's misfortunes, the previous excellent instructions of Dr. Twisse are represented to have been very beneficial to her, and to have enabled her to endure the greatest adversity with undaunted courage. The good Doctor, during this excursion, became acquainted with such men as Schultetus, Pelargus, Ames, &c., from whom he imbibed all their accumulated malevolence against Arminianism,

which, soon after his return to England he concocted with his own, and embodied in his famous publications.

But leaving the Doctor at present, we proceed to notice a few remarkable circumstances attendant on the Elector's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, which imparted an uncommonly enthusiastical aspect to Calvinism, and which had great influence upon the affairs of this country in the time of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth.

Though the personal sufferings of King Frederick and his Queen could not descend much lower than to the point to which they were at first reduced—the loss of Bohemia and of their hereditary dominions, the acceptance of an asylum at the Hague, and a dependance upon the English Court during many subsequent years for pecuniary aid in regaining their former possessions, from which unfortunately they were doomed to be perpetual exiles,—yet those Protestants who had identified themselves in their fate by the warm interest with which they espoused their cause, were doomed to be great sufferers, in consequence of the change of affairs in favour of Ferdinand the Second, Emperor of Germany. Many thousand persons in Bohemia and the Palatinate were compelled by the Popish conqueror to forbear the exercise of their religion and become Papists, or to be banished from their native country. This persecuting scourge, within a few months, extended itself to other Provinces of Germany, and especially to those which had deputed their Divines to Dort to condemn the innocent Remonstrants. The latter must have been very unobservant spectators indeed, had they not perceived in several of these occurrences that just retribution of Divine Providence which is frequently inflicted, even in this life, on offending communities and associations. We accordingly find Professor Barlæus thus expressing himself, in that very elegant and spirited address to the States General, entitled *Fides Imbellis*, or "Unresisting Faith," which he published in August, 1620: 'Mahomet 'the Turkish Emperor is said to have derived from the Christi- 'ans a knowledge of the modes in which persecutions were 'conducted: And the cruelty which the Roman Catholics 'exercised not long since against the Reformed, has been 'returned by the latter in various places against the Catholics. 'The Calvinistic ministers have been lately expelled from the 'country of the Grisons; from whence they had, only a few 'years before, expelled the Papists: And the same body of 'men are now destitute of Churches themselves in Aix la 'Chapelle, although it is not long since they were filled with 'envy at the Jesuits possessing their own Churches in that 'city. In Bohemia and its confederate States, the Catholic 'places of worship have been seized; but now, such is the

'change which God effects in human affairs, they are forcibly 'wrested from their recent possessors, and again restored to 'their former occupants: At the first seizure the Jesuits were 'compelled to become exiles; and now, at the second seizure, 'the Calvinistic Divines are banished from the same country. 'Most wonderful are the judgments of God, who by the secret 'movements of his Providence thus checks and represses the 'too lofty aspirings and insolent ambition of those who assume 'to themselves the title of *the Reformed Churches;* and this he 'does, lest they should cease to be *Christians,* while they 'covet for themselves the sceptres of princes, and endeavour 'by the basest arts to extend the boundaries of their confined 'dominions. Those foreign Divines who were present at the 'Synod of Dort, and who contributed their share of advice and 'labour towards the oppression of the Remonstrants, had 'themselves scarcely returned to their several habitations be-'fore they were overtaken by Divine Justice, which is the 'avenger of insolence and pride.—The Divines of the Palatinate 'are banished from their country, and, among the rest, that 'leader of the Synodical band, that slave in the ecclesiastical 'farce, Abraham Schultetus. The Divines from the Correspon-'dence of Wetteraw are afflicted; those of Hesse are in mourn-'ing; the Swiss Divines tremble; and the Divine of Charenton '[Peter du Moulin], who in his recent *Anatomy* poured forth 'the torrents of his rage against the banished Remonstrants, is 'himself compelled to consult the safety of his own life in flight. 'God forbid, that the public enemies of our country, should 'hereafter repay in equal measure, to the Contra-Remonstrants, 'the same injurious treatment which the Remonstrants have 'experienced from those domestic foes, and which they con-'tinue daily to experience! It is a proverb among the follow-'ers of Pythagoras, *He who endures the same degree of pain as 'he had previously inflicted on another, is treated with equitable 'retribution.* With this agrees the oracular sentence of Christ, '*With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.* '(Matt. vii, 2.)—*Seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to re-'compense* TRIBULATION *to them that trouble you, and* REST *to 'you who are troubled.* (2 Thess. i, 6.)'

In a French letter, which the imprisoned Remonstrant minister Charles de Nielles addressed, in 1627, to Uitenbogardt, he pursues the same train of reflections: 'I likewise understand by 'report, that those Calvinists who had deputed their Divines 'to the Synod of Dort, have been themselves banished out of 'the Correspondences of Nassau and of Wetteraw. They have 'all been compelled to become exiles, as have also those of 'Hesse, with the exception of such of them as are willing to 'abjure Calvinism and to embrace Popery or Lutheranism. I 'deplore the calamity in which a great number of upright men

'are involved; but the truth is, these people, after having enjoyed for many years the peaceable exercise of their religion under the protection of the Augsburgh Confession,* conducted themselves so outrageously against us at the Synod of Dort, as to have afforded to the Lutherans just cause for dreading their higher advancement in Germany. They came to Dort for the purpose of lending their aid to persecute us; and they condemned, in our persons at that Synod, the Augsburgh Confession, which they had promised under the sanctity of an oath to maintain: And these very persons are now expelled from their native country, as we have been.—I am afraid, that those of Bremen and Embden [who likewise had deputies at Dort] will have reason to be apprehensive that this calamity will extend itself as far as to them, if the Emperor can possibly accomplish his designs. But it is likewise my belief, that in the end the Emperor will attempt to banish the Lutherans as well as the rest; this he has already done in Austria and Bohemia. The Jesuits will incite him, not to allow the exercise of any other religion than that of Popery, as the Calvinists do in every country in which the Sovereigns will follow the advice of their ecclesiastics; this we may behold in England,† Scotland, and in all other States in which the Magistrates have manifested a willingness to believe that they ought not to suffer any religion except Calvinism.—In this manner do they [the Papists and Calvinists] endeavour to expel each other, and contend which of them may be permitted to have dominion over consciences.'—These prognostications concerning the Lutherans were soon afterwards verified: For in the Marquisate of Brandenburgh, where the Lutherans had formerly been turned out of their churches by the Calvinists, the latter were expelled and the former re-instated in their previous possessions. But it was not long before the Emperor Ferdinand II, elated with his victories and instigated by the Pope and Jesuits, turned his arms against the Lutherans. His successes against them were very great, till the celebrated King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, who had married the daughter‡ of the Elector of Brandenburgh, undertook the cause of the Lutherans, marched an army into the heart of Germany, and finally humbled the proud house of Austria.

* See the similarity which subsisted between the Confession of the Lutherans and that of the Remonstrants on the *Five Points*, as expressed by Mosheim, himself a Lutheran, in the preceding pages 152—154.

† In allusion to the encouragement given to Calvinism under Archbishop Abbot.

‡ The name of this Princess was Eleanora. She was the mother of the famous Christina, afterwards Queen of Sweden, in whose service Grotius was subsequently retained as Ambassador.

As this interference of Gustavus Adolphus was a circumstance which subsequently became of the greatest importance to the House of Brandenburgh, and as the successes which attended that monarch's spirited incursion into Germany laid the foundations of the Prussian Monarchy, it may be useful, in tracing the artful ramifications of Calvinism, to quote, for the reader's better information, the following paragraphs from one of the most intelligent historians of that period:

"Of greater consequence were the agitations about Cleve and Gulick, occasioned by a difference between the Marquess of Brandenburgh, and the Duke of Newburgh, about the partage of the Patrimony and estates of the Duke of Cleve: for John William, the last Duke of Cleve, deceasing without issue, in the year 1610, left his estates between the children of his sisters; of which the eldest, called Maria Leonora, was married to Albert of Brandenburgh, Duke of Prussia; whose daughter Ann being married to John Sigismund, the elector of Brandenburgh, was mother of George William, the young Marquess of Brandenburgh, who in her right pretended to the whole estate. The like pretence was made by Wolfgangus Guilielmus, Duke of Newburgh, descended from the electoral family of the Princes Palatine, whose mother Magdalen was the second sister of the said John William. The first of these pretenders was wholly of a Lutheran stock; and the other as inclinable to the sect of Calvin; though afterwards, for the better carrying on of their affairs, they forsook their parties.

"For so it happened, that the Duke of Newburgh finding himself too weak for the house of Brandenburgh, put himself under the protection of the Catholic King; who having concluded a Truce of twelve years with the States United, wanted employment for his Army; and, that he might engage that King with the greater confidence, he reconciles himself to the Church of Rome, and marries the Lady Magdalen, daughter to the Duke of Bavaria, the most potent of the German Princes of that Religion; which also he established in his own dominions on the death of his father. This puts the young Marquess to new counsels; who thereupon calls in the forces of the States United; the war continuing upon this occasion betwixt them and Spain, though the scene was shifted. And that they might more cordially espouse his quarrel, he took to Wife the sister of Frederick the fifth, Prince elector Palatine, and niece of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by his youngest daughter; and consequently, cousin-German, once removed to Count Maurice of Nassau, Commander-General of the forces of the States United, both by sea and land. This kept the balance even between them; the one possessing the estates of Cleve and Mark; and the other, the greatest part of Berge and Gulick. But so

it was, that the old Marquess of Brandenburgh having settled his abode in the Dukedom of Prussia, and left the management of the Marquissate to the Prince his son, left him withal unto the plots and practices of a subtile lady: who being throughly instructed in all points of Calvinism, and having gotten a great empire in her husband's affections, prevailed so far upon him in the first year of their marriage, Anno 1614, that he renounced his own Religion, and declared for her's; which he more cheerfully embraced, in hope to arm all the Calvinians both of the higher and the lower Germany, in defence of his cause, as his competitor of Newburgh had armed the Catholicks to preserve his interest.

" Being thus resolved, he publisheth an edict in the month of February, Anno 1615; published in his father's name, but only in his own authority and sole command, under pretence of pacifying some distempers about Religion; but tending, in good earnest, to the plain suppression of the Lutheran forms: For, having spent a tedious and impertinent preamble touching the animosities fomented in the Protestant Churches, between the Lutherans, and those of the Calvinian party, he first requires that all unnecessary disputes be laid aside, that so all grounds of strife and disaffection might be also buried. Which said, he next commands all Ministers within the Marquissate, to preach the word purely and sincerely, according to the writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles, the four creeds commonly received (amongst which the *Te Deum* is to go for one), and the Confession of Augsburgh, of the last correction; and that, omitting all new glosses and interpretations of idle and ambitious men, affecting a primacy in the Church and a power in the State, they aim at nothing in their preachings, but the glory of God, and the salvation of mankind. He commands also, that they should abstain from all calumniating of those Churches which either were not subject to their jurisdiction, or were not lawfully convicted of the crime of heresy; which he resolved not to connive at for the time to come, but to proceed unto the punishment of all those who wilfully should refuse to conform themselves to his will and pleasure.

" On which I have insisted the more at large, to show the difference between the Lutheran and Genevian churches; and the great correspondence of the first, with the church of England. But this Calvinian pill did not work so kindly, as not to stir more humours than it could remove.* For the Lutherans being in possession, would not deliver up their churches, or desert those usages to which they had been trained up, and in

* Under the Prussian Monarchy the remembrance of this Calvinistic attempt at despotic sway, has been cherished down to the present times; within the last five years, it has been the will of the reigning Monarch, which is absolute within his own dominions, that both denominations should partake together of the sacred memorials of our Saviour's passion, and should each present to the other the right hand of fellowship.

which they were principled, according to the rules of their first reformation. And hereupon some rupture was like to grow betwixt the young Marquess and his subjects, if by the intervention of some honest patriots it had not been closed up in this manner, or to this effect: *that the Lutheran forms only should be used in all the churches of the Marquissate, for the contentation of the people; and, that the Marquess should have the exercise of his new religion, for himself, his lady, and those of his opinion, in their private chapels.*"

The connection which existed between this change in Brandenburgh, and the assumption of the regal dignity by the Elector Palatine, will be seen by the succeeding extracts from the same able historian. Speaking of the Elector's marriage with the daughter of King James, he says, "Had he adventured no further on the confidence of that power and greatness which accrued to him by contracting an alliance with so great a Monarch, it had been happy for himself and the peace of Christendom. But being tempted by Scultetus, and some other of the divines about him, not to neglect the opportunity of advancing the gospel, and making himself the principal patron of it, he fell on some designs destructive to himself and his.* Who, though

* One of our English Poets has well observed,

> In *other men* we faults can spy
> And blame the mote that dims *their* eye,
> Each *little speck and blemish* find,
> To *our own stronger errors* blind.

This seems to have been Richard Baxter's state of mind when he wrote the following animadversions on poor Schultetus; the whole paragraph indeed is most important, considering the party from whom the reflections proceed, some of which are exceedingly judicious:

"I am farther than ever I was from expecting great matters of unity, splendor, or prosperity to the church on earth, or that saints should dream of a kingdom of this world, or flatter themselves with the hopes of a golden age, or reigning over the ungodly, till there be *a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.* And on the contrary; I am more apprehensive that sufferings must be the church's most ordinary lot, and Christians indeed must be self-denying crossbearers, even where there none but *formal nominal christians* to be the cross-makers: and though ordinarily God would have vicissitudes of summer and winter, day and night, that the church may grow extensively in the summer of prosperity, and intensively and radicatedly in the winter of adversity; yet usually their night is longer than their day, and that day itself hath its storms and tempests. For the prognostics are evident in their causes: The church will be still imperfect and sinful, and will have those diseases which need this bitter remedy. The tenour of the gospel-predictions, precepts, premises, and threatenings, are fitted to a people in a suffering state; and the graces of God in a believer are mostly suited to a state of suffering. Christians must imitate Christ, and suffer with him before they reign with him; and his kingdom was not of this world. The observation of God's dealing hitherto with the church in every age confirmeth me: and his befooling them that have dreamed of glorious times. It was such dreams that transported the Munster Anabaptists, and the followers of David George in the Low Countries, and Campanella and the *Illuminati* among the Papists, and our English Anabaptists, and *other fanatics here* both in the army, and the city and country. When they think the gol-

he were a Prince of a phlegmatick nature, and of small activity; yet being prest by the continual solicitation of some eager spirits, he drew all the provinces and Princes which profest the Calvinian doctrines, to enter into a strict league or union amongst themselves, under pretence of looking to the peace and happiness of the true religion. It much advantaged the design, that the Calvinians in all parts of Germany had begun to stir, as men resolved to keep the saddle, or to lose the horse."

Describing the progress of the war in Bohemia, he adds: "But their new governours (or directors, as they called them) being generally worsted in the war, and fearing to be called to a strict account for these multiplied injuries, resolve upon the choice of some potent Prince, to take that unfortunate crown upon him. And who more like to carry it with success and honour, than Frederick the fifth, Prince Elector Palatine, the head of the Calvinian party, Son-in-law to the King of England, descended from a daughter of the Prince of Orange, and by his wife allied to the King of Denmark, the Dukes of Holstein and Brunswick, three great Lutheran Princes. These were the motives on their part to invite him to it; and they prevailed as much with him to accept the offer, to which he was pushed forward by the secret instigation of the States United, whose truce with Spain was now upon the point of expiration; and they thought fit, in point of state-craft, that *he should exercise his army further off, than in their Dominions.* Upon which motives and temptations, he first sends forth his letters to the estates of

den age is come, they shew their dreams in their *extravagant actions*: and, as our fifth-monarchy men, they are presently upon some unquiet rebellious attempt to set up Christ in his kingdom, whether he will or not. I remember how Abraham Scultetus *in Curriculo Vitæ suæ* confesseth the common vanity of himself and other Protestants in Germany, who seeing the princes in England, France, Bohemia, and many other countries, to be all at once both great and wise, and friends to reformation, did presently expect the golden age: but within one year either death, or ruins of war, or back-slidings, had exposed all their expectations to scorn, and laid them lower than before."—*Narrative of his Life and Times.*

No one would suppose that the old man who wrote this had been in early life as great a stickler as any of his brethren for the seditious schemes of *the levellers in Church and State*, or that he had attended the Parliamentary *forces* as Chaplain to a regiment. I could produce quotations from the earliest even of his *practical works*, which would prove his hopes to have been extremely sanguine about the appearance of "a golden age."—Expressions of the disappointment which he felt at the failure expectations are equally numerous in his writings. Nor was it quite fair for a chaplain in *the grand rebellion* to brand "the Fifth-Monarchy men" as the only persons "who were presently upon some *unquiet rebellious attempt* to set up Christ in his kingdom!" Baxter had discovered, in the practice of the Triers and Ejectors, and of other select assemblies of gospel ministers under the Protectorate, as many grounds of dissatisfaction and complaint as in the practice of those who had previously held the supremacy in affairs ecclesiastical. The inference which he deduces, is exceedingly instructive: "I am much more sensible of the evil of schism," says he, "and of the separating humour, and of gathering parties, and making several sects in the Church, than I was heretofore. For *the effects have shewed us more of the mischiefs.*"

Bohemia, in which he signified his acceptance of the honour conferred upon him, and then acquaints King James with the proposition, whose counsel he desired therein for his better direction. But King James was not pleased at the precipitancy of this rash adventure, and thought himself unhandsomely handled, in having his advice asked upon the post-fact, when all his counsels to the contrary must have come too late. Besides, he had a strong party of Calvinists in his own dominions, who were not to be trusted with a power of disposing of kingdoms, for fear they might be brought to practise that against himself which he had countenanced in others. He knew no Prince could reign in safety, or be established on his throne with peace and honour, if once religion should be made a cloak to disguise rebellions.

"Upon these grounds of christian prudence, he did not only disallow the action in his own particular, but gave command that none of his subjects should from thenceforth own his son-in-law for the King of Bohemia, or pray for him in the liturgy, or before their sermons, by any other title than the Prince Elector. At which the English Calvinists were extreamly vexed, who had already fancied to themselves upon this occasion *the raising of a fifth Monarchy in these parts of Christendom*, even to the dethroning of the Pope, the setting up of Calvin in St. Peter's chair, and carrying on the war to the walls of Constantinople. No man more zealous in the cause, than Arch-bishop Abbot, who pressed to have the news received with bells and bonfires, the King to be engaged in a war for the defence of such a righteous and religious cause, and the jewels of the crown to be pawned in pursuance of it, as appears plainly by his letters to Sir Robert Naunton, principal secretary of estate. Which letters bearing date on the 12th of December, Anno 1619, are to be found at large in the printed Cabala, p. 169, &c. and thither I refer the reader for his satisfaction. But neither the persuasions of so great a prelate, nor the solicitations of the Princess and her public ministers, nor the troublesome interposings of the House of Commons in a following parliament, were able to remove that King from his first resolution. By which, though he incurred the high displeasure of the English Puritans, and those of the Calvinian party in other places; yet he acquired the reputation of a just and religious Prince with most men besides, and those not only of the Romish, but the Lutheran churches. And it is hard to say which of the two [the Papists or the Lutherans] were most offended with the Prince Elector, for his accepting of that crown; which of them had more ground to fear the ruin of their cause and party, if he had prevailed; and which of them were more impertinently provoked to make head against him, after he had declared his acceptance of it.

"For when he was to be inaugurated in the church of Prague he neither would be crowned in the usual form, nor by the hands of the Arch-bishop, to whom the performing of that ceremony did of right belong; but after such a form and manner as was digested by Scultetus, his domestic chaplain, who chiefly governed his affairs in all sacred matters. Nor would Scultetus undertake the ceremony of the coronation, though very ambitious of that honour, till he had cleared the church of all carved images, and defaced all the painted also. In both respects alike offensive to the Romish clergy, who found themselves dispriviledged, their churches sacrilegiously invaded, and further ruin threatened by these innovations.

"A massy crucifix had been erected on the bridge of Prague, which had stood there for many hundred years before; neither affronted by the Lutherans, nor defaced by the Jews, though more averse from images than all people else: Scultetus takes offence at the sight thereof, as if the brazen serpent were set up and worshipped; persuades the King to cause it presently to be demolished, or else he never would be reckoned for an Hezekiah; in which he found conformity to his humour also, and thereby did as much offend all sober Lutherans, (who retain images in their churches, and other places,) as he had done the Romish clergy by his former follies. This gave some new increase to those former jealousies which had been given them by that Prince: First, by endeavouring to suppress the Lutheran forms in the churches of Brandenburgh, by the arts and practices of his sister. [She was married to the Marquis of Brandenburgh: see page 249.] And Secondly, by condemning their doctrine at the Synod of Dort, (in which his ministers were more active than the rest of the foreigners) though in the persons of those men whom they called Arminians. But that which gave them greatest cause of offence and fear, was his determination in a cause depending between two sisters, at his first coming to the crown; of which, the youngest had been married to a Calvinian, the eldest to a Lutheran lord. The place in difference was the castle and seignoury of Gutscin, of which the eldest sister had took possession, as the seat of her ancestors. But the King passing sentence for the younger sister, and sending certain judges and other officers, to put the place into her actual possession, they were all blown up with gun-powder by the Lutheran lady, not able to concoct the indignity offered, nor to submit unto judgment which appeared so partial."

It may be necessary to introduce the account of the Calvinistic prophecies by the following quotation from Brandt's History, in which, after relating the conduct of Peter Du Moulin and other violent Calvinists in imposing the Canons of Dort upon the French Churches, he says: "Some of the Remon-

strants were of opinion, that there was some mystery of State concealed under these proceedings at Alez in relation to the Canons of Dort, and that the secret spring of all these motions was in Holland; that some of the Contra-Remonstrants had been the first to commence this matter, by instituting a correspondence between the Reformed of Geneva and those of France, not without having privately concerted it with Du Moulin and others; and that by thrusting the Canons of Dort down the throats of the French Clergy, and by compelling them to swear to their observance, they endeavoured to communicate additional strength to their party, as had been already done in Holland, and at the same time to favour the designs of the Elector Palatine or new king of Bohemia. For it seemed as though some project of a confederacy was forming among those of the Reformed religion [the Calvinists], not only to subdue the little hand-full of the Remonstrant party, but even some of the members of that great body, the Romish Church; from which confederacy, the author of *the Bohemian Trumpet*, whom we shall hereafter mention, imagined great consequences would ensue. Thus did they aim at a kind of REFORMED MONARCHY; and, as they viewed all objects with a magnifying glass, *the smallest finger* which promoted the work, appeared to be *a powerful arm*:—So easily do men deceive themselves with vain hopes!"

The *Prophetical Book*, to which allusion is made in the preceding paragraph, is thus described by the same historian: "The Contra-Remonstrants also published several pieces this same year, [1620,] *****The Bohemian Trumpet*, printed at Amsterdam, by leave of the Burgo-masters. The author, who styles himself *Irenæus Philalethius*, was in reality Ewout Telingh, the Treasurer of Zealand, brother to William Teelingh minister of Middelburgh, and a great zealot for his own party. He expressed himself to this effect: 'That it seemed as if the Lord 'had certainly invited many Kings and Princes thither [into 'Bohemia] to make a great sacrifice; and that he did not enter-'tain any doubt that God would take vengeance of the great 'violation of the public faith, of which both the one and the 'other beast [the Emperor and the Pope] had been guilty 'towards John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with regard to the 'safe-conduct for their appearance at the Council of Constance. 'He represented the war in Bohemia, as a war *which could not* '*fail of success*, because it was waged against the Pope, whom 'he calls *Antichrist* and *the man of sin*. He added, that God 'had unexpectedly bestowed upon the Elector Palatine such a 'noble kingdom as that of Bohemia, and had brought it home 'to him, as it were, whilst he slept, by a people who had a right 'to dispose of it; and therefore that it must not be doubted, 'that the Lord, who had entrusted him with the keys of that

'kingdom, would likewise establish him upon that throne which 'he had himself prepared for him, and would fix him as a sure 'nail, upon which all the Reformed [Calvinistic] churches 'might in future depend.' "—This luminous prophecy was delivered while the Elector's affairs were in a state of prosperity; but the following narrative refers to a subsequent period when the ejected royal family of Bohemia were exiles in the United Provinces:

" And yet after they were fully assured of the King's misfortune, and saw that he and the Queen were forced to seek an asylum at the Hague, some of the greatest bigots among the Contra-Remonstrants still cherished the hopes which they had conceived of him—such a strong persuasion had they of his success, which, they believed, would be the certain precursor of the downfall of Popery. Some people thought, that almost all the Protestant kings, princes and states of Christendom, would have armed themselves in order to verify their idle dreams. Nay, even after a longer series of that prince's losses, and nearly two years after Heidelberg and the principal part of the towns in the Lower Palatinate had been besieged and taken, either by the Bavarians or by the Imperial and Spanish forces, William Stephanus, a Doctor in Divinity and one of the ministers of Kampen, published a treatise under the following title: THE TRUMPET OF THE HOLY WAR, *revealed by St. John against the Great Antichrist, the Pope of Rome: The deep and till-this-day concealed Prophecies of this Apostle are now clearly explained according to the true Meaning of them, from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Chapter of his Book of the Revelations.*—Almost all the prophecies contained in those chapters, were applied to the expelled monarch. In the 20th verse of the Fourteenth Chapter, St. John says, he saw in a vision that the blood proceeding from the wine-press of God's wrath came even to the bridles of the horses, for the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs: The Doctor explained it thus: 'Fre-'deric, the king of Bohemia, shall at the command of God 'fight a great battle. He was the man who had the sharp 'sickle in his hand and who was commanded to reap: He shall 'defeat the enemies; and the sixteen hundred furlongs denote 'the way between Heidelberg and Prague.'—Upon the 20th and 21st verses of the Nineteenth Chapter, the doctor made the following comment: 'The Emperor Ferdinand and the king of 'Spain shall be taken prisoners, brought before the Supreme 'Court of their judge FREDERIC, and condemned to suffer the 'most extreme punishments, that is, *cast alive into the lake of 'fire burning with brimstone*, that is, to a perpetual torment or 'else to a shameful death. As for the rest of the princes and 'potentates of the earth, they shall likewise be punished accord-'ing to the directions of King Frederic, and deprived of all 'their lands and titles, for having assisted the Emperor and the

'King of Spain. Upon which it shall come to pass, that *all the 'fowls of the air shall be satiated with their flesh*, that is, all the 'faithful Achates and confederates of King Frederic, having re- 'ceived the conquered countries as a reward for their labours, 'shall sit down, every one well contented with his portion, and 'shall possess it with gladness.' Such were the predictions of this doctor, who adhered to them with great pertinacity. Baudart [the great Calvinistic Historian] owns, that he had frequently heard him declare, 'I am very certain all will be 'accomplished; and I have neither said nor written any thing 'but what appeared to me to be plainly deducible from the text 'of the Apostle.'"

This prophesying humour, it is seen, was indulged by men occupying stations of respectability. David Herlicius, Professor of Natural Philosophy in Lubec, who died in 1636, was another of the prophetic race, who, like our English Lilly, promised great conquests to those who gave him good fees. De Witte, in his *Account of Celebrated Physicians*, says: "People of different nations frequently resorted to him: and, on account of his numerous experiments and the celebrity of his name, the Germans and foreigners asked his judgment about their horoscopes. But above all others, he extolled the liberality of the Bohemians and the Poles." The reader will not require a formal statement of the reasons why the Bohemians asked his advice, since many of them were then exiles through the cruelty of the proud conqueror of their native land.—On the 15th of October, 1665, James Thomasius, the Lutheran Professor of Divinity at Leipsic, delivered an oration, on occasion of a solemn thanksgiving to God for the peace then concluded between the Emperor of Germany and the Ottoman Porte. The sanguine believers in the speedy commencement of *the Millennium* were much chagrined with that peace, because they had foretold that the reign of the Crescent was near its decline. On these prognosticators and D. Herlicius, Thomasius makes the following just reflections: 'Furnished with such arms as these, those persons sallied 'forth who have been desirous of late that we should believe 'speedily to behold the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. 'This has been done, I think, through great profanation of the 'holy scriptures, which they associate with predictions of a na- 'ture entirely different, and compel them to become interpreters 'to the dreams framed in their own imaginations.—But perhaps 'nothing affords a more powerful stimulus to this species of cu- 'riosity, than a persuasion of I-know-not-what kind of golden 'age which will continue a thousand years, and during which, 'after God has overthrown his enemies in all directions, the be- 'loved flock shall live in a state of the greatest ease and delight. 'We are all captivated by the desire to exist in a land abounding 'with these blessings. If therefore any report promise to us

'such a state of society, we imbibe the very sound of it with 'the greatest earnestness, and vigilantly look out for all those 'particular junctures which seem to favour these feelings.' He then informs his audience, that during the 17th century there never was any considerable war against the enemies of the true church without some predictions being delivered respecting the complete discomfiture either of the Pope or the Turks, or of both. 'Some persons,' he adds, 'ascribed the achievement of this 'great [future] conquest in the former German war to FREDE-'RIC *the Elector Palatine*, while others claimed this laurel for 'Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, and others for Charles 'Gustavus when nine years ago he was carrying on his devast-'ations in Poland.—D. HERLICIUS, who was probably in some 'other predictions a more felicitous astrologer than in this, wrote 'a pamphlet full of such predictions as these, and published it 'some time about the close of the last century. In it I behold 'Daniel, the Revelations, the saying of Elias, the prognostica-'tions of John Hiltenus, of Anthony Torquatus of Ferrara, and 'of the Turks themselves, the courses of the stars, and the con-'junctions of the planets: All these he has enlisted and formed 'into one army, by which, *in the minds of men*, the Turks may 'be despatched in the last battle.'

But the prophecies of Christopher Kotter, a native of Sprottau in Silesia, are the most remarkable specimens of the art. He received his first angelic communications in 1619, and continued to divulge his rhapsodies for several succeeding years. He introduced the Elector Palatine, the King of Bohemia, into his visions: This afforded him a pretext for waiting upon his majesty at Breslau in 1620, to acquaint him with his yet higher elevation and success. He also visited some of the minor German courts; for in those days of rapid changes, he contrived to prophesy smooth things to those who had full purses. But as he was exceedingly patriotic, his presages generally promised increasing felicity to the affairs of the Electer Palatine, and accumulated misfortunes to the Emperor Ferdinand. In the benighted regions of Moravia, Hungary, Silesia and Bohemia, our prophet's predictions became very popular; and were circulated, *vivâ voce*, and in manuscript, for political purposes. He was at length seized by the Emperor's Attorney General in Silesia; and after having been long immured in a prison, he was exposed on the pillory with this inscription over his head: *This is that false prophet, who predicted events which have never happened!* This enthusiast then retired into Lusatia, and died there in 1647.

The fame of Kotter's prophecies was greatly enhanced when they fell into the hands of that ingenious man and elegant scholar, the Rev. John Amos COMENIUS, the author of that very

useful book, JANUA LINGUARUM RESTAURATA, which was soon translated into twelve languages. He was pastor of the Protestant Church in the city of Fulneck in Moravia; and, after the great success of the Imperial arms against King Frederic in those regions, he and all other Protestant ministers were compelled to retire from Bohemia and Moravia. In his route to Poland, in 1625, he heard of Kotter, visited him at Sprottau, and took him into Poland. Comenius translated into the Bohemian language one of this enthusiast's revelations, which foretold the speedy overthrow of Antichrist, and of which the manuscript copies were soon multiplied, for the consolation of the Refugees, since they promised unnumbered triumphs to King Frederic. On his return from Poland, Comenius left Kotter in Silesia, and proceeded to Berlin, where he found, even among the refugees of Bohemia and Moravia various judgments had been formed about the new prophet: For while some considered him *a true prophet*, and especially when the post brought intelligence that the king of Denmark was raising an army; others declared Kotter to be *a knave*, who, having consumed all his substance, had in despair devoted himself to the vocation of a lying prophet.—This difference in judgment gave Comenius some uneasiness: But the assurances of the famous Christopher Pelargus,* who had recently left the communion of the Lutherans and become a Calvinist, and who was then Superintendant General of the Churches of Brandenburgh, revived his drooping spirits: For, having examined Kotter at Berlin by order of the Elector, he declared to Comenius, that he ought neither to indulge in any doubts respecting the truth of the man's extraordinary mission, nor to repent of having translated his Revelations into the Bohemian language. In the *History* which Comenius gave *of these Revelations*, he says, that Pelargus afterwards addressed him in the following language: "'You behold this collection of books,'—for that very eminent man was famous throughout all Germany for possessing a well furnished library, into which he had introduced me when I desired a more private conference with him,—'You behold this library of mine; I have consulted the works of 'all the authors composing it, both ancient and modern, for the 'purpose of knowing what opinion we ought to form concern-'ing this question—*Are any new revelations, divine or angelical, 'to be admitted after the time of Christ and his apostles, and after 'the sealing of the Canon of the New Testament?* But not one 'of them could resolve my scruples. I therefore betook my-

* For some account of this man, consult the notes to *the Works of Arminius*, vol. I, p. 419, 450; in which is inserted an interesting letter from his colleague BERGIUS.—Pelargus was one of those who veered about from Lutheranism to Calvinism, when the young Marquis of Brandenburgh, at the instigation of his wife, (page 250,) changed his party: This divine had, unfortunately for his reputation, previously published several books in favour of the peculiarities of Lutheranism.

'self to prayer, and most ardently beseeched God *not to suffer 'his church to be deceived:* This was the practice which I adopt-'ed, rising frequently from my bed in the night and prostrating 'myself upon my face. But at length, after all my musings 'and divine suggestions, I have nothing more than this to say 'on the subject—*The Lord God of the holy prophets hath sent 'his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must short-'ly be done!'*, which are the very expressions that the angel employed in the 22nd Chap. of the REVELATIONS."—This is as dangerous an instance of tempting God, as that recorded concerning the bigotted Festus Hommius,* who asked the Divine Being *to shew him whether Arminianism or Calvinism was the truth,* and who, after a single prayer to this effect, received what he interpreted into a supernatural intimation *to persevere steadfastly in those opinions which were generally received,* that is, in those of Calvin!!

Comenius says, at that period, in 1626, the dowager Electress Juliana, the mother of King Frederic, informed a Moravian nobleman of high distinction, who as well as herself was then a refugee in Berlin, that she had received a letter from the king her son, enquiring whether it was possible to obtain a manuscript copy of the prophecies of the Silesian. The nobleman procured one; but not being able to present it himself on account of indisposition, he commissioned Comenius, who was still at Berlin, to perform that service for him. Instead of delivering it into the hands of the old Electress, Comenius proceeded without delay to King Frederic at the Hague, from whom he obtained an audience, and delivered a luminous speech, of which the following is an extract: 'Since all the prognostica-'tions of Kotter have been committed to writing, and since in 'them your Majesty and your royal offspring are introduced as 'the principal personages of this Divine Comedy, it seemed an 'absurdity to those persons who have till now preserved these 'prophecies in their own hands—to withhold them from the 'knowledge of your majesty. They are not, however, deliver-'ed to your Majesty with the design of imposing upon you a 'necessity of *absolutely believing them,* but for these two pur-'poses: FIRST.—That they may be preserved in your majes-'ty's possession as in sacred archives, to be produced at some 'future period as a testimony; in that case, after these predic-'tions have been completely and openly fulfilled, it will not be 'in the power of any man to suspect, or calumniously to report, '*that they had been formed subsequently to the occurrence of the 'events predicted.* SECONDLY.—That an opportunity may be 'thus afforded to you of observing, whether it is not probable 'that Divine Providence may dispose of such concerns as these, 'and mature them into events. For if we do not refuse to lis-

* The Works of Arminius, vol. 1, p. 405.

'ten to political disquisitions, astrological predictions, or simi-
'lar conjectures of men of prudence, and to learn what their
'sentiments are respecting any impending change in public
'affairs, why should we reject these prophecies *which are derived*
'*from a* HIGHER ORIGIN? The persons therefore, in whose
'custody they were, have taken the liberty to transcribe from
'the authentic manuscript an exact copy which they now pre-
'sent by me to your majesty with their most humble and res-
'pectful services'—Being the bearer of such golden promises as these, Comenius was graciously received by the Ex-King Frederic, and dismissed with a handsome present.

Comenius was invited by the English Parliament, in 1641, to assist in the reformation of the public schools of this kingdom; but, on his arrival in London, he found his patrons too much occupied with the ebullition of the political troubles which had then begun to display themselves. The knowledge, however, which he then gained of our domestic affairs, was of service to him in his subsequent prophetic enterprizes. In 1657, he published at Amsterdam, where he then resided under the patronage of the opulent house of DE GEER, a large collection of prophecies entitled, *Lux in Tenebris*, "Light in Darkness." This book contained Kotter's prophecies, those of Christina Poniatovia, a female enthusiast, and those of Nicholas Drabicius, a minister and prophet in Moravia: It promised miracles to those heroes who should engage in the extirpation of the House of Austria and the Pope. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Cromwell in England, and Ragotski of Transylvania, were among the number of the mighty warriors, to whom Comenius, in this and subsequent extravagant publications, promised the high honour of achieving splendid triumphs for the establishment of Calvinism, which should become the universal religion, and be made *a praise in the earth.*

I was gratified to find from Comenius's own account, that a few of the Bohemian ministers disapproved of the promulgation of Kotter's early Revelations. "Two of these ministers, with some of the elders of their church, requested that the manuscript might be suppressed, whether it was *the fiction of some ingenious* man, or *the production of a fanatic.* It was dangerous for two reasons: FIRST.—It was injurious to the consciences of men, if they suffered themselves to be seduced by it from *the sure word of God*, to uncertain figments of this description. SECONDLY.—It exposed the Reformed to the loss of their liberties or their lives, if such predictions should fall into the hands of their adversaries."—The Professor Nicholas Arnold, to whom we have already alluded, page 198, wrote an able reply to the second production of Comenius, and shewed the extreme

jeopardy in which he had most reprehensibly placed all the Reformed in Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, &c.—The famous Maresius of Groningen also answered Comenius in 1657, and described him as " not deficient in genius, but a fanatic, a visionary, and an enthusiast in folio, who pretended, that the prophecies of Drabicius would furnish labour for all the princes in Europe. He addressed letters to the Pope, the emperor, to kings and cardinals, recommending this work to them as the rule and standard by which they ought to regulate their proceedings." Maresius also declared, that " Comenius and other millenary fanatics had no other object in view than to excite people to rebellion, and that he had omitted no endeavours to persuade Cromwell to foment disturbances in Bohemia. He had long before concluded, that since the event did not answer to the predictions of Felgenhaverus, they had not a Divine origin. But now, with regard to those of his three seers, he defends them from all attacks, although they have been completely falsified by the event; and he has the audacity to compare them, in a manner the most impious, profane, and sacrilegious, with the prophecies of the Old Testament." It is also pleasing to learn, that Comenius, after all his elaborate defences of these false prophets, was finally sensible of the vanity of his labours, and of the unnecessary trouble which he had given himself since he had been forced to leave his native country. This appears from a treatise, which he published at Amsterdam in 1668, entitled " The One Thing Needful," and in which he confesses the futility of all his prophetic toils, and states his determination to devote all his future thoughts to his personal salvation.

But, before we close this article on the Calvinistic Prophets, an extract from the celebrated M. Jurieu's book, entitled *The Accomplishment of the Prophecies*, and published in 1686, may be of some service, in showing the contemptible nature of those enthusiastical compositions, and the temporary political purposes to which they had been previously applied by many *learned* and *sober* Calvinists, in various parts of Europe. In the preface, M. Jurieu said, ' I found in the prophecies of Kotter, ' Christina, and Drabicius, which were published by Comenius, ' something great and surprizing. Kotter, the first of these ' three prophets, is grand and lofty. The images of his visions ' are likewise noble and majestic; in this respect, they are not ' exceeded by those of the ancient prophets. All of them are ' wonderfully well-concerted and indited; they are all uniform ' and consistent. I cannot imagine how it was possible for a ' mere mechanic to form such exalted conceptions without ' Divine Assistance.—The two years of Christina's prophecy ' are, in my opinion, a series of as great miracles as have hap-

'pened since the time of the apostles. Nay, I have not met 'with any thing, in the lives of the greatest prophets, more 'miraculous than what has befallen this young woman.— 'Drabicius also has his loftinesses; but then he is much more 'difficult and obscure —These three prophets agree in fore- 'telling the fall of the Anti-christian empire, as an event which 'must soon occur: But, on the other hand, one's heart is rather 'averse to them, for they contain many circumstances that give 'offence.'—The last clause is a piece of French *badinage*, for the author shows his approbation of these romantic writers by the use to which he afterwards applies their predictions. In one part he says, 'There are some people who believe, that 'the hopes which I hold out of a restoration in a few years, 'may be of great prejudice. It is certain that prophecies, 'whether true or fictitious, have frequently inspired those for 'whom they were formed with the resolution of undertaking 'such enterprizes as had been assigned to them.' In another passage he says, 'With respect to the remark which many 'people have made, *that I speak too confidently about things, 'which, perhaps, I ought to have proposed* only as weighty con- 'jectures,—the world will probably one day be informed of the 'chief motive which prompted me to deliver my sentiments in 'such a decided manner, and with so much confidence on the 'explanation of the prophecies.'—M. Jurieu's improper motives, in resuscitating this exploded nonsense, have been ably exposed by M. Pelisson in his *Reflections on the Disputes concerning Religion*, and by M. Brueys, in his *History of the Fanaticism of these times*. The latter says, 'Jurieu knew perfectly well, that he was 'not a prophet; but he was desirous of imposing on the people, 'that he might excite them to take up arms and raise a civil 'war in the heart of this country, in order to favour the de- 'signs of our enemies. So full of this detestable project was he 'when he wrote his Book *on the Prophecies*, that he could not 'avoid discovering it to a reader of the least penetration.—This 'minister promised the Calvinists, that Popery should have a spee- 'dy downfal, and predicted the approaching deliverance of their 'church. He promised these things as if from God, by inform- 'ing the people that they were contained in the oracles of the 'Revelations.'

M. Bayle, who on many occasions acts the part of M. Jurieu's apologist, and who *on some points* in the present instance has not deserted him, thus delivers his opinion: "What I have said of Comenius, I apply to a famous divine of Rotterdam, [Jurieu,] who has explained the scripture prophecies under an extremely bold pretence of being inspired. I do not assume authority to judge his heart, and I will allow it to be supposed that he did not act against his conscience. But no one ought to be offended

when I declare, that he has been suspected of harbouring no other design than that of exciting people to take up arms and to embroil all Europe. The ground of their suspicion is this—his not evincing any signs of confusion after the event had falsified the prophecy in a manner that was beyond all dispute. Another ground of their surmise is this—that, in imitation of Comenius, he has attempted to re-unite the Lutherans and Calvinists, in hopes, it is said, of increasing the number of troops to attack Antichrist."

Concerning Comenius also, the latter author has observed; "These persons fortel the things which they desire to see attempted, and then they set all their machinery to work in order to engage all those in their enterprize whom they consider suitable partizans. It is very probable, that the great application which Comenius employed in trying to unite all the Protestants in one body, proceeded from a desire which he entertained of forming a powerful party, that might fulfil the prophecies with temporal weapons. Another circumstance did Comenius an injury: He was a man of parts and learning; on other matters he argued very ably, and on these like a man of genius and nothing in his person gave him the appearance of an enthusiast. This caused the world to infer, that he did not believe the things which he uttered. There may be, and sometimes there is, imposture in ecstatic grimaces: But those who boast of being inspired, without evincing by the countenance or expressions that their brain is disordered, and without doing any act that is unnatural, ought to be infinitely more suspected of fraud, than those who from time to time fall into strong convulsions as the Sybils did in a greater or less degree. I am willing to have it thought, that Comenius did not harbour any sinister design. But what shall we answer to those who censure him for having published Kotter's prophecies, even when the event had demonstrated their falsity? I will own, that this appears to me quite inexcusable." But, omitting all mention of Comenius with his two prophets and prophetess, what excuse can be framed for such men as the Treasurer Teelingh, Dr. William Stephanus, and Professor Herlicius, each of whom assumed the prophetic character; and for Dr. Pelargus and M. Jurieu, the grave and reverend apologists of such enthusiasts? We only know, that the greatest part of them were violent Calvinists, who, notwithstanding the adverse stream of providential occurrences and in the absence of all facts in their favour, chose to argue propitiously concerning the ultimate and speedy establishment of that Calvinian universal Monarchy about which all that sanguine party had dreamed; and, to keep alive these high expectations in others, they or their hirelings prophesied smooth and delightful things to the people.

But after all these auspicious predictions, which had their origin in the partially successful experiment of the Synod of Dort, and after all their strenuous endeavours to cause those predictions to ripen into facts, the Calvinists of the United Provinces saw Prince Maurice advanced no higher in the scale of sovereign princes, their darling King Frederic neither became Emperor of Germany nor regained Bohemia and the Palatinate, Du Moulin and the Rochelle Calvinists did not succeed in their seditious attempts against the King of France,* and

* The daring conduct of these men has been already described by Grotius in the preceding Appendix C. But as a succinct account of it is necessary to complete the view of the enterprizes in which the Calvinists were encouraged to engage by their success at the Synod of Dort, I here furnish that account in the language of Dr. Heylin, a writer, who, from his situation, was well acquainted with the events of that age :—

" Such was the miserable end of the war of Bohemia, raised chiefly by the pride and pragmaticalness of Calvin's followers, out of a hope to propagate their doctrines, and advance their discipline in all parts of the empire. Nor sped the Hugonots much better in the realm of France; where, by the countenance and connivance of King Henry the 4th who would not see it, and during the minority of Lewis the 13th who could not help it, they possessed themselves of some whole countries, and near two hundred strong towns and fortified places. Proud of which strength, they took upon them as a commonwealth, in the midst of a kingdom; summoned assemblies for the managing of their own affairs, when and as often as they pleased; gave audience to the ministers of foreign churches; and impowered agents of their own to negotiate with them. At the same meetings they consulted about religion, made new laws for government, displaced some of their old officers, and elected new ones; the King's consent being never asked to the alterations. These carriages gave the King such just offence, that he denied them leave to send Commissioners to the Synod of Dort, to which they had been earnestly invited by the States of the Netherlands. For being so troublesome and imperious when they acted only by the strength of their provincial or national meetings, what danger might not be suspected from a general confluence, in which the heads of all the faction might be laid together? But then, to sweeten them a little after this refusal, he gave them leave to hold an assembly at Charenton, four miles from Paris, there to debate those points, and to agree those differences which, in that Synod, had been agitated by the rest of their party; which liberty they made such use of in the said assembly, that they approved all the determinations which were made at Dort, commanded them to be subscribed, and bound themselves and their successors in the ministry by a solemn oath, not only steadfastly and constantly to adhere unto them, but to persist in maintenance thereof to the last gasp of their breath.—But the Hugonots were not to be told, that all the Calvinian Princes and estates of the empire had put themselves into a posture of war; some for defence of the Palatinate, and others in pursuance of the war of Bohemia, of which they gave themselves more hopes than they had just cause for. In which conjuncture, some hot spirits then assembled at Rochelle, blinded with pride, or hurried on by the *fatality* of those decrees which they maintained to be resolved upon by God before all eternity, reject all offers tending to a pacification, and wilfully run on to their own destruction.—Next, let us look upon the King, who, being brought to a necessity of taking arms, first made his way unto it by his declaration of the second of April, published in favour of all those of that religion who would contain themselves in their due obedience. In pursuance whereof, he caused five persons to be executed in the city of Tours, who had tumultuously disturbed the Hugonots, whom they found busied at the burial of one of their dead. He also signified to the King of Great Britain, the Princes of the

many more imaginary Calvinistic triumphs terminated in the hopelessness of despondency. Yet, after the lapse of a few years, *a great door of hope* was opened to the party in England: They seized upon the opportunity of the quarrel between King Charles I and his Parliament, introduced CALVINISM *as the only religion to be tolerated in these realms,* and overturned the monarchical government of the country. I know it is usual for writers on this subject to expose the clashing designs and interests of the different parties, who, either as principals or accessaries, were concerned in that religious and political revolution. But let them be called *Presbyterians, Independents,* or *Episcopal Puritans,* they were all animated by the same paramount desire of crushing Arminianism:* and the genius of Presbyterianism and Independency will be allowed by all moderate men to point towards *a Republican form of government* in the State as well as

empire, and the States of the Netherlands, that he had not undertook this war to suppress the religion, but to chastise the insolencies of rebellious subjects. And what he signified in words, he made good by his deeds; for when the war was at the hottest, all those of that religion in the city of Paris lived as securely as before, and had their accustomed meetings at Charenton, as in times of peace."

After alluding to the very imprudent act of King Charles I., in assisting the French Calvinists in 1626 and 1628, Dr. Heylin thus proceeds:—

"Which being observed by those of Rochelle, who were then besieged to landward by the King in person, and even reduced unto the last extremity by plagues and famine; they presently set open their gates, and, without making any conditions for their preservation, submitted absolutely to that mercy which they had scorned so often in their prosperous fortunes. The King, thus master of the town, dismantleth all their fortifications, leaves it quite open both to sea and land, commands them to renounce the name of Rochelle, and to take unto the town the name of Mary Ville, or Bourg de St. Mary."

* Strong and irrefragable proofs of this assertion will be found in many of the subsequent parts of this Appendix. Indeed, it was a subject about which, in a short time, the English and Scotch Calvinists used no kind of disguise, as will appear by the following quotation from one of the letters of Grotius to his brother, dated March 30th, 1641:—"It is supposed that [the Earl of Strafford] who has been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, will clear himself from all charges. Far greater hatred is displayed by the populace against the Archbishop [Laud], as was very apparent when he was committed prisoner to the Tower: For a seditious tumult was raised against him, as though he was not then sufficiently unfortunate. Yet, on that unhappy occasion, he quoted these lines of Juvenal, and applied them with the greatest propriety to the outrageous mob: ..... *at quid turba fremit? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit damnatos,* &c.—*Sat.* x.

——"Good! what think the people?"—They!
They follow fortune, as of old; and hate,
With their whole souls, the victim of the state.

GIFFORD.

A short Apology by the Scotch has been published here, in which they declare, that they have not taken up arms against the King or the English nation, but *against the Archbishop and the* REST OF THE ARMINIANS! You perceive what uncommon hatred is manifested against THE TRUTH, that is, against sentiments that are moderate, and can, in their origin, lay claim to antiquity."

In my early theological studies, it was frequently a subject of wonder to me, that *Arminianism* should be called *Popery* by some of its early opponents: For this reproachful epithet I could never discover a cause. One

in the Church. Besides those who reflect on the peculiar condition of the great European family at that juncture, will perceive that the Dutch Republic, which had then so lately rendered the most important services to Rigid Predestination, was the only country in which the Calvinists were in a flourishing condition: This was a circumstance which was not forgotten in the harangues and publications of the various Puritanic emigrants who had found an asylum in the United Provinces, and who flocked to England in large companies as soon as they learnt the probability of a commotion being raised in their favour. These men imported into this country all the visionary enthusiasm, to which, after the Synod of Dort, they had been accustomed in the Low Countries.

A hundred instances might be produced of their Calvinistic extravagancies; a few may here suffice: "The bishops had been about this time voted out of the house of parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many covenanters rejoice, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his Comment on the Apocalypse; a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets and called *Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation,* and both bought up and believed by all the covenanters. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, (which had no bishops) to be *Philadelphia* in the Apocalypse, *that angel that God loved;* and the power of prelacy to be *Antichrist,* the

good and sufficient reason, applicable to the case of the English Arminians, is given by Grotius in a preceding page, 209; for unless the Calvinists had constantly infused into the minds of the common people a persuasion, that "*Episcopacy* and *Arminianism* were nothing better than *specious modifications of Popery,*" they could not have inspired them with a belief, that "the prophecies in the Revelations, relative to the subversion of the Anti-christian kingdom, are as applicable to Arminianism as to Popery."

Yet I discovered, that, whenever it suited their convenience, these virulent Calvinistic accusers could congratulate themselves on the congruity which several of their own doctrines held with those of the Papists. John Goodwin said, in 1658, to one of his adversaries: "For doth he not know, that, as the "market of reproach and disgrace now ruleth in this angle of the world, call "a man AN ARMINIAN, and you have called him constructively, yea emi-"nently, *Thief, Traitor, Murderer, Heretic, False Prophet,* and whatso-"ever else soundeth *infamy* or *reflection* upon men?—Dr. John Owen ac-"knowledgeth, and doth little less than triumph, that *his doctrine of Perse-"verance* is owned and asserted by the two great Popish Doctors, BELLAR-"MINE and SUAREZ. May not I then, or any other man, upon as reasonable "an account, stigmatize such a doctrine with the ignominious character "of *Popish* or *Jesuitical,* as the said Doctor, or any other partisan, cast the "reproach of *Arminian* upon the tenets argued for by me in these contro-"versies? Yea, the truth is, that such a doctrine of Perseverance as the "said Doctor abetteth, would make a more connatural and suitable member "in the crazy body of Popish Divinity, than in the body of the doctrine "maintained by Protestants."

evil angel which the House of Commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity: therefore did those covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good penny-worths of all their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down." (Isaac Walton's *Life of Bishop Sanderson.*)

The next personage introduced does not appear as a *prospective* but rather as an encouraging *retrospective prophet.* "Dr. Owen also," says the judicious biographer of John Goodwin, "in a strain of genuine fanaticism, which would have disgraced the most despicable of Cromwell's preaching officers, compared the outrageous proceedings of the Regicides to the valorous achievements of the Man after God's own heart, in subduing the enemies of his country, and in preparing the way for the national glory and prosperity by which the reign of Solomon was distinguished. Speaking of Ireton, the Doctor says, 'He was 'an eminent instrument in the hand of God, in as tremendous 'alterations, as such a spot of this world hath at any time re-'ceived, since Daniel saw in general them all.....As Daniel's 'visions were all terminated in the kingdom of Christ, so all his '[Ireton's] actions had the same aim and intendment. This was that 'which gave life and sweetness to all the most dismal and black 'engagements that at any time he was called out unto. It was all '*the vengeance of the Lord and his temple!* A Davidical prepara-'tion of *his paths in blood,* that he might for ever reign in righte-'ousness and peace.' Isaac Walton says, in his Life of the *venerable Hooker,* about some malecontents at an earlier period: Yet these very men, in their secret conventicles, did covenant and swear to each other to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on, but up that government must. To which end, there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state, but especially against the Bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatick, as to believe the Bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of God's discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword."

The same spirit was alive and in mighty operation during the Civil Wars. Grotius has alluded to it in a preceding page. (209.)

On the 16th of February, 1641, in a letter to his brother, Grotius writes thus concerning the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud:—"I pray God in behalf of the Archbishop, that he may obtain more favourable judges than we [the Dutch Arminians,] did formerly. It is beyond the range of human prudence to foresee every thing that may afterwards occur. Yet God manifests a regard towards us; and he solaces with a better hope those who are treated injuriously." In a letter addressed to his brother, a week afterwards, he repeats the same pious wishes, and adds:—"I think the Archbishop's purpose has been such, as ought to cause him not to be afraid of having God for the Judge of his intentions. But, if in any age, undoubtedly in this *all things are managed by factions.* Those persons sport too much with Divine subjects, who suppose that they discover, in the name of the Archbishop, *the number which is expressed in the Revelations:* After the same manner, Feuardent * has declared that the same number expresses MARTIN LAUTER.—Respecting the Synod of Dort, I think those persons are of the third order who attempt that which you describe: But, as far as I have been able to understand the affair by comparing the judgment of many persons together, I am inclined to believe, that neither the major part of the Bishops nor the Nobility will approve of that scheme,† but that all things will be brought back to the same form as that which was established in the days of Elizabeth. It was this Queen who stifled in their very origin *the Lambeth Articles*, which were a kind of prelude to the Synod of Dort."—To shew that some of those passages in the New Testament which were then interpreted, for party-purposes, to apply to the Papal tyranny, had been otherwise applied by many great and good men, Grotius wrote his *Commentatio de Antichristo;* in which he offers a conjecture, that ULPIUS, the cognomen of the Emperor TRAJAN, as it answered in Greek numerals to 666, was the person there signified. He refers to Eusebius for proof, that this Emperor in the tenth year of his reign revived the persecutions against the Christians; and quotes Augustine's *City of God*, Sulpitius Severus, and Orosius, as authorities for calling Trajan's cruel measures *the Third Persecution of the Christians.* He adds, "both Irenæus and Arethas consider it a matter placed beyond

* Feuardent was a Franciscan Friar, and one of the most virulent adversaries that ever wrote against the early Protestants. Daillé says, that "he was highly deserving of his name,"—*Feuardent* signifying in French *a brisk or blazing fire.* Like all other dabblers in prophetic matters, he was not very scrupulous about the alteration of a few letters in LUTHER's name, in order to adapt it to the sacred number.

† This is an allusion to *the Committee of Accommodation* appointed by the Long Parliament at the close of 1640, some account of which will be given in the subsequent pages. The persons whom Grotius calls of *the third order*, were, I suppose, the *Sub-committee of Divines*, who were empowered to prepare matters of debate for the other Committee, which consisted of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons.

all controversy, that *a Roman Emperor* was designated by this number." This pamphlet was answered in 1640, by Samuel Marets, Professor of Divinity at Boisleduc in Brabant, who vindicated in a passionate style the common interpretation of those passages of scripture. Contrary to his usual practice, Grotius did not make any mention of the name of Marets in the *Appendix* to his tract *De Antichristo*, which he published early in 1641; but, sporting with the French mode of pronouncing this man's name, which is exactly the same as that of *marais*, "a swamp," Grotius styled his malevolent adversary *Borborita*, "dirty fellow," in allusion to the Greek word Βορβορος, and its French derivative *bourbe*, "mud" or "slime." The reader may judge how well this term suited Marets, by perusing the first sentence of his Preface, which originally commenced in the following manner, till the Amsterdam printer refused to prostitute his types by giving publicity, in the very first sentence, to what he regarded as an untruth: "A small work *on Antichrist* has lately "been printed, the author of which is he who was the editor of "the book of those two Socinians, Crellius and Volkelius." Marets is the person who had the famous dispute with Voetius, whether the Synod of Dort decided in favour of the Supralapsarians or the Sub-lapsarians. He was a man of good sense, yet rather deficient in classical learning, as may be seen by his mistaking *Borborita* for a word of *Latin* extraction: Grotius says in one of his private letters, "that, when he heard of the course of life which Marets had pursued in France, he perceived that this Greek appellative was not misapplied." In his two works against Grotius, he was assisted by the rest of the Calvinian brotherhood —a practice very usual with the French pastors of that age. But, though professedly a reply to Marets, and to an author who had written against him under the fictitious name of Fronto, this *Appendix*, it will be seen by the following extract of a letter to his brother, was designed by Grotius to operate as a check to *the English and Scotch Puritanic Levellers*, who, according to the prophetic annunciation of their own seers, had begun to hail the arrival of the days when they could *reward Babylon double according to her works*, in the persons of the English Arminians. This letter is dated *January 5*, 1641: "I am now afraid lest, through the tardiness of the printer, a longer delay should be disagreeable to those who with the greatest justice expect a sight of my answer to Marets and Fronto. Since this answer was due from me, the very necessity of the argument led me to shew that many things are placed among *the marks of Antichrist*, which can plead antiquity in their favour. But this very circumstance smooths the way to concord, if at any period Kings and Bishops be wishful to indulge serious considerations about it. In completing this work, it was necessary incidentally to demonstrate, that the party which thus severely chastises other people, is not

itself without fault: Yet I have shewn this with such moderation, as not even to subjoin the names of those whom I intend to point out by this description. But though that turbulent spi-

* The Calvinists thought that much *moderation* was displayed in every part of the *Appendix*, except at its conclusion, a quotation from which is here subjoined:—

"I do not deny, that the sayings which are recorded in the *Revelations*, although they may have been truly fulfilled, are of great service to our own times,—not only by creating within us a more confirmed belief of God's providence and foreknowledge, after we have beheld the *predictions* and the *events* which exactly corresponded with them,—but likewise by teaching us to beware of those persons who contract a portion of that spirit which is censured in the *Revelations*: For, mankind are accustomed frequently to relapse into offences, that are either the very same, or nearly equal. It is my hearty desire, that all the Roman [Catholics], who are placed on the chief watch-towers of their church, may derive this kind of instruction; and that Borborita [Marets] and his associates may be benefitted by similar reflections. I will not accuse them of *idolatry* who much too frequently evince their abhorrence even of rites that are excellent and have been long received; and yet, if the name be deduced from things to their resemblances, there is something allied to *idolatry* in addicting themselves to the opinions of new masters in such a manner, as neither to venture on an accurate examination of such opinions themselves, nor permit them to be examined by others. But undoubtedly, many of this party [the Calvinists] cannot clear themselves from the criminal charge of attacking the rights of kings, and of seeking the horns of the *bull* rather than those of the *lamb*,—whether we have regard to the [seditious] dogmas of Junius Brutus and many others, or to the factions, seditions, conspiracies, and the private assumption of arms, under the surreptitious name of the Christian Religion. The kings of France and Great Britain, as well as other kings and legitimate authorities, have declared, that such foul deeds seem to have derived their origin from those dogmas, or to have received from them the greatest encouragement. But how is it possible for them to repel the charge of *cruelty against those who differ from them*, when they are of opinion, that the laws of Moses concerning punishments [against idolaters, &c.] ought to be adopted by Christian princes, while, at the same time, they themselves reckon in the number of idolaters all the Pope's adherents? It is unnecessary to state the fatal consequences that would ensue from such a doctrine, if they were possessed of strength equal to their inclination. Besides, how can the very offences objected against others be removed from themselves by the disciples of Beza and Calvin, both of whom have written books *on punishing heretics with the sword?* Beza's book was translated even into the Dutch language by [two] ministers, [Bogerman and Geldorp,] and recommended to the magistrates: Look also at the comment of this same Beza on Titus iii, 10, in relation to this subject. But when Servetus, *prior to his coming to Geneva*, had desired to obtain Calvin's opinion about his writings, Calvin was the person who wrote to Farel, (and his own hand-writing is yet extant at Paris,) that, *if his authority was of any avail, he would prevent Servetus from returning alive.* He adhered to his promise: For, having suborned his own baker as the accuser, (of which fact he makes great boasts in his printed correspondence,) by the authority which he possessed he easily caused Servetus to be burned alive,—a very dangerous example, according to the judgment of the famous Father Paul, [author of the *History of the Council of Trent*,] and one which might readily be quoted as a precedent against its authors, and recoil upon themselves.

"But it is objected, 'Servetus held sentiments about *the Trinity* that were 'not correct in every particular.' This is very possible; because a mistake is easily committed in matters that so greatly transcend the grasp of the human understanding.—'Is not he, who was the cause of Servetus being 'burnt, *the real burner?* And have all men been satisfied with those 'opinions on the *Trinity* which were held by *this burner of Servetus?*'—By no means: Many of the doctors of the Sorbonne impute heretical opinions

rit will excite great commotions not in Scotland only, but likewise in England; yet, if I do not deceive myself, I think I ought not any longer to delay my answer, lest I be considered as hav-

to Calvin; and nearly all the Lutherans accuse him of Arianism. He must therefore have been burnt himself, if he had fallen into the hands of judges on whose minds the authority of the Doctors of the Sorbonne or of the Lutherans had as much influence as Calvin's had on those of Geneva.

"That we may not imagine Calvin to have been unmerciful on the subject of *the Trinity* only, he himself relates, in a letter addressed to Farel in 1536, 'that a certain Anabaptist had been seized, at his instigation,' (this is his own expression,) and he adds the reason, 'For he had promulged the execrable axiom,—that *the Old Testament was abolished*.' He then subjoins another reason by saying, I 'declared that I brought a capital accusation 'against him for stealing; and I offered [to lose] my head if he denied the 'charge.' What can be the sum of this grievous crime? Calvin explains it: 'It was made evident that he had sold for *two shillings and sixpence* four 'leaves which had only cost him *four-pence*. Therefore,' such is the phraseology of the letter, 'when this Anabaptist had sufficiently displayed 'his obstinacy, *he was driven into banishment*.' Well, what besides? Calvin adds, 'Two days afterwards he was caught in the city, and received 'a public whipping.'

"Melancthon had heard only of the former part of this transaction, about the imprisonment of the Anabaptist. But he had a right understanding of the case when he wrote about the same time to the very excellent Camerarius, and said: 'Behold the fury of the times! The Genevan con-'tests about *Stoical Necessity* are so high, as to inclose in a prison a cer-'tain person who differs from Zeno.'—I believe you know, Borborita, who this Zeno is: But, on this point, Melancthon thus explains himself, in his *Reply to the Bavarian Articles*: 'For I openly reject and detest the Stoical 'and Manichean furies, which affirm that all things happen *necessarily*, both 'good actions and those which are evil. On these subjects I omit all further 'discussions, for they are reproachful towards God and pernicious to good 'morals.' I repeat the same admonition to those who may peruse these and others of my productions; and I pray God, that all dogmas which are *reproachful to him and injurious to good manners* may be extirpated, and that a way may thus be opened for an equitable peace," &c.

In this extract, the reader will find a second mention of the book entitled *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, sive de Principis in Populum, Populique in Principem legitima Potestate*, Ab Stephano Junio Bruto; which furnished the Calvinists of that age with many of the dangerous political principles on which they acted. It was printed by Guarin, at Basle, in 1579; and being translated into French, in 1581, it served as a kind of political text-book to the Calvinists, in their various insurrections in that kingdom, till Rochelle was reduced and taken, and Cameronism succeeded to the place of Calvinism. On the 28th of February, 1643, Grotius informed his brother of the real author of that seditious publication: "I think I formerly told you, that Philip Mornay, Lord du Plessis Marli, was the author of *Junius Brutus*, and that the editor of it was Louis Villiers, Loiselerius. I repeat this, because Marets says, that this Brutus is an unknown writer, when the author's name is a circumstance well known to multitudes: And the same Du Plessis, in his last will and testament, exhorted his sons-in-law and his friends to rise in arms, if the edicts [in favour of the Reformed] were not observed." Another reference to the will of Du Plessis is made in a preceding page (210), by Grotius. In a subsequent letter, dated March 21, he says: "The account which I gave you about Mornay Du Plessis, I received from those who lived with him: And his last will plainly agrees with themaxims contained in that book." It is not improbable, that M. Daillè, the celebrated Cameronist, was his informant: For he was the Pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris, had been on terms of intimacy with Grotius, (page 222,) and had resided several years in Mornay's family as tutor to his children; he was also present when that nobleman died.—Bayle, whose excusable partiality for the French Calvinists is no secret, has written a

ing nothing to oppose. Besides, I do not despair that some of the PURITANS, after obtaining a sight of my production, may make a nearer approach to sanity, if they be not entirely cured.

Dissertation on this seditious production, in which he leaves it doubtful whether Beza or Philip Mornay was the real author,—though in one part he endeavours to convince his readers, from certain documents, that it was written by Hubert Languet, of Franche Comte, a great politician and the Duke of Saxony's agent in France. One of Bayle's Commentators has written a long and able Critique to shew, that the proofs adduced for Du Plessis being the author are incontrovertible, and that it is very probable Languet was the editor and the writer of the Preface. Rivet, who was himself a Frenchman, does not, in his answer to the *Discussion* of Grotius, deny this circumstance, but offers an apology for Du Plessis, on account of his age and the persecutions to which the French Protestants were then exposed.

Grotius has also briefly stated the case of Servetus. As this is a topic on which many Calvinists betray their indiscretion, I subjoin a few extracts from the answers of Grotius to Rivet. One of the late biographers of Melancthon has, in his Preface, given his readers the following information: "No one surely can mistake the purpose of this volume so much as to suppose, that the author pledges himself to believe the creed, or to vindicate all the opinions of its illustrious subject." Those persons who "suppose that the author," who is a Calvinist Minister, "pledged himself to believe the creed" of the moderate Melancthon, will indeed have "mistaken the purpose of his volume;" for, in one part of it, the prominent purpose seems to be, the partial exculpation of Calvin's foul deed against Servetus, by adducing the authority of Melancthon in its favour. By not "believing Melancthon's creed," the author may have had regard to *the more mature sentiments* of that great man; but a Calvinist would find no great difficulty in adopting the early creed of Melancthon, by which he and Luther gave the reins to those enthusiasts, the German Anabaptists. Melancthon soon perceived his error, discarded the fatal doctrines of *Unconditional Election and Reprobation*, begun sedulously to teach all men to prove their faith by their works, frequently blessed God for having instructed him in this *more excellent way*, and continued throughout life a greater assertor of the powers of the human will than Arminius or any of his evangelical followers. It is this amended "creed" which Melancthon's biographer does not "pledge himself to believe;" but though it was not strictly in his line of duty to "believe" it, it was his paramount duty, as an honest man and a faithful narrator of facts, to state this change, which was most honourable to the character of his author. This gentleman, and other modern Calvinistic dabblers in that odious affair, will derive some instruction from the following interesting quotation: "Among the Dutch, those who were condemned at the Synod of Dort, and afterwards banished out of the country, had previously delivered to their rulers a statement of their sentiments, which are the same as those of Melancthon, and which always had in those parts many defenders. They were not the first to make a secession, but their adversaries.—The authority of the Bishop of Rome would not have appeared so formidable to [Bishop] Hall, as on that account to cast away all hopes of reconciliation, had he known how easily the remedies may be procured, both in France and Spain, to prevent the Popes from invading the rights either of kings or bishops; and especially if he had considered, that the king of Great Britain exercises no jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs and persons, that is not likewise exercised by the king of the Two Sicilies.—But, to return to the business of Dort, it was the principal objection which the Lutherans urged against the plan of John Duræus, who, when attempting with the best intentions to establish concord among all Protestants, received this reply from the divines of Strasburgh and Sweden, *that they [the Lutherans] were as much condemned at that Synod as the Arminians.*—In former days, when any quotations from Calvin, Beza, and other writers, were pressed as objections against those who account themselves *better reformed than other people*, they were accustomed to answer, 'These are but the private opinions of teachers:' But all

I have also the same reasons to expect a similar result from the more moderate Papists, especially when the most learned men of their party have already expressed their approbation of my

the men of that party [the Calvinists] are now bound down by the public voice of their own Synod. They have no means of escape: For there is not a man among them that is not bound to defend those 'horrible decrees,' as Calvin himself calls them; nor can any one believe, that the *fraternal kindness* expressed by Calvin's disciples, is employed with any other design, than to serve for ingratiating themselves by some means or other. When they have [in any country] become sufficiently powerful, they will banish other people, as they acted in Holland against those individuals of whom we have already spoken: They have likewise twice ejected Luther's disciples out of the territory of the Elector Palatine.—Let men of prudence now judge, whether I uttered a useless wish when I said, 'that men of such a dis-'position, who openly avow that *the Israel of God must dwell alone*, ought 'to be kept under restraint by kings and magistrates, lest they should make 'those attempts against others which may probably recoil on themselves.' But the causes which I produced, why those dogmas ought not to be approved which were formed at Dort, and then re-formed in the mountains of Cevennes, [at the French National Synod of Alez,] were not produced solely from my own judgment about them, but from the judgment of all who dissent from them,—such as the Roman Catholics, the Greek Church, and the Protestants who adhere to the Augsburgh Confession. God forbid, that I should give my assent to Calvin and Beza, for burning or punishing with death those who err about the Trinity: For an error is easily committed in that very difficult doctrine; but the punishment of the man who thus errs, should be *such instruction as may cause him to acknowledge his heresy*. For if the magistrates, according to the law of Moses, which Calvin and Beza adduce, ought to kill *those who do not accurately distinguish the Divine Persons* [in the Trinity], which is the only thing objected by Melancthon against Servetus,—what hinders the same magistrates from killing *those also who confound the* [*two*] *natures of Christ*, the error which Calvin's disciples charge upon the followers of Luther?, &c.

"Rivet says, on the first article, that *he and his associates are led by the public authority of the Spirit in his own word, which is common to all Christians*. Just such an assertion has been made by Menno and Socinus, by Bruno and many others. The reader will perceive the perplexities in which the minds of men are involved when they hear resounding on every side, *This is the pure and sincere word of God, according to the meaning of the Holy Spirit!* They know not whither to betake themselves, except that the greatest part of them remain in the lot assigned to them by their birth or education, or stand still in the place to which they have been conveyed by their hopes of honour and advantage, while their associates likewise express aloud their unanimous and high approval. If any one can extricate mankind out of this labyrinth, will he not perform an acceptable service? The learned Germans, who published the remarks of the Patriarch Gennadius on the Trinity, which may be considered those of the Greek Church, had discovered no discrepancy between them and the contents of the Nicene Creed. I am not certain, that on this subject other people cannot see as far as Frenchmen, though the latter possess a more subtle genius. But let them beware lest they fall into the same snare as Calvin did, who brought upon himself the most grievous accusations by his refined subtleties. It is not every man that can readily declare what things they are which differ *in reality*, *in relation*, or *in modality*; or that can speedily discern whether it is more correct to say, *The Father begat*, or *The Father is always procreating*; whether Keckerman spoke with propriety when he said, *Persons* are not *entities*; whether Calvin spoke with perfect correctness when he asserted, that *persons* are *properties*; and why it was displeasing to the same individual to hear the Son called *God of God*. When I peruse such expressions as these, and revolve them in my mind, I applaud that saying of Irenæus: 'If therefore any person ask us, *In what manner is the Son produced by the* 'Father?, we answer, No one knows this production, generation, naming,

labours as displaying sufficient liberality and moderation. But it is my desire to render myself serviceable to all men, *as well as to the English and the Scotch,* not to those of our own times

' unfolding or disclosing, or by what name soever he may choose to call ' *the Son's generation that cannot be declared.*' (Isai. liii, 8.)

" The books of Servetus were through the assiduity of Calvin burnt, not only at Geneva, but likewise at other places: I confess, that during the whole of my life I have never yet seen more than one copy of his book in Latin; in which I certainly did not discover those allegations which were urged against him by Calvin. Michael Servetus was, by Calvin's management, burnt alive at Geneva, in the year 1553; Melancthon received from Calvin whatever he afterwards wrote about Servetus. Before that period Œcolampadius seems to have been acquainted with him in Switzerland; but he considered him a proper subject for rejection and exposure, though not to be murdered. Calvin, however, could declare: ' I freely confess and avow, that I provided the ' accuser myself.' He adds: ' The magistrates are not only permitted to ' inflict punishment on the corrupters of the heavenly doctrine, but they ' have the Divine command thus to act, how unwilling soever ignorant per- ' sons may be to grant them such a liberty.' And, in his letter to Farel, concerning the same Servetus, he says: ' I hope he will at least receive a capital ' punishment.'—But the *courteous* and *humane* treatment which Calvin usually bestowed on those who differed from him, is evident in his writings. He calls Castellio *a knave* and *Satan,* because he opposed that Predestination which Calvin inculcated; Koornhert, both *a knave* and *a dog*; and the author of ' The Duty of a Pious Man in the Midst of this Religious Dissension,' (who was Cassander, but whom Calvin thought to be Baldwin,) is called *a fellow of an iron front, devoid of piety, profane, impudent, an impostor, without natural affection, and devoted to petulance.* When Baldwin had written an answer to this production, Calvin called him *a man of no character, an obscene dog, a disreputable falsifier, a fellow that cunningly plots wicked devices, and that enters into a conspiracy with wicked knaves, a cynic, a buffoon, a perfidious and infatuated wretch, of beastly madness and devoted to Satan.* He called Cassander *self-complaisant and morose, a sorcerer, ghost, serpent, plague, and hangman!* I will again declare the truth, how displeasing soever it may prove to Rivet: These circumstances so vexed Bucer as to compel that mild man to address him in the following words, which are by far too true: ' You form your judgment according to the love or the ' hatred which you have conceived; but your love or hatred is formed ac- ' cording to the pleasure of your passions.' Nay, on account of his atrocious sayings, Bucer bestowed on him the name of FRATRICIDE. In a letter to Bucer, Calvin calls this passion for evil-speaking by the softened epithet of ' impatience;' and says, ' that he maintained a great conflict with it, and ' that he had obtained some advantages over it, but they were not such as ' completely to tame the monster.' If any one will read what Calvin wrote after that period, he will find that *the advantages* said to have been obtained were all on the wrong side; so mightily was he pleased with that passage, *I do that which I would not!* (Rom. vii, 16.) Thus likewise does Beza confess, that for the space of fifteen years, during which he had instructed others in the way of righteousness, he was himself neither rendered sober, liberal, nor addicted to speaking the truth, and that he still remained fast in the miry clay.—I do not adduce these things as though it were at all pleasing to me to maintain a contest with the dead; the reason why I state them is, because I perceive it generally happens, that *every one imitates the manners of him whom he chooses for his master.* You may commonly see the followers of Melancthon and John Arndt, men of good and kind dispositions; and, on the contrary, the disciples of Calvin are full of asperity, and manifest such a disposition as they imagine God entertains towards the greatest portion of mankind. Of what immense consequence therefore is it to be judicious in the choice of the teacher whom you employ! I advise all those who have leisure, to read both Cassander's and Baldwin's answer to Calvin: For they are of great service in exhibiting the man's real disposition."

alone, but I bestow the chief part of my attention on posterity; and if I should refuse to avail myself of those opportunities which are constantly occurring, a proper season for declaring the

Such were the expressions of Grotius in his *Wishes for the Peace of the Church*, from which we have already (page 208) given some interesting extracts. In his *Discussion of Rivet's Apology*, he introduces some judicious remarks on the railing to which the Calvinists had accustomed themselves. He adduces the instance of the COMMONITORY of Vincentius Lirinensis, a new edition of which and of St. Augustine *on the Christian Doctrine*, had then been recently published in Germany by the famous Lutheran Divine, George Calixtus, for which pacific deed he obtained a plentiful share of abuse from the doctors of the Genevan School, who were always remarkable for their aversion to antiquity. On this subject Grotius says: "Those persons in France, who were desirous of making such an assertion, have lately said, that Vincentius, the author of *the Commonitory*, was a Semi-Pelagian; but they have produced no proof except from their own judgment. For they account all those who do not agree with Calvin, as Pelagians; or, when inclined to a more lenient course, they call them 'Semi-Pelagians.' If Rivet be not terrified with the epithet *Sesqui-Manicheism*, no reason whatever exists for real Catholics being afraid of the term *Semi-Pelagianism*. The Manichees declared, that evil actions proceeded from necessity. For they were deniers of *the freedom of the human will*, like some other persons in this age. But since they durst not deny that God is good, they preferred to deduce that necessity of evil actions from some other origin than from the Deity. Yet men have been found, who proceeded far beyond this point; and, while they agreed with the Manichees respecting that inevitable necessity, they had the audacity to ascribe the cause of it to no other source than to our gracious God: These are the men, who, for the best reason in the world, are called *Sesqui-Manichees*. It would be difficult for me to say, whether or not Rivet be one of their number: For they are accustomed to varnish over their sentiments in a marvellous manner, when they see them liable to incur odium from good men. And they manage all this with such consummate art, as never openly to condemn or to acknowledge the objections made against them.

"Baldwin has quoted, from Beza's answer to Castellio, the expressions which Beza uses when he says, that for the space of fifteen years he was neither rendered sober, liberal, nor addicted to speaking the truth, but that he still remained in the miry clay. Such a confession ought not to be considered disgraceful to those persons who suppose, that St. Paul, even after he had become an Apostle, was brought into captivity to *the law of sin*, by means of the law in his members; and that he was 'carnal and sold under sin;' (Rom. vii, 14, 23.) and who declare, 'that certain sins have dominion 'over the regenerate, and that the most holy persons on earth daily sin 'against their own consciences.' Holy men do not utter against themselves such calumnies as these phrases import. St. Paul declares himself to be '*the chief of sinners*;' but this expression refers to the period before his conversion when he was a persecutor of the Church. But, after receiving 'the knowledge of salvation,' St. Paul and those who resemble him, do not say, 'that they live without sin;' neither do they say, 'that they are held captive by their sins,' which, as we have before declared, are destroyed at a single blow. St. Augustine is himself a witness that such sins as sacrilege, murder, adultery, false testimony, theft, rapine, pride, envy, avarice, and even anger, itself though long cherished, and drunkenness after frequent indulgence,—are all destroyed. How many of Rivet's associates, who style themselves *the elect*, have been detected in the commission of wicked actions and flagitious crimes! He will say, 'These evil deeds are also found among other 'denominations.' He will speak the truth: But, among those others, there are likewise causes which nourish vicious conduct. Cardinal Gropper also spoke truly, when he said, in *the Institution of Catechumens*, 'It cannot be 'denied, for facts proclaim this truth, that by the neglect of penitence all 'ecclesiastical discipline, which is the sole foundation of religion, is at once 'forgotten and grown into disuse; and that, in its stead, the foulest and

truth would never arrive. Then, since the term of life is uncertain, I act in this production and in others, so as to leave nothing to the diligence of my heirs, of whose neglect I am daily a wit-

'most scandalous offences have in a body inundated the Church, and are 'the causes of the disturbances that agitate the present times.' But among the followers of Beza, no cause is more powerful than the opinion, that a man who is regenerate may fall into such sins and yet not fall from grace on that account, that his salvation is sure and certain, and that he ought to indulge in no doubts concerning it. Is it any thing wonderful, if these people are precipitately hurried into crimes, when the flesh allures them, and they are restrained by no fear? The man who admonishes others about these matters, does not hate men, but loves God and the salvation of mankind.

"The Edicts which have been published in France in favour of those who call themselves *the Reformed*, Grotius does not wish to see either rescinded or curtailed, but to be most scrupulously observed; and of this fact he has numerous and great witnesses.

"With regard to Servetus, those who have perused him will not, I think, be persuaded that he agreed in sentiment with Paul Samosatenus. But it is true, as Melancthon states, that Servetus does not sufficiently explain his thoughts of those things which he discusses. He had undoubtedly become involved in error: But he did not go to Geneva for the purpose of instilling his own notions into the minds of the people; nor did he remain in that city in order to collect together a new denomination. He had come with the express intention of consulting Calvin: But, long before his arrival, Calvin had predestinated him by a horrible decree to a death of infamy. In proof of this may be cited Calvin's letter to Farel, in which he declares, *that if his authority possessed any validity, he would take care that he should not depart alive.* It is sufficient to have stated these things: And nothing need be added, except this, that magistrates are with the greatest propriety warned by Grotius to be on their guard against the men who defend these maxims. For it is only necessary to look, and instantly to discover how they destroy christian love and gentleness, and all the bonds of human society. Princes who hold erroneous opinions, do not account themselves heretics; neither do those subjects who differ from their rulers, number themselves among the favourers of heresy. Now if Princes should believe that they ought to kill heretics, and if subjects should foster the opinion, that they ought to resist by arms the operation of those edicts which take away the free exercise of their religion, what shall we have but civil wars in all directions, without any hope of intermission? Because foreigners, under the influence of the same maxims, will unite themselves either to these Princes or to their subjects, as their own sentiments may accord with the one party or the other, and will thus prevent those whose cause they espouse from being subdued by their adversaries. Grotius is easily persuaded, that Rivet's associates in France do not approve of the Genevan dogma of 'punishing heretics with the sword.' For they know how dangerous such a proposition is to themselves; not because they account themselves to be heretics, no more than Servetus thought himself one; but because they are conscious, that they are viewed as heretics by their sovereign, nay as blasphemers, on that point especially in which they make God to be the author of sin.

"Grotius has no wish to exasperate kings and all orders of men against Rivet and his party; but he admonishes them to beware of dogmas that not only disturb the peace of the church, but likewise the peace of society. If they will receive this admonition and act accordingly, they will raise themselves to a greater height in the estimation of kings and men of all ranks, than that to which they have ever yet attained. This is no trifling point of safety, which Grotius is desirous to procure for them. The business of peace is the concern of Christ himself. The light is the Holy Scriptures, understood according to their ancient meaning and interpretation: Prejudices and passions diffuse darkness over the mind. Grotius is not among the number of those who, through covetousness and with feigned words, make merchandize of the souls of men; (2 Pet. ii, 3.) and it is not his endeavour

ness." This was courageous discourse and a noble attempt for a man that had nearly attained to sixty years of age; but he had to complain, that his endeavours to reconcile the great body of Protestants together, and then to effect a union between them and the Papists, was not supported by many of his friends, as, in his opinion, it ought to have been at that juncture. He says, "If Erasmus and Cassander had waited until there had been no seditious movements of the people, they might have imposed on them-

by this labour to obtain either advantage or honour. Neither is he so imprudent as not to have foreseen the odium which would be excited by this pacific attempt. He wishes to see all dishonest gains removed from the church; and he will never repent of having intreated God and admonished men, for the completion of this purpose. The dogs that lie in the manger, [in allusion to Æsop's fable,] are not only unwilling to enjoy peace themselves, even that inequitable kind of peace which was established by the decrees of the Synod of Dort, but they likewise divert from peaceful observances other people that do not belong to their party. In the mean time, they view themselves with such complacency, as to lay claim to the peculiar title of 'the sheep and the spouse of Christ;' they place the fact beyond all controversy, that they are God's people and heritage; and on these foundations, as though they were well laid, they erect grand superstructures, for trophies to themselves as the conquerors of all other people. Such a degree of confidence do these carnal weapons impart, with which they see themselves on every side defended! Their spirits swell, like the sails of a ship that have long been filled with prosperous breezes. When they obtain access to the ears of men in power, they close them against all men besides; they are not content with having imposed silence on other people, but add reproaches and insults, while they scornfully sing, *Woe betide the vanquished!* They are without a single rival, and will remain so; for their conduct is such, as to cause them to indulge in self-love unto desperation, while none, except their own dear selves, can manifest towards them any tokens of affection."

This description of the Calvinists of 1643, was drawn by the hand of one of the greatest men, and certainly the most accomplished and universal scholar, of that learned age; and the opinions avowed, in the two treaties from which it is quoted, are supported throughout by *stubborn facts*. This description is the more interesting on account of the author's wishes, expressed fully in the text, (page 272,) to render these pamphlets, which were among the very last of his literary labours, a sedative to the turbulent spirits of the Calvinists in this country. He enjoyed better opportunities of knowing the concerns of every religious denomination than any other man in Europe; his information is therefore the more valuable. On every occasion he displays a strong desire to benefit Englishmen, by infusing a better disposition into the Puritans. In the last pamphlet which he wrote, he says: "Many persons both at Paris and throughout France, in Poland and Germany, and not a few in England, who are mild men and lovers of peace, know, that the labours of Grotius for the peace of the church have not been displeasing to several equitable and competent judges. For what man, who is not infected with the same poison, will require one to please the Brownists [Independents], who are indulging their frantic humours to the extent which we now behold, and others that resemble them, if any such there be, with whom Rivet will enjoy more complete concord than with the English Bishops!" This great and good man died four years prior to the beheading of King Charles the First, and was mercifully taken away from a sight of the evils which were then impending, and which would have wounded his benevolent spirit. Only a few months prior to his decease, he made the following remark in a letter to his brother: "The events which have transpired in England are just such as I predicted,—the number of sects has increased to immensity. The English has always been esteemed by men of learning as THE BEST LITURGY."

selves an eternal silence. Those vipers always hiss, especially when they are invigorated by the gales which blow from the Lake of Geneva. Bearing these things with patience, I am unwilling to defer the completion of those labours which I consider it a part of my duty as a Christian to undertake. Life itself is not in our own hands : * Our toils will be profitable either to

* It must not be supposed that Grotius, at this juncture, began to entertain, *for the first time*, the godlike design of uniting the different denominations of professing Christians into one body. In the first edition of his treatise on *the Truth of the Christian Religion*, published several years before his pamphlet *on Antichrist*, he closes the eleventh chapter of his sixth book, by an eloquent and pious exhortation to Christian unity and concord, and proves that the soldiers of Christ ought to employ arms of a different description to those of the Mahomedans. How well that evangelical counsel had been approved by those who were then most celebrated for their moderation, learning, and piety, may be seen in the subjoined quotation from one of his letters to his brother, in 1641 :—

"I am much pleased that your business allows you leisure to go to Amsterdam ; for your presence will, I hope, cause those additions which must be made to the *Annotations on the Gospels*, to be correctly published. If, while I live, they do not produce the effect which I desire, and to which (if I may be permitted so to express myself) I consider myself to have been destined from my mother's womb, yet it will prove of the utmost consequence to have planted trees that may be serviceable to a future generation.—A few days ago, a very learned Englishman called upon me : He has lived a long time in Turkey, and has translated my book on *the Truth of the Christian Religion* into Arabic ; and he will endeavour, if it be possible, to have his translation of it printed in England. He thinks no book can be more useful, either for the instruction of the Christians in that part of the world, or for the conversion of the Turks who reside in Turkey, Persia, Tartary, Barbary, or the East Indies. This very pious man earnestly intreated me to persist in the purpose which I had expressed at the end of that treatise, and not to suffer myself to be deterred, by any factions and calumnies whatever, from offering to the acceptance of all Christians the cup of concord. Nothing creates a greater aversion to Christianity among '*those who are without*,' than a sight of the numerous denominations divided among themselves. I returned such answers as the occasion suggested. Beside the Christians in Turkey, there are, in all parts of the world, many others, I do not doubt, who are under similar oppressive influence. I have fully determined, as much as in my power, to shew both the causes of these divisions and the remedies. But I beseech you not to imagine, that it concerns my reputation to render satisfaction to the Calvinists, (nearly all of whom are seditious persons,) in preference to other denominations that are not less, but perhaps are much more, Christian. God has bestowed on me this [Swedish] embassy, that I may be able to speak freely ; and should I even resign this office, I would use the same freedom of speech in some other situation. I entreat you therefore, my dear brother, neither to be yourself alarmed, nor to suppose that I shall by any means be alarmed, if my enemies call me *no member of the Church, a Papist, a Socinian*, or whatever name they please. The French Bishops and a majority of Divines oppose superstitions, and openly profess a desire of restoring that union of the Church which we owe to Christ. Shall I shew myself a loiterer, or inactive in such a good work as this, when God has imparted to me those gifts for which I shall never be able to render him sufficient praise and thankfulness? May I banish from my mind all such fear and indolence!"

No one can withhold the tribute of admiration from the noble frankness displayed in this acknowledgment of the talents which God had communicated. I have always viewed such an avowal, on proper occasions, to be equally distant from the effrontery of braggardism, and from the obtruding meekness of a specious humility, which often seeks, by a voluntary self-degradation, to obtain unmerited applause.

our cotemporaries or to our successors."—In a most interesting letter, dated Feb. 2, 1641, he thus addresses his brother: "Those objections undoubtedly which the Lutherans make against the Calvinists, as stated in the letter of Vossius, are not empty expressions; they have in them much truth and reality. I also consider his remark very just, that if the Swedish and Danish

The person whom Grotius here styles "a very learned Englishman," was no other than the celebrated oriental scholar, Dr. Edward Pocock, the able co-adjutor of Bishop Walton in that great national undertaking, the LONDON POLYGLOTT BIBLE. He had been five years Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo; and he and the learned Greaves were, soon after his return to this country, appointed to travel in the East. They spent nearly four years at Constantinople, studying the Eastern languages, and purchasing, by Archbishop Laud's order, all the valuable manuscripts which they could discover. Both these eminent men, as well as *several of the most* PIOUS *and* LEARNED INDIVIDUALS that any nation ever produced in one age, were vexed and disturbed by those semi-barbarians, *the Parliamentary Visitors* and *the Triers and Ejectors*, who, with the great majority of the Calvinian party, were decided enemies to learning. Bishop Womack has presented us with an excellent specimen of their Puritanic cant on this subject, in the speech of *Mr. Fatality*, page 70, in which he says, "The man hath a competent measure of your ordinary unsanctified learning," &c.

The reader will be gratified by a perusal of the following quotation from Twells's *Life of Dr. Pocock*, which contains a circumstance that is highly honourable both to our author and to Grotius. After stating, that, early in 1641, Dr. Pocock, in his route to England, called at Paris, and visited Gabriel Sionita, the famous Maronite, and Hugh Grotius, his biographer proceeds to say: "To the latter he could not but be very acceptable, as on several accounts, so particularly on that of the relation he stood in to a person for whom Grotius had all imaginable esteem and reverence, the Archbishop of Canterbury. And doubtless, the troubles which had lately begun to fall on that great Prelate, and the black cloud which now hung over the Church of England in general, were the subject of no small part of their conversation.—But there were other things, about which he was willing to discourse with this great man. Mr. Pocock, while he continued in the East, had often lamented the infatuation under which so great a part of the world lay, being enslaved to the foolish opinions of that grand impostor Mahomet. He had observed, in many who professed his religion, much justice and candour and love, and other excellent qualities, which seemed *to prepare them for the kingdom of God;* and therefore he could not but persuade himself, that, were the doctrines of the Gospel but duly proposed to them, not a few might open their eyes to discern the truth of it. Something therefore he resolved to do towards so desirable an end, as he should meet with convenient leisure; and he could not think of any thing more likely to prove useful in this respect, than the translating into Arabic, the general language of the East, an admirable Discourse that had been published in Latin, some years before, *concerning the Truth of Christianity*. With this design he now acquainted Grotius, the author of that treatise; who received the proposal with much satisfaction, and gave him a great deal of encouragement to pursue it.—And Mr. Pocock's aim in this matter being only the glory of God and the good of souls, he made no scruple at all to mention to that learned man some things towards the end of his book, which he could not approve, viz. certain opinions, which, though they are commonly in Europe charged on the followers of Mahomet, have yet no foundation in any of their authentic writings, and are such as they themselves are ready on all occasions to disclaim. With which freedom of Mr. Pocock, Grotius was *so far from being displeased*, that he *heartily thanked him for it;* and gave him authority, in the version he intended, to expunge and alter whatsoever he should think fit."

Dr. Pocock's esteemed Arabic translation of this treatise of Grotius was published at Oxford in 1660, immediately after the Restoration.

Churches could unite with that Church which does not acknowledge Luther for its founder, it would be possible for them to enter into a union with the Church of England, on account of certain rites which are common both to it and them, and because the English are not equally ready to adopt that dark kind of argumentation against other people. The misfortune of the Archbishop excites my warmest sympathies: He is an excellent man, very learned, and a passionate lover of the peace of the Church. But we, who have ranged ourselves under the banners of Christ, ought not to refuse the cross. God tries his own people *where, when, and as far as he pleases:* And it is our duty, not to be terrified at the sight of temporary evils. On those who thus act in every respect, God will bestow strength and power; and I pray God of his infinite goodness to communicate them to the good Archbishop. If it be allowed to urge the meanness of their extraction as an objection against pious bishops, what will become of the Apostles, and what will be the fate of Onesimus and others, who were *servants* before they were constituted *bishops?* So far am I from believing this Archbishop to be a PAPIST: There is indeed throughout France scarcely a single Archbishop or Bishop to whom that epithet justly belongs. I consider my writings on the subject of Antichrist to be true, and *not merely true but of the greatest utility!* Since such is my full conviction, and since God has placed me in this asylum for the purpose of aiding in the promotion of his truth and peace, do you suppose that I ought to be afraid of the virulent pens of Marets, Du Moulin,* and of the rest of that party? If I be fa-

* Grotius might have called Du Moulin's pen *hypocritical*, as well as *virulent*. In opposition to the interpretation which Grotius, in his treatise *De Antichristo*, had put upon several passages in the New Testament, Du Moulin published a book, in 1640, entitled VATES, *seu de Præcognitione Futurorum, et bonis malisque Prophetis.*—This is really a curious and entertaining work: I perused it with some satisfaction many years ago; and have always been of opinion, that the interpretation which he and many other Protestant writers give to these apostolical expressions, *the man of sin* and *Antichrist*, is more correct than that of Grotius. Du Moulin's book contains an account of magicians, conjurors, astrologers, interpreters of dreams, the *sortes* or lotteries of the ancients, physiognomy, omens, presages, &c. It is to this curious admixture of subjects that Grotius pleasantly alludes, in the following quotation from a letter to his brother in 1641, which is interesting to philosophers, on account of the description which it gives of an aërolite: "I have learnt to-day, from the published testimonies of several persons who were eye-witnesses, that a stone weighing fifty-four pounds fell from the clouds to the ground, on the 29th of November, 1637, in the confines of Provence and Savoy, between the villages of Dauvise and Peanne. The sound emitted by its fall was greater than the noise caused by the firing of three hundred cannons at once, and during its descent the sky was perfectly serene. An immense furrow was formed in the ground, in which the stone was discovered. A sulphureous smell was perceptible to a considerable distance around; and the stones in contact with it, were converted into lime, [or, *in calcem versos*, were calcined]. The shape of the stone was completely out of proportion. I am engaged in consulting the naturalists respecting the origin of this unshapen mass, and by what means it remained suspended in the sky, and was moved about; and I must consult

voured with longer life, I will defend what I have written: And when I die I shall find defenders, perhaps not those of the timid class, but those who will act somewhat more boldly." The en-

such Divines as DU MOULIN, to know *the portentous events of which it is the harbinger!*"

But the mystery of iniquity in such Calvinistic publications as this, was, the obvious design of associating in one class some of the innocent observances and scriptural doctrines that were common both to Popery and to the Episcopal Church of England, and of bringing them into public contempt. But, as by the favour of the late King, (James I,) Du Moulin, though residing in the confines of France, held preferment in the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, he did not consider it *very polite* openly to impugn the Church of England, or to write professedly against any of the sentiments of Grotius. By either of these acts, he would have given just offence to Archbishop Laud; and by the latter deed especially, he would have again affronted the King of France, to whom he had rendered himself suspected by his former seditious practices at Rochelle, &c. for which he was then a voluntary exile. To remove all apparent cause of obloquy, he expressed himself on many points with all the cunning subtlety of his master Calvin. Thus, in lib. 2, cap. vii, speaking of the rite of confirmation in the Church of Rome, he quotes, among others, a saying of Thomas Aquinas, (Summæ, pt. iii, quæst. 72, art. 9,) "*This sacrament is perfective of baptism*," and immediately subjoins, "Thomas thus intimates, that *baptism* is imperfect without the addition of *confirmation*. If we may give credit to the Bishops, they communicate the Holy Spirit by this sacrament. The effect, therefore, which they produce ought to be this—the children whom they confirm would, by the imposition of hands, begin to speak in divers languages and to perform miracles, *if the Bishops have succeeded to the office and the power of the Apostles*. But the children, after confirmation, immediately depart to their sports and pastimes; and are not by this rite rendered either wiser or more learned. Besides, according to the confession of the Papists themselves, not a few of the Bishops are dissolute in their lives, and licentious in their conduct; since therefore these Bishops are under the influence of *an evil spirit*, a man will with great difficulty induce himself to believe, that such persons can bestow the Holy Spirit: For no one can communicate that of which he is not himself possessed."—It is scarcely necessary to explain to any of my readers the evident bearing of this passage. Confirmation is a rite retained by the Church of England; and, though we have very properly expunged it from the number of the sacraments, yet *our very retention of it in a modified form* was sufficient cause of exasperation to such a malevolent mind as that of Du Moulin, and he adopted this sly method of disclosing his antipathies against it and the Apostolic succession of Bishops.—Several similar instances might be quoted.

But, in his Dedication of the Book to *the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury*, this design is manifested with still greater cunning. Describing his pious feelings on taking a review of the state of different countries, he says, "The lamentable condition of whole nations presents itself to my view, whom Satan has oppressed with his yoke of iron, and involved in the gross darkness of errors; among whom piety is accounted *a crime* and truth *a heresy*, and who have to maintain a struggle, not only against *vices*, but even against *laws*,—and, in the conflict between the hostile parties, the church of God has scarcely power to breathe. Those places are very rare in which Christ can find room enough to lay his head. As often as I revolve these circumstances in my mind, I cannot sufficiently describe the admiration which I feel at the happy lot of *your* Britain, I may also add *mine*, which it has been the will of God to make a singular example of his care and benevolence. For a long time has now elapsed since, in your country, the idol [Popery] fell down before the ark of God, and was broken in pieces, and since the Church of God commenced its halcyon days under the auspices of the best and most powerful monarchs." After enlarging a little on this subject, he thus proceeds: "God has crowned this spiritual emancipation with earthly blessings, having bestowed the additional gifts of peace, riches, and splendour, while your adversaries have fruitlessly

deavours of Grotius to check these British prophets, who under a pretence of overturning the foundations of Popery wished to subvert Arminianism and Episcopacy, procured for him the ill-will and petulance of the French and Dutch Calvinists, who em-

vented their malevolence. I should be utterly unworthy of life, if I did not by assiduous prayers implore this favour from God, *that you may enjoy these blessings in perpetuity:* For your prosperity is consolatory to us who are oppressed with adversity. Though we are ourselves in the greatest difficulties, yet we are peculiarly anxious for the safety of your church. And we are not destitute of causes for indulging in this fearfulness and anxiety: For the Papists have beheld the inhabitants of your island at variance with each other, and the sight has afforded them matter of rejoicing secretly in heart, because they now promise themselves an immense increase of converts to Popery, and the healing of that wound which has been inflicted on the beast. But the wisdom and zeal of your most excellent king will prevent this evil; for, as a bee born in honey, his gracious majesty has imbibed the doctrine of the Gospel almost with the milk of his royal mother, and testifies by daily proofs his piety and virtue. This evil will proceed no further, if *those whom God has placed at the head of such a flourishing church,* will use their endeavours to keep the truth of the Gospel untainted: For they are not ignorant of Satan's devices, who frequently comes unawares upon the incautious, and, sewing the skin of *the fox* upon that of *the lion,* tries to ensnare those by deceit whom he cannot destroy by violence: He breaks and enervates through listlessness the pastors of the church, either by feeding them with eager desires after earthly riches, or by sowing among them envy and emulation, from which usually spring up dissensions in religion itself. It is to me therefore a matter of congratulation to the church of Canterbury, that it is favoured with pastors endowed with great learning and much faith; who have received a better education at the feet of Paul, than Paul himself did at the feet of Gamaliel; and concerning whom the same testimony may be borne as that which David bore to Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, *He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings!* (2 Sam. xviii, 27.) The apostle requires these two things from a faithful servant of God,—that *he be an example of the believers, in word and in conversation.* (1 Tim. iv, 12.) This thought is refreshing to me, and induces me to account it an honourable distinction bestowed upon me—to be a member of your sacred order, and to gain admission into your society."

All this, the reader will perceive, is very good and pious. But when he reflects upon the condition of the Church and State in 1640, he will detect Du Moulin's sophistry. He had amply shewn, in the days of Archbishop Abbot, that by "the doctrine of the Gospel" he understood "the predestinarian peculiarities of Calvinism." It is from the pious king that he expects the prevention of civil discord; and the ungracious allusion to Archbishop Laud is, that "the evil will proceed no further, *if those whom God "has placed at the head of such a flourishing church will use their en-"deavours to keep* THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL *untainted,*"—that is, if they will suffer Calvinism to hold that pre-eminence to which it aspires, and which it enjoyed under the auspices of Dr. Abbot. An explanation of the other sinister allusions in this paragraph is unnecessary; for, within the brief space of twelve months, Du Moulin explained himself with marvellous clearness. In a letter which Grotius addressed to the learned Vossius, in September, 1641, he makes the following mention of it: "I suppose you will have seen a book published in England, and afterwards at Geneva, under the title of IRENÆUS PHILADELPHUS, concerning the commotions which have arisen in England. This publication openly aims at the throat of his Grace the Archbishop: May God impart consolation to him under this cross! The authors of it are the two DU MOULINS, the father and son; the latter of whom has inserted in different parts of the narrative the English relations [of these affairs]. The *Renatus Verdæus,* to whom it is dedicated, is [an anagram on] *Andreas Rivetus.* Behold what ferocity is here displayed!"

ployed as their accredited organ Andrew Rivet, professor of Divinity at Leyden, who was brother-in-law to Peter du Moulin. Rivet commenced his polemic career early in 1642, soon after Grotius had published his famous *Via ad Pacem Ecclesiasticam*, which contained Cassander's scheme for the union of Protestants and Papists, and which so far excited the splenetic indignation of Richard Baxter, sixteen years afterwards, as to cause him to publish his celebrated Philippic entitled, *the Grotian Religion discovered*. Grotius wrote three able and dignified replies to three of Rivet's pamphlets, the latter of whom was aided by the whole Calvinian phalanx in Europe. * There are few literary enterprizes, the execution of which would yield me greater pleasure than the translation of the productions of Rivet and Grotius into English, printed in parallel columns: the systems of Arminius and Calvin, with their evident effects and tendency, would by that method be brought into fair competition, and the British public would not be tardy in deciding their relative political and religious merits. The titles of the three Grotian pamphlets are, *Animadversions on the Animadversions of Rivet, Wishes for the Peace of the Church, A Discussion on Rivet's Apology for Schism.* They were written after the Appendix to his pamphlet

The Son, to whom Grotius refers, was Louis Du Moulin, who, notwithstanding his own and his father's avowed antipathy to Arminianism, was made Professor of History in the University of Oxford, and patronized by the Court. Yet, in imitation of many other Calvinistic ingrates, as soon as the Established Church was laid waste by barbarians, he shewed himself one of the most scandalous of her adversaries. Even after the Restoration, he had the effrontery in one of his pamphlets to charge Bishop Stillingfleet and several other eminent episcopal divines with a design to introduce Popery. If any shade of doctrine failed to elevate itself as high as Supra-lapsarian Calvinism, he regarded it (so far) as making approaches towards Popery. In the same pamphlet he traduces his uncle Rivet, because, in one of the French Synods, he had manifested a leaning towards Cameronism before he was called to the Professorship at Leyden: But the elder Du Moulin, it is seen, (page 229,) kept his good brother-in-law sound in the faith of Calvin. The scurvy treatment which the father received from Dr. Twisse, for having written against reprobation in his *Anatomy*, has also been stated, page 223. Yet the son could perceive no wrong in all that Dr. Twisse had written. In reference to this subject an able author said, in 1680: "O how dear are some opinions to him! In which whosoever dissents from him, he will tear them in pieces: But let those who agree with them say what they please of his best friends, nay of his own father, they shall not fail to have his good word. This raised his spleen, and put him into a new fit of raving at our divines, who jump not with him in *some opinions* which are falsely called ARMINIANISM. If they were but as rigid as he in *some beloved doctrines*, for which he doted upon Dr. Twisse, we should not have heard a word of their *inclination to Popery*, but he would have found some excuse or other for all their faults; nay, would have been so kind as to magnify and praise them whom he now abominates."

This last sentence is a good key to the feeling of those times: In all the grades of Genevan divinity, from that of Richard Baxter upward to that of Dr. Owen, the several professors defended the arguments of Dr. Twisse; and, when hard pressed by the Arminians, quoted his Supra-lapsarianism as overwhelming authority.

* See in page 213, the aid which the younger Paræus afforded in vindication of his father's sentiments.

on Antichrist, while the established institutions of this country were tottering, and ready to fall before the overwhelming force of the reforming Goths and Vandals. To a Briton they are particularly interesting, as all of them incidentally exhibit the same generous design,—*to bring the English and Scotch Calvinists to a better state of mind*, and to give them more correct and scriptural notions of civil and religious liberty.†

Any one that has attentively read the private letters of Grotius at that period, may form a just estimate of the difficulty which he had to encounter in procuring the publication of these three works and of his *Appendix de Antichristo*. The famous house of De Bleau were his printers and publishers; and the nearly-as-famous house of Jansson printed the works of Rivet. Both of

† The animosity of Rivet against Grotius has been briefly stated, page 230. He was not content with virulently defaming the living, but gave utterance to the vilest calumnies against his dead opponent. Courcelles furnishes us with the following account of one of his falsehoods: "Andrew Rivet has acted with a little more openness, when he spoke about that illustrious individual, Hugh Grotius. For he says, 'He seems to many persons 'to have expired in the act of breathing out menaces, while he lay entirely 'engrossed with passion, in the very gall of bitterness, and without exhi-'biting the least sign of penitence,' &c. To this statement, nothing more was necessary to be added, except that *no hopes could be entertained of his salvation;* though, to soften such a harsh and unmerciful sentence as this would be, he concludes thus: 'But yet we do not judge another man's ser-'vant, who to his own master hath stood and FALLEN.' But for what purpose does he assume this semblance of moderation respecting the *consequence*, when the whole difficulty lies in the *antecedent*? On the contrary, had I been certain, that either Grotius or Blondel had expired in any grievous crime without repentance, I would not have been afraid to declare concerning him, though with sorrow, *He is damned!* For in that case I should not myself have passed sentence upon him; but it would have been *the sentence of God in his own word*, which is firmer than both heaven and earth!"—These animadversions are quoted by Marets, without any disapprobation of Rivet's conduct. Bayle says, "It can be nothing but a gross artifice, to say *Such a man died without repenting of his enormous crimes, and yet I will not pretend to pronounce what was his fate.*"

Whoever has read Coxe's *Relation of the Death of Dr. Andrew Rivet*, and will compare it with the death of Grotius as related by Dr. John Quistorpius, Professor of Divinity at Rostock, who attended him in his last moments,—and will at the same time consider, that the one died in the bosom of his family and surrounded by his friends, the other had narrowly escaped from shipwreck with his life, and was proceeding homewards by land, when sickness suddenly assailed him among strangers,—whoever will read the two accounts, will be at no loss to decide which of these men made the most pious and edifying confession. With evident complacency, Rivet makes mention of his own labours in defence of the truth, that is, of Calvinism, though he does not dissemble the contrition he felt on account of having maltreated many of his opponents, but especially the French Cameronists, towards whom he undoubtedly acted with very bad faith. The letter of Quistorpius is familiar to general readers: It was published by Dr. Hammond, in 1654. No one can read the commencement of it without being affected: "Having mentioned the publican, who acknowledged himself to be a sinner, and beseeched God to be merciful to him, Grotius answered, *I am that publican!*—I proceeded, and directed him to Christ, without whom there can be no salvation; he replied, *On Christ alone all my hopes are placed;*" &c.—Bayle was no friend to Arminianism, yet his reflections on this subject are very just: "It would be ridiculous in any man

these houses had their extensive establishments in the free city of Amsterdam, which had a peculiar jurisdiction of its own, and was therefore the less liable to be under external dictation. Yet such was the implacable spirit of the Calvinists, and so minute and extensive were their subtle arrangements, that, rather than have their prophesying propensities restrained, they chose to expend all their artifice and prowess to suppress these productions of Grotius. The friendly understanding which then subsisted between the two great printing-houses was also injurious to the speedy execution of the noble designs of this aged peace-maker. Of these circumstances he makes frequent complaints in the letters to his brother, from which I here subjoin a few extracts:

to doubt of the sincerity of Quistorpius. He could not be prompted by interest to tell a falsehood; and it is well known, that the Lutheran ministers felt as much dissatisfaction as the Calvinists, at the particular opinions of Grotius. The testimony of the Professor of Rostock is therefore an authentic proof: Let us consider it then as indisputably true, (1) That Grotius, in his expiring moments was in the same frame of mind as the publican in the gospel: (2) That he placed all his hopes in Jesus Christ alone: (3) That his last thoughts were those contained in the prayers of dying persons, according to the Ritual of the Lutherans. Now, in my opinion, no other prayer can be found that includes more pious thoughts, and such as a true Christian ought to entertain when he is preparing to appear before the Divine Tribunal."

Rivet appears to have been a consummate sycophant, and desirous of cultivating an acquaintance with persons in exalted stations. When Dr. Stephen Goffe was at the Hague in 1636, he addressed the following lines to Gerard Vossius: "I should be unwilling for you to anticipate the officious Rivet. According to his own manners, or the usages of his country, he is accustomed to prostrate himself at the feet of all the nobility. No ambassador is received at this court, of whatever [political] party or [religious] profession he may be, but his house is instantly visited by Rivet in the prodigality of his obsequiousness. It is now a long time since our treasurer received from him letters of congratulation; yet he does not know whether he is black or white [in his opinions], unless perhaps he has by his writings rendered himself more notorious than is agreeable."

Grotius has refuted, page 277, Rivet's malicious allegation, *that he wished to exasperate the French monarch against his Calvinistic subjects.* In one of his letters to his brother in 1643, he says: "I saw Mondeve, Rivet's son, at the church of St. Dionysius [in Paris]. I told him, his father indulged very unjust suspicions against me, by asserting that *I wished to injure the French Calvinists;* when I had, on the contrary, employed all the interest I possessed, to have additional liberty granted to them by a new edict.—From this conversation, he spread a report that I am now a greater Hugonot than I ever was."

Thirteen years before, Grotius had made the following remark to his brother: "Daillè, one of the pastors of the Reformed Church of Charenton, had several questions lately addressed to him in a letter, by a certain Roman Catholic. Among the rest was this, *Why did you condemn the Arminians?* Daillè replied: 'It was *Arminianism*, rather than the *Arminians*, that we 'condemned; for we have frequently made offers of peace and concord to 'the Lutherans, who hold the same sentiments as the Arminians.'—I have my fears, lest those who are in this country more powerful than they, should some time or other say: 'We do not banish *the Calvinists* from France, but '*Calvinism*. I pray God, that this catastrophe may not happen to them-'selves *in the same measure as they have meted to others.*"—The reader does not require to be reminded, that this event actually occurred in 1685, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.

"With respect to my *Appendix*, you know what reproaches, sneers and calumnies, I, who had done no man any injury, received from two individuals, one of whom has published my name, and the other is not ignorant of my person: I knew nothing about Marets till the present time; concerning Du Moulin, I could declare many truths that would attach to him. But I have abstained; and have not exposed their ignorance, except on those points about which they accused me of the same defect without just reason. If I have displayed any asperity, it will not be abated by a mitigation of *the expressions* which I employ: FACTS are the stings which wound them, by what expressions soever they may be conveyed. But, unless I entirely deceive myself, this asperity affects those persons alone *who are lovers of schism, and who in a refractory manner refuse all remedies;* in order to accomplish these purposes, such men produce reasons that are either very feeble, or exceedingly unjust. This asperity also touches those who *suspend all things on fate, so as to promise to mankind a complete licence for sinning;* and those who, under the name of the GOSPEL, *excite the arms of individuals against kings or other legitimate authorities,* and, when they have succeeded in their enterprize, they forcibly oppress other men,—and thus do exactly the same things as those of which they accuse the Popes. Those who withdraw themselves from such persons,—which course will undoubtedly be adopted by great numbers,—will have no complaints to make about my asperity.—There is nothing in that work which can possibly injure the Dutch Republic; but many things may be found in it, which relate to the defence of the just authority of rulers, popular quiet, and civil concord. Let not the publication be hindered; it ought, I think, rather to be hastened, as soon as it is begun. Should these men hereafter exercise their Stentorian lungs in bawling against it, as they assuredly will do, it will then be the duty of the De Bleaus to declare, that *they have perceived no reason why they should refuse that profit which the Parisian publishers would otherwise receive;* * *and that they have good ground for believing, that no work would proceed from the Swedish ambassador, which could*

* This would appear a good and sufficient reason to a Dutch trader of that day for many acts of which he could not altogether approve. In that strange book, Dr. Heylin's *History of the Sabbath*, it is stated, in reference to the better regulations for enforcing a proper observance of the Lord's day, which were suggested by the British Divines at the Synod of Dort: "As for the great towns [in Holland], there is scarce any of them wherein there are not fairs and markets, *Kirk-masses*, as they used to call them, upon the Sunday; and those as much frequented in the afternoon, as were the churches in the forenoon: A thing from which they could not hold, not in DORT itself, what time the Synod was assembled. Nor had it now been called upon, as it is most likely, had not AMESIUS and some other of the English mal-contents scattered abroad Bound's principles amongst the Netherlands, which they had sown before in England: And certainly they had made as strong a faction there before this time, (their learned men beginning to bandy one against the other in the debates about the Sabbath,) but that the livelihood of the States consisting most on trade and traffick,

possibly injure that cause [*the Protestant interest*] *in which the Swedes themselves were engaged.* But it will be the duty of the Amsterdam magistrates to defend a citizen in an equitable matter. Calvin ought not to be held up for an idol. It is most iniquitous, that, in a city which I hold in the highest estimation, Jansson should be allowed to do that *against* Grotius which, to omit all mention of other circumstances, the De Bleaus are not permitted to do *for* Grotius. If these reasons be not sufficient for the De Bleaus, it will be my province in future to select other publishers: This precaution I should have adopted with respect to the present productions, had I supposed that the publication would be prejudicial to their interests. But their advantage must not operate upon me so far, as to compel me on that account to contend with my adversaries on unequal terms, or not allow me to shew my enemies that they are so blind as not to perceive in the conduct of their own party those traits which they censure in other people as marks of Antichrist."—"I have lately been much grieved, that the De Bleaus, who formerly were remarkable for their quickness and despatch, should now proceed at such a slow pace and afford abundance of leisure to those men who neither wish well to us nor to the truth: I request that they be urged to make as rapid a progress as possible. If such writings as these cannot be published at Amsterdam, where Roman Catholic Missals and Breviaries are suffered to make their appearance, on receiving notice of this circumstance I would have made other arrangements concerning my affairs. Let us consider what may yet be done: For I will not suppress those works which are, in my own judgment, the most excellent and useful of all I have produced."—"I hear, that, among the correctors of De Bleau's press, is a certain person whose name is Ayala, and who has been in the ministry. I am afraid of that man, lest he create us some trouble, either by hindering the publication or corrupting its contents. I earnestly beseech God to grant, that no evil may happen to that *Appendix*, which, I trust, will some time or other be of great service".—"All these works of mine may afford much light to the real lovers of peace with truth. But when I see in what a foul and corrupt state they are published, and the small number of persons on whom I can place any reliance, I can determine on nothing better than to intreat God that he will be pleased to furnish me both with wise counsels and with good assistance."—"In the list of *errata* which is reprinted, I discover as many new errors as in that which was formerly printed, particularly in the Hebrew, in which I am certain Manasseh [a Jewish Corrector] has well performed the

cannot spare any day, Sunday no more than any other, from venting their commodities, and providing others. So that, in general, the Lord's day is no otherwise observed with them, (though somewhat better than it was twelve years ago,) than a half-holiday is with us; the morning, though not all of that, into the church; the afternoon to their employments."

part assigned to him; but the compositors in the office have either misunderstood his marks, or have not followed them. If De Bleau be desirous of publishing any thing excellent, it will be necessary for him to have in his own house a learned corrector of the press,—such as those retained by the houses of Stephens, Froben, Raphelengius* and others."—" I am desirous to know, whether my pamphlets, *Wishes for the Peace of the Church,* are now on sale and come into circulation: For the publisher has never called upon me since the work was printed. I am afraid he has been well bribed to suppress all the copies; a practice which I know to have been adopted against some others."—And in an earlier letter than the three preceding, he says: " If De Bleau had fulfilled his promises, our works would have been published six months ago, and they might have served to abate a portion of the heat which some of the English Parliamentarians have imbibed. In order to their now becoming serviceable in England, we must probably wait a long time; yet that period may perhaps arrive much sooner than expected. For, repentance is the usual consequence of deeds of cruelty, which, it is quite apparent, are done in opposition to the King's wishes. The Earl of Strafford's letter to the king, and his expressions when about to suffer death, are strong presumptions of great virtue.† For the Archbishop, I intreat God either to mitigate the rage of his enemies, or, if it be the Divine Pleasure to make use of his testimony, that He will strengthen him in spirit against death and all contumely.—But, in France, these productions of ours will be of immediate utility."

In the preceding extracts from Grotius, he has repeatedly declared it to be his unbiassed belief, that the Pope is not Antichrist. In the subjoined quotation, from a letter addressed to his brother in 1642, he says: " Those who wonder that *I do not account the Pope as that Antichrist,* must know that I am at once *a lover of truth* and *a resident in France;* to maintain the opposite opinion in this country, would be contrary to the King's express commands." These commands of the French Monarch were

* The first introduction of Raphelengius into our profession was as an erudite corrector of the press to the famous Christopher Plantin, at Antwerp, whose daughter he married in 1565. He had previously taught the Greek language at Cambridge and other places. In 1585 he and his family removed from Antwerp to Leyden, where he had an extensive printing establishment, in which his father-in law had a share. Such was his profound knowledge of the Eastern tongues, that he was called to the Hebrew Professorship in the University of Leyden, then recently erected and endowed. He died in 1597.—To those who wish to have an ample account of the worthies here enumerated by Grotius, and to know the important services which they have rendered to *the Republic of Letters*, a perusal of the various learned and entertaining typographical publications of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin is recommended.

† " 12th of May, 1641, I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made,—not to be a precedent, but [to be] his destruction: To such exorbitancy were things arrived!" (BRAY'S *Memoirs of Evelyn.*)

issued at the Protestant Synod of Alençon in 1637, at the period when Cameronism obtained such a decided victory over Calvinism. The king had, some years previously, reduced Rochelle, and had brought the milder race of Calvinists, under the guidance of Amyraut and other Cameronists, to live peaceably with their Popish neighbours, and to acknowledge their obligations to civil obedience. To perpetuate this better feeling among the two religious denominations of his subjects, his majesty ordered the Protestants to refrain, in their sermons and writings, from calling the Pope *Antichrist*,* *&c.* Grotius makes the following

* Yet Marets, Rivet, and Du Moulin, it is seen (page 270), could call the Pope *Antichrist*, and apologize for the seditious doctrines of their countrymen. But all of them were absentees from the French territories. Rivet was Professor of Divinity at Leyden; and from that safe retreat he could publish many remarks that would not have been permitted, had he remained in France, where several branches of his family were settled.—See page 215. The same observation applies to Marets, page 270.

Peter Du Moulin was at that period an exile at Sedan. Old Brandt gives the following account of his disgrace. "About this time [1620] those of the Reformed Religion in France undertook something against the Remonstrants, which was attended with important results: A National Synod holden as Alez in the Cevennes furnished them with a convenient opportunity. The king of France had forbidden those of his subjects who were of that denomination, to attend the Synod of Dort: This prohibition was exceedingly mortifying to Peter Du Moulin, Minister of the Reformed Church at Paris, who, with several more, had been deputed by the French Churches, and was preparing to go to that Assembly, in which, according to the relation of some people, he flattered himself that he would gain much applause. But what he had been forbidden to do with his tongue he afterwards effected with his pen, by communicating his opinion in writing to that Synod, with his *Anatomy of Arminianism*." A proposal was made at Alez, by Turretine, one of the Genevan Professors of Divinity, that, to prevent the spread of the errors of the Arminians, the Canons of the Synod of Dort should be adopted by the French Churches, and that each member should swear to the doctrine adjudged and decided by the Dutch Assembly. "Du Moulin, who was President of the French Synod, employed all his energies to ensure the passing of this motion, and thus to save his own *Anatomy* from censure. For a certain minister, one of the most eminent and learned in all France, had the courage to assert in this Synod, that heretical opinions were maintained in that book, and offered to bring proofs of his assertion. The proposed oath was then taken by all the members of the Synod of Alez.—Du Moulin, it is said, had drawn up the form of this oath at Paris before he went to Alez, and upbraided such of the members as at first did not relish this oath, as though their aversion to it were a sufficient proof of their hetorodoxy. There appeared afterwards many Reformed ministers in France, who were opposed to this oath, and who caused it to be laid aside. So that Du Moulin could not obtain his will at all points, even in the Synod at which he presided; in which, prior to its conclusion, his indirect management, and the artifices which he employed to obtain his purposes, had excited such disgust, that he was gravely reprimanded, in the name of the Synod, on that account. This censure against Du Moulin was pronounced by Laurence Brunier, and occupied two hours in the delivery: in it he was reproved, for having assumed to himself a Papal authority over his brethren, and for many things of the same nature.

"But immediately after this, he encountered much greater troubles, by incurring the displeasure of the King of France. Having returned from Alez to Paris, he was soon informed of the danger which was impending, and was advised by his friends instantly to betake himself to flight: Accord-

mention of this circumstance, in a letter to his brother in 1637: "The king, by his Commissioner, a person of the Reformed Religion who presided over the Synod, issued his edict to the Re-

ingly he remained only one night at Paris concealed in a friend's house, and the next day proceeded with all haste on his journey towards Sedan, where he was received as Minister and Professor of Divinity.—He had, it is said, drawn down the king's anger upon himself by his imprudence, and by meddling with matters that did not belong to his office. It is reported of him, that he had written a letter privately to the King of Great Britain, in order to excite his Majesty to espouse the cause of the Reformed in France; and that, after King James had read the letter, he threw it away with indignation; but one of his domestics, having found it, handed copies of it about, till at length one of them was sent to a Privy Counsellor of France, by whose means it came to the knowledge of the French King, and was the cause of his displeasure against Du Moulin."—Brandt then adds the reflection, quoted page 255. In his letter he informed King James, that "unless he lent his powerful aid to his son-in-law, the King of Bohemia, the Calvinists in France could have no great notion of his affording them any effectual assistance."

The following account of this transaction is given in *Status Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, published in 1676. The author states it as having been Du Moulin's intention, on his return from Alez, "to go out of the way to see Rochelle. A little before he took that journey, the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, then Ambassador of England in France, urged him to write to the King his master, to exhort him to undertake vigorously the defence of his son-in-law, the King of Bohemia. So the Doctor writ to the King, and delivered his letters to the Lord Ambassador's Secretary: Then immediately he went to Alez, where he was chosen President of the Synod.—In the mean while, his letters to King James were delivered to the Council of State in France, how or by whom the Doctor could never learn. Scarce was he in Languedoc, when it was concluded at Paris in the Council of State, that he should be apprehended and committed prisoner, for exhorting a foreign King to take arms for the defence of the Protestant Churches. And because the Council was informed, that the Doctor would return by Rochelle, (a place which then gave great jealousies to the Court,) they would not take him before he had been there; the informers against him intending to make his going to Rochelle an article of his indictment.—The Synod at Alez being ended, Doctor Du Moulin hearing how the Protestants would keep a politic assembly at Rochelle against the King's will, judged that it was an ill conjuncture of time for him to go to Rochelle, and took the way of Lyons. In that resolution he was guided by a good Providence; for if he had gone to Rochelle, he should have been apprehended not far from that town after his coming out of it. At Lyons he received a letter from Monsieur Drelincourt, Minister of Paris, which gave him notice of his danger. This warning made him baulk the highway; yet he went to Paris, and entering the city in the night, went directly to the Lord Herbert, who bade him to fly in haste for his life, which was in danger by the interception of his letters to the King his master; which he did, and the next night travelled toward Sedan, a place then acknowledging the old Duke of Bouillon (a Protestant Prince) for Sovereign. To Sedan he came safe in the beginning of the year 1621, and was kindly received by the Duke to his house and table.—This was his parting with the Church of Paris, where he had lived one and twenty years. And although great means were made to appease the Court, and albeit many years after the indictment against him was taken off, and leave was given him to live in France, yet was it with that exception, that he should not live in Paris.—About the year 1623, the famous book of Cardinal Du Perron against King James of famous memory, came forth. That book was extolled by the Romanists with great brags and praises. His Majesty being especially interessed and provoked by that book, was pleased to recommend the confutation of it to his old champion, Dr. Du Moulin, who undertook it upon his Majesty's command. And that he might attend that work with more help and leisure, his Majesty invited him to come into England. And

formed Pastors, to instruct the people of their charge *that it is unlawful to take up arms against kings*,—to shew their congregations a pattern of obedience in their own conduct,—to propound their doctrines with modesty,—to abstain from the opprobrious epithets of *Antichrist* and *Idolatry* which they had formerly bestowed on their adversaries,—to allow no minister to exercise the pastoral functions beyond his own district,—to hold no assemblies of deputies from various provinces, and to open no foreign letters addressed to them, without having consulted the magistrates," &c. Now, in such a state of affairs, and when *the union of Protestants and Papists* was a favourite measure with the Prime Minister of France, it is not wonderful that Grotius should unite his efforts with those of the noble band of *Peace-makers* who were his predecessors, such as his countryman Erasmus, Melancthon, Cassander, Duræus, &c. But there were other weighty reasons why, as the Ambassador of a Lutheran nation and a lover of good men among all religious denominations, Grotius should not with-hold his influence from this godlike undertaking. Some of these reasons he has clearly stated in the following paragraph, from a letter to his brother in 1640; in which Grotius, it will be seen knew how to distinguish between many of the exellences and deformities of Popery: " Images may be seen among the Lutherans, and in many parts of England. Bishop Mountagu and others have declared, that a wish to be assisted by the prayers of Apostles and Martyrs is not an act of idolatry.—Every preparation is made for a placid conference, which will be holden as soon as these wars have abated, and which will, I hope, be productive of beneficial results: For, both the Spaniards and the French have consented to have the power of the Pontiff confined within prescribed limits. It is our duty to beware, that we do not give the Pope more followers than necessary. Peruse at your leisure what Mark Antony De Dominis [the Archbishop of Spalatro] wrote while in England, respecting the agreement of different ages and nations in the moderate honouring of saints, and concerning the use of images. My own opinion indeed is,

together being moved with compassion by the adversities the Doctor had suffered for his sake, he offered him a refuge in England, promising to take care of him, and to employ him in one of his Universities. He accepted that Royal favour.—Soon after King James fell sick of the sickness whereof he died. The death of his Royal Patron, and the plague raging in London, soon persuaded the Doctor to return to Sedan. So he returned to his former function in the Church and University, serving God with cheerfulness and assiduity, and blessed with great success. He lived at Sedan thirty and three years from his return into England unto his death, without any notable change in his condition."

The same book contains his letter to the Assembly at Rochelle. Dr. Bates, in his *Vitæ Selectæ*, furnishes us with nearly the same relation; but the attempts to make Du Moulin appear *a loyal subject*, are nullified by the very documents adduced for that purpose and by others of the man's own publications. But it was then the fashion of the party, to *blanch* the reputation of every one that was a zealous Calvinist.

that those churches which discard images, pursue a safer course; and I admire and applaud the spirit of the men, who, while they themselves address holy prayers immediately to God or to Christ without employing any circuitous mediation, do not at the same time condemn or deride those persons who flatter themselves with hopes that it is possible for them to receive assistance from the exertions of Angels or Saints in their behalf. Reflect also, whether I ought to accuse the Greek Church of a dreadful crime, when both the Lutherans and the Calvinists have on more than one occasion wished to hold communion with her. The Genevan divines say, that death must be inflicted, for all those offences to which the law of Moses adjudges that punishment. But the Mosaic law punishes all idolaters with death; and the Genevan teachers account all Papists idolaters. You perceive, therefore, the consequences that would follow, if they [the Calvinists] were possessed of power."

Having seen the base purpose to which all these prophetic vagaries were directed, let the reader connect with the ravings of the foreign Calvinistic prophets, who foretold glorious things to Cromwell and his commonwealth—those of Lilly, Booker,* and others hired astrologers in this country,—those of the enraptured ministers or elders whose *wishes* were swelled into *certainties*, when they spoke, at the commencement and during the progress of these troubles, about the future glory of their civil and religious republic,--and those of the second-sighted Calvinists from beyond the Tweed, who were in that age deeply tinctured with the spirit of divination into the mysteries of futurity, and proved themselves apt disciples of the prophets† Knox and Walsh,--let

* See, in *Mr. William Lilly's History of his Life*, what he said, as Astrologer-General to Lord Fairfax, at Windsor, when some difference existed between the Parliament and the Army: "We are confident of God's going "along with you and your army, until the GREAT WORK, *for which he or-* "*dained you both*, is fully perfected, which we hope will be *the conquering* "*and subversion of your's and the Parliament's enemies.*"

* In Blondel's *Modest Declaration of the Sincerity and Truth of the Reformed Churches of France*, it is said, "Knox was endued with a spirit "of prophecy, by which, according to the testimony of his own country-"men, he foretold several things which have since happened, as Whitaker "observes in his works, *De Eccl. q.* 5, *cap.* 13."—This is matter of authentic church-history among all the Scotch writers of that era.

In no single ecclesiastical history are these prophesying propensities of the Scotch Covenanters and the English Puritans depicted with such truth of colouring as in several of those recent magic productions which are generally attributed to the prolific genius of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. The man whose mind is well stored with the historical details of the various epochs in our national affairs, which are there delineated, will obtain from the perusal not only entertainment, but important instruction. Those scenes of past ages with which he has contracted a familiarity, will live again in his recollection, and be impressed with greater force on his mind by the brilliant images with which they are associated, and by the domestic scenery with which they are surrounded. I am glad to find, in his last production (January, 1823,) few traces of those irreverent appeals to Scripture authority, which were, perhaps, too commonly in the lips of his early heroes, and which operated as a shock on the minds of several modern readers, who

all these engines of fanaticism be connected together, as they are related with marvellous simplicity by the different historians of the Puritan party, and the reader will then be qualified to form some adequate notion of the extraordinary spirit which actuated those intolerant and infatuated zealots.* He will then

considered such expressions to be greatly overcharged. But to those who are conversant with that eventful page in our history, his specimens will not appear to be too highly coloured; and it would not be a work of difficulty to verify many of them by apt quotations from various writers of that period. It is pleasing, however, to hear the following confession, in answer to the objection, that *the manners depicted in his last work are even more incorrect than usual; and that his Puritan is faintly traced in comparison to his Cameronian*: "I agree to the charge; but although I still consider hypocrisy and enthusiasm as fit food for ridicule and satire, yet I am sensible of the difficulty of holding fanaticism up to laughter or abhorrence, without using colouring which may give offence to the sincerely worthy and religious. Many things are lawful which we are taught are not convenient; and there are many tones of feeling which are too respectable to be insulted, though we do not altogether sympathize with them."

* When Richard Baxter wrote his pamphlet entitled, *The Grotian Religion Discovered*, in 1658, he was a bolder champion in defence of Calvinism, than he shewed himself to be after the Restoration. At the former period he could return the following answer to an adversary that reproached him with "growing fat or lusty upon sequestrations,"—"I must confess to you, that it is not only my opinion that the thing is *lawful*, but that I take it for *one of the best works I can do*, to help to cast out a bad minister, and to get a better in the place: So that I prefer it as a work of mercy, before much sacrifice. Now if I be mistaken in this, I should be glad of your help for my conviction: For I am still going on in the guilt."—This is a very curious excuse for usurping another man's living, especially when the usurper is himself constituted one of the judges for determining the sufficiency and ability of those who were not Calvinists, and who were consequently ejected.

While Richard was in possession of his good living, the actual proceeds of which, he afterwards pretended, were scarcely worth any godly man's attention, he employed much of that sleight which has already been a subject of reprehension: (See Note, page 251:) He endeavoured to clear the grand body of the Calvinists, who were then in power, from being the promoters of the preceding civil troubles; and singled out, as usual, the Quakers, Anabaptists, &c. as the real culprits. In his Grotian Religion, (sect. lxvi,) he says: "Yet this I will say now, to satisfy Doctor Sanderson and my own conscience, that of late I begin to have a strong suspicion that *the Papists had a finger in the pie on both sides*, and that they had indeed a hand *in the extirpation of Episcopacy*. But my jealousies will not warrant me to affirm it, or to be confident of it, or to accuse any." Here then is Baxter's own admission, that the Calvinists had been connected with Papists,—a crime which they had formerly imputed solely to the Arminians. But when Arminianism and Episcopacy were both destroyed, no farther necessity for concealment existed; and the intimacy of Calvinists and Papists is openly avowed. When Dr. Thomas Pierce suggested, that in charging some of the members of the Church of England with Popery, "it had been well if he had named those Papists and then have publicly declared that he meant no more;" Baxter replies (sect. lxix): "By this time I suppose both you and all men see that the Papists are crept in among all sects, especially the Quakers and Seekers, whom they animate, and also among the Anabaptists, Millenaries, Levellers, yea and the Independents, and if this week's Diurnal say true, one was taken that was a pretended friend to the Presbyterians. Must I needs name all these, or else say nothing of them? Or are you able yourselves to name all the Papists, the Friars and Jesuits, that are now under the Vizor of any of these sects, playing their parts in England? You would take it to be an unreasonable motion: when yet you know, or have reason to believe, that at this day there are hundreds of them here at work."

no longer wonder at the prophecies uttered by the Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Fifth-Monarchy men, and various minor sects, that had other objects in view than those of the grand Calvinian phalanx, who had collected their forces, corporal and spiritual, from every part of Europe *to fight the battles of the Lord*, as they termed their attempts to accomplish their own sinister designs against the regimen established both in Church and State, and particularly against what they were pleased to call "Arminianism."*

The fact announced in the last clause is very remarkable; and though the shifty purpose for which it is introduced will be very apparent, yet there are multitudes of other corroborative testimonies of the same fact. The following from *Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation*, 1682, is one of the most curious :—

"Mr. John Crooke, some time bookseller at St. Paul's Church-yard, at the *Ship*, in London, and since stationer and printer to his most serene Majesty in Dublin, told this story following unto Sir James Ware, Knight, now deceased: *Anno* 1656, the reverend divine Dr. Henry Hammond being one day in the next shop to this said John Crooke's, and there reading the works of St. Ambrose, a red-coat casually came in, and looked over this divine's shoulder, and there read the Latin as perfect as himself, which caused the Doctor to admire that a red-coat should attain to that learning. Then speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that science. The red-coat replied, '*By the Holy Spirit.*' The Doctor hereupon replied, 'I will try thee further:' and so called for a Greek author, which the red-coat not only read, but construed. The Doctor, to try him further, called for the Hebrew Bible: and so for several other books, in which this red-coat was very expert. At last the Doctor recollecting with himself, called for a Welch Bible, and said, 'If thou beest inspired, read me this book, and construe it.' But the red-coat being at last catched, replied, 'I have given thee satisfaction enough: I will not satisfy thee further; for thou wilt not believe, though an angel came from heaven.' The Doctor smelling out the deceit, caused the apprentice to go for a constable; who being brought to the shop, the Doctor told the constable, he had something to say against this red-coat; and bade him bring him before Oliver Cromwell, then called the Lord Protector. The red-coat being brought to White Hall and examined, he, after a rustic manner, *thoued* and *theed* Oliver: but being suspected, it was demanded where he quartered. It being found out at the Devil Tavern, the Doctor intreated his chamber might be searched; where they found an old chest filled partly with his wearing apparel, as also with several papers and seditious popish books; amongst which there being a pair of boots, and papers stuck in one of them, they found a parchment *bull of licence* to this impostor, granted under several names, *to assume what function or calling he pleased.* These being brought before Oliver, for what reasons it is unknown, yet the red-coat escaped; bringing several proofs of what great service he had done: and the greatest affliction which was laid on him was banishment; and what proceeded further, we know not."

† "After the subversion of the hierarchy, there were also several divines of great learning and talents, who held most of the distinguishing tenets of Arminianism; but as they were inflexible loyalists, they were stigmatized as 'malignants,' and driven into obscurity by the scourge of persecution. The great body of Mr. Goodwin's Puritanical friends and connections viewed Arminianism, at the period when he adopted that system, as a deadly east wind, which, when permitted by angry heaven to blow upon the garden of the church, withers every flower, and produces a general blight. Or rather they regarded it as a region,

> Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feign'd or fear conceiv'd,
> Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

The system of Arminius being confessedly one that is consonant as well to Scripture as to *Common Sense*, those who espoused it smiled at these prophetic rhapsodies and puerile effusions of fanaticism; and, it is to be lamented, that some of them, by a feeling of natural revulsion, proceeded much beyond this, and ran into a contrary extreme, by denying the very important doctrine of Divine Influence which is the glory of Christianity, or restricted the operations of the Holy Spirit within narrow and inefficient limits.* But this feeling, the origin of which is easily traced, was still more apparent at the Restoration, when the re-action of hypocrisy and enthusiasm, which had commenced under Cromwell, continued its devastations, and threatened at first the complete overthrow of all the vital doctrines of Christianity, which were common both to the system of Arminius and of Calvin. Yet even at that period, when Religion was weak and drooping from the wounds which she had received in the house of her professed friends, many Arminians appeared as champions in the defence of gospel truth, practical godliness, and experimental religion;† while, on the other hand, many Calvinists, ashamed of the sinister and low purposes to which their predecessors had applied certain evangelical doc-

Hence in the cant of several of the old Puritans, *Prelacy* and *Arminianism* are not unusually associated with blasphemy, profaneness, and Atheism! Such, however, was the power of conviction in the mind of Mr. Goodwin, that, with all these difficulties and discouragements before him, *at the advanced age of fifty years*, he abandoned the school of Calvinian theology, and boldly preached Christ as the infinitely gracious Redeemer of All Mankind." JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin.*

* The injurious effects which the general fanaticism of the Calvinists of that age produced for a season on the mind of RICHARD BAXTER, are thus described in the *Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times*, which, like the *Retractations* of St. Augustine, are exceedingly curious and edifying:—

"I am now therefore much more apprehensive than heretofore, of the necessity of well-grounding men in their religion, and especially of *the witness of the indwelling Spirit:* for I more sensibly perceive that THE SPIRIT is *the great witness of* Christ and Christianity to the world. And though *the folly of fanatics* tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain *internal affection*, or *enthusiastic inspiration;* yet now I see that the Holy Ghost *in another manner* is the witness of Christ, and his agent in the world. The *Spirit in the prophets* was his first witness; and the *Spirit by miracles* was the second; and the *Spirit by renovation, sanctification, illumination, and consolation, assimilating the soul to Christ and heaven*, is the continued witness to all true believers: and if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. (Rom. viii. 9.) Even as the rational soul in the child is the inherent witness or evidence, that he is the child of rational parents. And therefore ungodly persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting temptations to unbelief and it is no wonder if Christ be a stumbling-block to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness."

† "I also remember," says Whiston, "what my father told me, that, after the Restoration, almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the *hypocrisy* of former times, had not two very excellent and serious books, written by eminent royalists, put some stop to it: I mean *The Whole Duty of Man*, and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism.*" (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 10.)

trines, either entirely abandoned them, or modified them in such a manner as to deprive them of all their scriptural efficiency.*

A fine passage from the judicious Hooker, on the abuse of the doctrine of *Divine Authority*, has been quoted, (page 207,) and an equally pertinent and nervous passage on the abuse of *Spiritual Influence* occurs in the *Humble Address to the Lord Fairfax and the Council of War*, in 1648, by Dr. HENRY HAMMOND, one of the mildest and most loyal of Divines, when those self-constituted arbiters of fallen Majesty had made the *death of his* ROYAL MASTER the subject of their deliberations. This pathetic appeal, after the manner of Luther and Melancthon when contending against the principles of the German Anabaptists, grounds its strong arguments on that doctrine of *Divine Influence* which connects itself with God's written word, and refuses to acknowledge any of those *pretended inspirations* which could not produce such a scriptural voucher. In one part the Doctor says: "My Lord, and Gentlemen, having among you some of the nearest of my blood, whose eternal weal must needs be very dear and precious to me, I am, in the fear of God, and in the prosecution and discharge of my duty and conscience, desirous to make this short address to you, to desire you, in the name and in the bowels of Jesus Christ and by all the obligations of christian duty and charity, to review some of the principles by which you seem to be acted, and whereon to ground the high enterprises which you have now in hand.

"*And* 1. *Whereas you seem to believe, that God by his Spirit hath put it into your hearts to do what hitherto you have done, and what now you profess to deliberate to do further against his Majesty, and all others, who are now fallen into your hands;* I beseech you to consider, in the presence of that God to whose directions and Spirit you pretend, what safe ground you have for so doing. For, I shall suppose that *the plain words of scripture* are not that voice of THE SPIRIT which is your *only guide* in this matter; or if it be, I desire that charity from you, for myself and others, that you will point us out those scriptures. And I must profess to believe you bound in duty to God and man, and to yourselves, to satisfy this desire, to produce that voice of *the Spirit in the received scriptures of God*, which may say that to other christians also which it *appears* to do to you. But if *God's Spirit* be by you conceived to have spoken to you any other way than in or by some part of *the written word*, then my second request is, that you will declare to others the ground of this your persuasion, that you have received any such revelation from God; that so that *pretended Spirit* may, according to the rules prescribed by God in his acknowledged word, be tried and ex-

* See a preceding note on their abandonment of the doctrine of *the Assurance of Salvation*, *page* 141.

amined regularly, *whether it be of God or no*, before the subject-matter of such revelation be believed infallible, or accordingly built upon by you as your warrant or principle of acting any thing. For, there are *evil spirits* that come into the world, and which many times are by God permitted to *seduce men*, and, that they may do so the better, they constantly *pretend* to come from God, and *assume Divine* authority to recommend and authorize their delusions: a thing so ordinary in all ages, that the poet that would express the embroiling of a kingdom, thinks he cannot do it better than by bringing in Alecto, a Fury, with a message from heaven, to avenge such or such an injury. And of these our Saviour forewarns us, and tells us, that *we shall know them by their fruits;* and so directs us to judge of the truth of their pretensions by the *goodness* and *commendableness*, at least, *justifiableness* of their *actions*, and not to judge of their *actions* by their *pretences*.† And beside these *evil spirits* from without, there is also an evil spirit within, a great deal of disguised wickedness in the heart of man, which, when it remains unmortified in those who believe themselves to be *God's chosen saints and taught by him*, is very apt to be mistaken for an inclination of God's Spirit, and a flame of zeal, when it is really the most contrary to it. And because there is so much danger, that what is not fetched from the acknowledged word of God may thus flow from one of these contrary principles, my next request is, that it be considered, whether when an angel from heaven, in case he should teach any other doctrine than what had been by Saint PAUL preached to his Galatians, were to be anathematized, and when the judgments are so fearful, which are pronounced against them which *shall add to the words of that Prophecy* which we now retain under the title of the *Apocalypse* or *Revelation*,—which being the last writing which is known to be dictated by *the Spirit*, may very probably contain a severe denunciation against all those who pretend to any *revelation* or *prophecy* after that concerning the christian church,—whether I say, it be not a matter of

† In that fine sermon, *The Christian's Obligations to Peace and Charity*, which was preached in 1647 by Dr. Hammond, before his Majesty, then a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, this subject is treated with great ability. Take this extract as a specimen: "The Gospel spirit is that which, after the out-dating of prophecies, pretends to no other direction or incitation or impulsion of the Spirit, than that which lies visible in the New Testament,—the Spirit that incites us to perform those duties that the Word hath prescribed us,—the Spirit which, when it comes to be tried whether it be of God or no, pretends not, like Mahomet, to be a-talking with God whilst he lies foaming in an epileptic fit; but is content to be judged and discerned by the old plain doctrines of the gospel,—a regulated, authorized, ordinary, sober spirit.

"Our Saviour hath contributed toward this great work by the exemplariness of his own practice in this kind:—not only in refusing to have the fire from heaven, that the Boanerges would have helped him to, against the Samaritans,—in reprehending of St. Peter's zeal, when it drew the sword in his Master's defence against the high priest's servants,—in refusing the aid of angels from heaven against the heathens that attacked him;—but, above all, by that answer of his to Pilate, '*If my kingdom were of this world, then should my servants fight*,' &c. (John xviii, 36.); which was certainly part of that *good confession before Pilate* mentioned with such honour, 1 Tim.vi,13."

fear and just apprehension, to all those who shall affix or impose upon THE SPIRIT OF GOD (or *pretend to be revealed* to them from that,) any matter of doctrine or practice which acknowledges not *the* SPIRIT OF GOD *speaking in the scripture* for its only warrant or foundation? Or lastly, if from the scriptures you conceive it may be proved, that any part of the unction mentioned there so far belongs to you that it shall surely *lead you into all truth;* then, first, I beseech you to consider, whether you do not oblige yourselves, by the same or some other scripture, to *prove* to others, (and not only yourselves to be *persuaded,*) that *you are those special saints of God to whom that privilege peculiarly belongs,* and as clearly to demonstrate that all others, who conceive that that unction teaches them directly the contrary to that which you profess to be taught by it, are impious persons possest with that *deluding spirit* of which I now desire you to beware. And secondly, to examine whether this differencing of yourselves from others, this *bearing witness to yourselves,* and *judging others,**— beside that it will look like an act of most pharisaical presumption, and the very thing which, from Simon Magus downward, hath been observed in all hereticks, calling themselves

* The following is a fair sample of the way in which the Calvinists were accustomed to esteem themselves the most orthodox and godly of professing christians, while others were regarded as *heathen men and publicans!* It is in reference to Mr. Barlee that Dr. Pierce thus writes: "I said, *It is not so good a task to make men* ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS, *as to make them* HONEST AND SINCERE ONES. Upon which Mr. B. is very angry. If he thinks *it is better to know much,* than *to do well,* and prefers a clear head before a sound and upright heart, what a case is he in! and how ill hath he done to commend his preaching! He adds a little after, 'that I and the pious men of my way, are great admirers and followers of a practical catechism [Dr. Hammond's] the sixth time published.' What greater commendation could he have given us, than that we *follow* the good which we *admire*? Would he have us know our lesson, but not observe and keep it? orthodox christians, but not practically honest and sincere ones too? If he, and *the godly men of his way,* (as he and they are wont to word it,) do neither *admire* nor *follow* that practical catechism, I wish they did, and beseech God they may. If they neither do nor will, I will rather be a *pious* than *godly* man. that is, (as he hath distinguished,) I will rather be of *them* whom he calls *the pious,* than of them whom he calls *the godly*

"He calls his opinions in these matters, 'the very fundamentals of the covenant of grace;' but in which of the three Creeds shall we find either of them? What Popery is this, to obtrude upon us new articles of faith? I see King James was a wise, as well as a learned and orthodox man: And so was he of the lower House, who told Mr. Speaker in his speech, (An. Dom. 1640.) 'That if they were listened to who would extirpate episcopacy, (speaking of the Presbyterians,) they would, instead of every Bishop put down in a diocess, set up a Pope in every Parish: And if the Presbyterian assemblies should succeed, they would assume a power to excommunicate Kings, as well as other men: And if Kings were once excommunicated, men would not care what became of them.' And Mr. Hooker (as I take it) doth say of such men, 'that they might do well enough to live in *a Wilderness,* but not in *a Kingdom,* or *Common-wealth.*' For all who differ from their opinions (that is, their mistakes,) shall be said to err in 'the very fundamentals of the covenant of grace,' and so be looked upon as Heathens, and so be used as vessels of wrath."

the spiritual, and all others *animal carnal men,*—whether it will not be also a great injustice at this time toward them who pretend not to learn any thing from this unction *but what they receive from the doctrine of the gospel, in those books, which have, in effect and in the last result, the testimony of God from heaven that they are his true infallible word and dictate of his Spirit,* and who desire to make no other use of this to their own advantage, but only to preserve them in *a quiet possession of what by law belongs to them,* and a capacity of making good their allegiance to him to whom they have often by law been required to swear it.*

* This clause contains a brief but noble plea for the maintenance of the just rights and the loyal principles of the Arminian clergy. Instead of being vexed with sequestrations, they wished only for protection in the "quiet possession of *what by law belonged to them,*" and for "a capacity of making good their allegiance to him," their king, "to whom they had often by law been required to swear it:" And, for both these lawful requests, they could plead express scriptural authority, in opposition to the unchristian purposes to which the Calvinists applied that Divine sanction.

Dr. Thomas Pierce, in 1657, adopted the following method of shewing, that the Episcopal Church of England, though then in a state of captivity, was established by *the common law* of the land. His litigious opponent had expressed his delight "that the British divines at the Synod of Dort were the visible *lawful* representers of our mother, the Church of England there." This circumstance, though false in fact, was one on which the Calvinistic Dissenters from our church delighted to expatiate. Dr. Pierce thus turns the inference which the author intended to deduce: "Besides, if those very few of our men at the Synod of Dort were 'the visible LAWFUL representers of our mother the Church of England,' how much more were all those who composed the Catechism, the Communion Book, the thirty-nine Articles of our English Church, to some of which some Articles of the Synod at Dort have a most evident repugnance? If so few men at Dort, who were purposely called out by the same King James, are to denominate *the judgment of the whole Church of England,* how much more may be said for the Common-prayer, which was not only subscribed to by all our English Divines at Dort, but was *established by law and Canon,* since the times of our reformation, by no less than five acts of Parliament in the days of Edward the sixth, and Queen Elizabeth?—compiled by those reformers who were not persecutors, but Martyrs?—and held in practice during the time of no less than four Princes? How much more [may be said] for EPISCOPACY, which is not only as ancient as CHRISTIANITY itself in this very land, but was particularly confirmed by Magna Charta, and by no less than 32 acts of Parliament? And in the Forty-second of King Edward the third, the first chapter enacteth, that if any statute be made to the contrary, it shall be holden for none. And in the Twenty-fifth of Edward the First (Chap. 1. 2.) Magna Charta is declared to be the common law of the land. And I hope an ecclesiastical constitution, whether divine or human, is not the less valid for being corroborated by the whole civil power."

Such intrepid conduct as this, in the arbitrary days of Cromwell, was in every respect worthy of a true son of the Church of England. He was molested in various ways by the common disturbers of the peace of the Church; but he was too courageous to be intimidated by threats of sequestration, when peaceably engaged in the performance of a lawful duty. In his *Divine Philanthropy Defended,* he says: "I am told Mr. Barlee is angry that I am not thought worthy of sequestration, and that (for my sake only) he would be revenged upon the memory of one that is dead. And to fill up the measure of his comparison, he will have me to deserve as cutting a reproof, as that which Elymas received from Paul! (Acts xiii, 10.) After a' wailing with floods of tears that my *Triobulary Pamphlets'* (as he was pleased

"A second principle which I must desire you to review, is that upon which you conclude, that *God hath borne testimony to your cause by the many victories which he hath given you.* This concluding of yours, first, proceeds upon a premise directly false in matter of fact: For, you say, *that the KING, by taking up arms, made his appeal to heaven*; which it is most certain that he never did. Nay, secondly, this concluding of yours will, by the same reason, infer that Christianity IS NOT, and that Mahumetism IS *the true religion*; because when the Turks asserted one and the Greek church the other, and that difference begat a war betwixt them, it is clear that the Turks were successful, and the Greek church was most sadly wasted and subdued by them, and so remaineth to this hour in that unreturned captivity. Which will therefore be a fit opportunity to make you revert to the trying of *that spirit* (which inclines you thus to argue) by this touchstone: (1.) By considering and examining whether in the written word any thing be more frequent and visible than *the sufferings of God's people, the shedding the blood of the saints,* the fastening all kind of contumelies on such, particularly *that* reproach of *Thou bloody man!*, upon David who was a king after God's heart, the *sending* or permitting *an host against the daily sacrifice to cast down the truth to the ground, and to practise and prosper.* (2.) Whether it were not Rabshakeh's argument against the people's adhering to their lawful king Hezekiah, *that his master's arms had been invincible?* (3) Whether that saddest fate of Nebuchadnezzar, (who, for conquering of God's people and others, was by God stiled *his hammer and battle-axe of the whole earth,*) may not be expected the final lot of others also;—first, *to destroy men,* and then *to be cast out into the field, to inhabit among beasts?** (4) Whether it were not a crime complained of by the

to call them) 'had received the applause of no mean persons, and drawn 'disciples from their school;' he presently 'stirs up his brethren to finish 'the plot which they had begun of an Ecclesiastical association;' that, by their Presbyterian 'censures, such a sorcerer as I may be delivered up to the devil.'—When I compare these things with many like passages in his book, (especially page 232,) I cannot choose but conceive that he would threaten me into a silence; and hopes I may think it *my safest way,* to make as if *I were nonplussed by him and his seniors.* Much indeed might be done, if I were able to be afraid of *such as fear not the Lord of Hosts:* But I seriously profess I do not know which way to do it. For I have learned to distinguish betwixt things *necessary,* and things *convenient.* I hold it *necessary* to keep a GOOD CONSCIENCE; whereas it is but *convenient* to keep a GOOD LIVING. I know a man may be *persecuted,* and yet be *saved.*"

* Dr. Hammond here shews himself to be a better prophet than those whom he reprehends. Not only the soldiers whom the Doctor here addresses, but their Calvinistic Chaplains, and those who so expounded the Scriptures as to convert them into a sanction for rebellion, were by a wise retribution of Divine Providence severally punished for their reprehensible participation in these bloody transactions. Let it be granted, that many of those who in the reign of Charles the Second eagerly engaged in this punitive process, were not men distinguished for piety: This concession, however, is only another illustration of the same rule in the Divine Economy,—for God does not

people of God, in those who, when God was *a little displeased*, did, as adversaries, *help forward this affliction?* And (5.) Whether the Psalmist lay not the like ill character on all who *persecute those whom God hath smitten*, and who *talk how they may vex them whom God hath wounded?** By all which it is most evident,

generally commission GOOD MEN to be the executioners of his wrathful purposes; but He over-rules the wrong dispositions and the unrighteous practices of the wicked, to effect his own inscrutable yet beneficent designs.

* Were we to give credence to all that has been written by Calvinistic Dissenters in prejudice of the Episcopal Clergy, prior to the commencement of the Civil Wars, we must account the latter to have been an abandoned race of evil-doers. The following is one of *the mildest descriptions*, of the multitude of those which Richard Baxter has given to the world: "In some places, it was much more dangerous for a minister to preach a lecture, or twice on the Lord's Day, or to expound the Catechism, than never to preach at all. Hundreds of congregations had ministers that never preached, and such as were common drunkards and openly ungodly." Common prudence will however suggest the usual caution to be observed in receiving the testimony of sworn adversaries, many of whom were "fattening on sequestrations." If any impartial man will peruse the productions of those Arminian Divines who flourished at that period, and who on account of their attachment to the Episcopal Church were refused the common benefit of Toleration conceded to other religious denominations under the Protectorate, he will discover that their ARMINIANISM, their enforcement of Christian *duties* as well as Christian *privileges*, was the real cause of the obloquy to which they were exposed and the persecution which they endured. A few of them, indeed, to avoid the cant phraseology of the times, seem to have insisted too much on the *fruits* of saving faith, without describing its *nature* and the *necessity* of its reception: But it must be recollected, that the auditors whom they addressed had been strongly charged with *solifidian* doctrines, and were consequently the less liable to incur the charge of LEGALITY.—Yet the great body of these Divines were the real saints of the Most High, and God's peculiar treasure; and their writings prove them to have been, of all men, the least addicted to "time-serving and soul-lulling practices." They were, therefore, as Dr. Hammond observes in the text, not fit subjects for persecution; and though under the visible chastisements of the Almighty on account of a nation's crimes and offences, they were not to be vexed by Calvinistic task-masters with impunity. It was well said by Richard Baxter, when in possession of his usurped benefice: "God will not be satisfied with *words* when his servants are persecuted, his churches destroyed, or his interest trodden under-foot." The retribution of Divine Providence speedily demonstrated the truth of this remark, but in a manner exactly the reverse of good Richard's meaning,—for his words were intended to apply only to "the servants of God" who held the opinions of Calvin.

While some of their cotemporaries were wasting their energies in lamenting the decline of high Calvinistic principles and the prevalence of Arminianism, these good *men sighed and cried for all the abominations that were done in the midst of Jerusalem*, and sedulously endeavoured to effect their expulsion. Where can be found a more eloquent and scriptural specimen of this ministerial faithfulness, than in the subjoined paragraph from a Lent Sermon, entitled CHRIST AND BARABBAS, preached in 1643, by Dr. Hammond, before the Court at Oxford? It is scarcely necessary to premise, that, by a very reprehensible practice which had obtained, the high *Cavaliers* generally distinguished themselves from their adversaries in conversation by uttering a multitude of profane oaths, instead of interlarding their common discourse with scriptural phrases, and profanely introducing the name of God on trivial occasions, which was the almost equally reprehensible custom of the *Roundheads*. The alarming extent to which this feeling of aversion was actually carried by the Royalists after the restoration, is scarcely credible: It was this which caused Dean Swift to read family-

(without any necessity of defining or demonstrating any thing of *the justice of the cause,*) that most commonly *the prosperity of arms* hath not been the lot of *the most righteous,* but that either the chastisement of the sword is thought fit to be *their discipline,* or that the comforts of peace (and not the triumphs of war) their *blessing in this life.*"

Towards the conclusion the pious Doctor adds, "The last principle to be reviewed is this, *that there having been much blood spilt in this kingdom in the late wars, there must now be some sacrifice offered to God,* (that is, some more blood shed,) *for the expiation of that sin of bloodguiltiness, before God can be pacified or reconciled to the land.*—On which particular, it will (1.) be worth your serious enquiry, how it should appear that that great issue of blood, let out in the late wars, (which hath with great reason been looked on as the sharpest of God's plagues, and the saddest part of punishment of the former sins of this nation,) is now the main and only sin of the land with which God is not reconciled. Or, (2.) if it were supposed to be so, yet how it can be thought that *a general reformation of that sin, an humiliation before God for it through the whole land,* and *a resolution never to spill one drop more,* were not a more christian probable means to pacify God, than the proceeding in cold blood to the effusion of more: *The blood of men* being never thought a fit sacrifice for any but the evil spirit; and *peaceable-mindedness, charity,* and

prayers to his domestics in the most private part of his mansion; and which induced some (otherwise) excellent men to neglect many pious observances, that they might escape the dreaded imputation of being *Puritans* and *hypocrites.*

"Consider but a few of that glittering train of reigning sins in this our land, in this my auditory, and be astonished, O earth, that they should ever be received in competition with Christ! The oaths, that all the importunity of our weekly sermons [when] turned into satires against that sin, cannot either steal or beg from us,—what gain or profit do they afford us? which of our senses do they entertain, which of our faculties do they court? An empty, profitless, temptationless sin, sensuality only to the devil-part in us, fumed out of hell into our mouths, in a kind of hypochondriacal fit: an affront to that strict command of Christ to his disciples, *But I say unto you,* Christians, *swear not at all:* The best quality that it can pretend to, is that which Hierocles of old mentions with indignation, 'to fill up the vacuities of the speech,' to express and man a rage; that is, to act a madman the more perfectly. What shall that man give in exchange for his soul to get it back again, which he hath parted with so cheap without any barter, sold it for nought and taken no money for it, (in the Psalmist's phrase,) and now cannot redeem it with all his patrimony? It would grieve one, I confess, that did but weigh this sin in this balance, and observe the *Teket* on the wall over against it, how light and kexy and impertinent a sin this is, to hear that any body should be damned for it in another world, part with such treasures for such trifles, make such African voyages, carry out the substantial commodities of a good land and return with a freight of toys or monsters, pay so hugely dear for such perfect nothings! And yet it would grieve one more, that this sin should glitter *in a Protestant Court,* and become part of the *gallantry and civility of the place,* ay and defame and curse our armies; that the improsperousness, ruin, perhaps Πανολεθρια [the destruction], of a whole kingdom should be imputable to one such; and [that] all our prayers to heaven for you be outsounded and drowned by that most contrary eloquence!"

the contrite heart, being the special, if not only sacrifices, which we find mentioned in the gospel. Or, (3.) how it can appear that if God require any such sacrifice, you, or any but those whom the known laws of the land have placed in a tribunal, (and that *legally erected for such cognizances*,)* have any right to put yourselves into the office of Gentile Priests, as the only persons appointed to slay that sacrifice. Nay, (4.) it will be worth your observing, that CHRIST disclaimed the office of *a judge*; and thereby rendered it very unfit for any of you to put yourselves into *that office* by virtue of no other title but that of being *his disciples*. And, *lastly*, it is worth your saddest thoughts, whether by your present councils, and the necessity by you supposed of changing the former Government, it do not now appear, that the defence of the established laws was on the KING'S part the occasion of his taking arms, and on your parts, the design of altering those laws, and introducing others *more suitable to your inclinations*."†

* "Yet for a few military men, of their own accord, to control the Parliament, to put the sovereign to death, and completely to overthrow the civil constitution of the country, was an atrocious assumption of power, which no concurrence of circumstances could possibly justify. The life of any ruler can only be at the disposal of the constitution; or of that system of laws and regulations by which his subjects should be governed. If his life be taken away by any means but those provided by the constitution, it is murder: No pretended or even proved acts of tyranny, can justify his being put to death in any other way. And what constitution in the civilized world provides for the infliction of death upon the supreme magistrate? Every such infliction either against law, or without its sanction, is murder, by whomsoever perpetrated." JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin*.

† For this constitutional appeal, in defence of the rights of his sovereign, Dr. Hammond was stigmatized by those *whose feet were swift to shed blood*, and by their republican defenders, as an advocate of tyranny. But after all the advantages which we, as a nation, have derived from our political experience in the subsequent epochs of our national history, we can find no proposition in the Doctor's *Address* which will not be readily approved in our days by men of moderation and piety, whether they be Whigs or Tories.

He had urged it as an objection to one of his adversaries, who afterwards became a rigid defender of the regicides,—that, according to the testimony of the Ancient Fathers, all the primitive christians, in the various persecutions which had devastated the infant church, imitated their Lord and Master in meekly '*giving their backs to the smiters, and their cheeks to them that plucked off the hairs*,' (Isa. l, 6.) and were memorable examples of patient and unresisting suffering. But this Christian doctrine did not suit the hot spirits of Calvin's followers; and Dr. Hammond's antagonist, who had learnt his levelling principles in the predestinarian school of those times, coolly replied, that God had hidden from the first christians this liberty of RESISTING SUPERIORS, as part of his counsel *to bring Antichrist into the world*: but that he had then manifested it to his people [the Calvinists] *as a means of casting Antichrist out*. It is unnecessary to state what was understood by *the English Antichrist*.

I might have elucidated this part of the revolutionary history from the productions of many able Arminian writers; but I have preferred Dr. Hammond, because he was accounted *the most heretical* of his brethren by the Calvinists of that period. In 1648 he had the HONOUR of having his name inscribed with disgrace in *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemn League and Covenant; as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them: Subscribed by the ma-*

Bishop Womack has also observed in his *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium:* "This opinion [the necessary and infallible determination of the will] is a great and ready inlet to all

nisters of Christ within the Province of London. This was signed by fifty-two Presbyterian ministers, and made mention of "NEW LIGHTS and new truths which are broached and maintained here in England among us,—all of them repugnant to the Sacred Scriptures, the scandal and offence of all the Reformed Churches abroad, the unparalleled reproach of this Church and nation, totally inconsistent with *the Covenant* and *the Covenanted Reformation*," &c. Of the three "abominable errors, damnable heresies, and horrid blasphemies," which they ascribed to Dr. Hammond, "the first (says that reverend divine,) is recited by them, page 9, and it is this, 'Christ was given to undergo a shameful death voluntarily upon the cross, 'to satisfy for the sin of Adam, and for all the sins of all mankind.' This is thus plainly set down in their catalogue of *infamous and pernicious errors*, but without the least note to direct what part of this proposition is liable to that charge, any farther than may be collected from the title of the ERRORS under which it is placed, viz. *Errors touching Universal or General Redemption.* From whence I presume to discern their meaning to be, that to affirm, 'Christ to have satisfied for or redeemed ALL MANKIND,' is this pernicious error by them abominated. And such I confess I should acknowledge it to be, if it had any right to be joined with that other, by these men set under the same head, THE DAMNED SHALL BE SAVED; but I hope that error hath received no patronage from that [Practical] Catechism, nor sure from that assertion of *Christ's redeeming all mankind.*"

Such was part of the good doctor's defence in his "View of some Exceptions to the *Practical Catechism*," &c., and I have repeated it in this place not merely to shew *the kind of heresies* which these intolerant Calvinists condemned, but the double-dealing of which they were guilty in *their mode of classification.* But their evident intention to fasten upon the doctor the charge of favouring the unscriptural doctrine of *the final restoration of all lapsed intelligences*, was but a stale trick, which they had learnt of the Dort Synodists. In the *Works of Arminius*, (vol.1, page 577,) I have exposed the highly disingenuous and inferential character of a similar mode of implication, adopted against an equally plain and scriptural assertion by Arminius on this very subject, which the Dort divines chose to couple with one of the assertions of Vorstius, to give it the semblance of an apology for the doctrine of "Universal Restoration," instead of GENERAL REDEMPTION!—But the reader will in this work meet with many other instances of the servility with which the English Calvinists aped the manners of the successful Dutchmen.

A circumstance which arose from this interference of the Presbyterian ministers, is thus related by Isaac Walton: "After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond, (whom he reverenced and loved dearly,) and would not therefore engage himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned. I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margent find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says, 'God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study moderation, and to be wise to sobriety.' And let me add further, that if these 52 ministers of Sion Col-

enthusiasms; and it is not only easy but ordinary for men to intitle their diabolical delusions to the determinations of God's Spirit; and his broad seal is frequently stampt upon that commission (to authorize it), which is drawn up by a lying, and one haply a great deal worse than their own private spirit.* When men of high ambition, and hot brains, and strong phantasies, and passionate appetites, will not acquiesce (as you know, many times they will not) in God's clear and distinct revelations concerning their duty; but entertain new designs, pretended to a good end, though the only means visibly conducible to carry them on be apparently unwarrantable; what methods do they follow in this case? God is earnestly sought and wrestled with, for obtaining a dispensation and success in a course of disobedience, against his own express command. When God, (who is not so much called upon to counsel, as to countenance and assist in the affair [which] such men have resolved upon, and

lege were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the quinquarticular controversy; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations."

* Nearly four years prior to the Restoration, and while the Church of England was still under the rod of the oppressor, the Rev. Dr. Pierce remarked, in his *Divine Purity Defended*, "Mr. Barlee saith, 'that God is 'not a mere legislator of *conditional* decrees, laws and statutes, but an 'ABSOLUTE DETERMINER *in a sovereign way of the several acts of disobe-* 'dience in relation to them.' And though he saith also, that God himself is without sin, and DETERMINES *the several acts of disobedience* also, yet that doth not lesson, but rather aggravate his blasphemy; because he makes no difference betwixt God's determining the acts of obedience and disobedience, whilst he saith 'he is an absolute unconditional determiner' of both the one and the other.—Whether James Nayler hath said any thing like it, I have not hitherto been informed; but they who adored him as a Christ did give the Magistrate this reason, 'that they were forced thereunto by the power of the Lord; and commanded so of the Lord; and thereunto moved of the Lord; and directed by the Spirit of the Lord.' *(The Grand Impostor.)* And when the Presbyterian Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland sent a letter to the Lord Hamilton inviting him to head their forces, (which, without the least pretence of authority of Parliament, the Preachers and THEY ONLY had made to rise,) they told his Lordship in their letter, that *the people were animated by the word and motion of* GOD'S SPIRIT *to take up arms;* that is, to rebel. (SPOTSWOOD *Hist. Scot.*) Now by what principles and opinions they were betrayed to these things, I leave it to be judged by other men. For the peace and safety of Church and State, as well as for the interest and good of souls, I am obliged and concerned to *deliver mine own soul* by giving fair warnings to other men's. And may it for ever be remembered by such as are of a party, which they are kind to, and extremely willing to excuse, that he who justifieth the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, as well as he who condemneth the just! (Prov. xvii, 15.) To shew *my innocence from so great a transgression as the latter*, I have not whispered my accusations in a corner, but spoken them out unto the world; nor have I urged them from giddy rumours and reports, (as one sort of men are wont to do,) but from the published writings which I accuse."

are præengaged to transact,) being provoked by the perverse importunity of such addresses, permits them, *in displeasure*, to the sway of their own inordinate passions, and to prosper in the irregular pursuit of them, this is presently interpreted to be *God's gracious return unto their prayers*, and his casting voice, (the intimation of his secret beneplaciture,) for the determination of their will to this choice of their very rebellion against him, and consequently it hath, as is pretended, his unquestionable approbation.

" When Balaam, upon Balak's invitation of him to curse Israel, consulted the Lord first about that message and expedition, he gave him a clear and peremptory signification of his will and pleasure. *Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse the people : for they are blessed.* (Num. xxii, 12.) But Balaam, upon a new and more urgent invitation, seeks God again, that he may yet obtain leave to gratify his avarice and ambition. Almighty God, provoked with the perversity of this solicitation, permits him to his own lust; and upon this, (which was but an instance of God's indignation against him, that he was not satisfied with his express command at first,) without doubt Balaam would have concluded, that God had now infallibly determined and actually sent him, had he not been rebuked for his iniquity by a miracle : *But the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbad the madness of the Prophet.* (2. Pet. ii, 16.) What practices have been suggested and put in execution at Munster, &c. upon a persuasion of such an irresistible determination? and what work that opinion may yet help to make *in other parts of Christendom*, if not timely prevented, is easy to foresee without a spirit of divination."

Other eloquent and decided testimonies against this perversion of Christianity, by *pretended inspirations*, might be adduced: But it becomes necessary to connect Dr. Twisse with the transactions which have now been briefly recounted, and with those which followed. This connection will be traced, in a manner at once the most concise and authentic, by the following quotations from Dr. Heylin, who having narrated some of the mal-practices of the Calvinists, to which allusion has already been made, proceeds thus : " Such were the fortunes and successes of the Presbyterians in the rest of Christendom, during the last ten years of the reign of King James and the beginnings of King Charles. By which both kings might see how unsafe they were, if men of such pragmatical spirits and seditious principles should get ground upon them. But King James had so far supported them in the Belgick provinces, that his own Calvinists presumed on the like indulgence ;* which prompted them to set

* It was a most unfortunate circumstance for King Charles, that his royal father had been such an injudicious author. Who would ever have expected to find the following passage in King James's *Defence of the Right*

nought by his proclamations, to vilify his instructions, and despise his messages. Finally, they made trial of his patience also, by setting up one Knight, of Broadgates, (now called Pembroke College,) to preach upon the power of such popular officers as Calvin thinks to be ordained by Almighty God, for curbing

of Kings, in answer to Cardinal Perron?—"It is moreover granted, if a king shall command any thing directly contrary to God's word, and tending to the subverting of the Church, that clerics in this case ought not only to dispense with subjects for their obedience, but also expressly to forbid their obedience: For it is always better to obey God than man. Howbeit, in all other matters, whereby the glory and majesty of God is not impeached or impaired, it is the duty of clerics to ply the people with wholesome exhortation to constant obedience, and to avert by earnest dissuasions the said people from tumultuous revolt and seditious insurrection."

This doctrine had a Calvinian origin; and it was applied by the Calvinists to their seditious purposes in France, and several years afterwards in England. In both kingdoms they easily shewed, that their sovereigns had "commanded things directly contrary to God's word, [that is, as that word was interpreted by themselves,] and tending to the subverting of the Church;" and, for these alleged offences against the prosperity of the Calvinistic Churches, Archbishop Laud and his Royal Master were finally condemned to die on a scaffold.

It was also most unfortunate for this monarch, that, in the *Basilicon Doron*, which had been published early in the reign of King James and was among certain classes for above twenty years a subject of public animadversion, the latter bequeathed to his successor all his hereditary antipathies to the Puritans and Presbyterians, in form following: "Yet for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguish *the lawfulness of the office* from *the vice of the person*, some of them would sometimes snapper out well grossly with the truth of their intentions, informing the people 'that all kings and 'princes were naturally enemies to the liberty of the Church, and could 'never patiently bear the yoke of Christ:' With such sound doctrine fed they their flocks! And because the learned, grave, and honest men of the ministry were ever ashamed and offended with their temerity and presumption, pressing by all good means, by their authority and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation, there could be no way found out so meet, *in their conceit that were turbulent spirits among them*, for maintaining their plots, as PARITY IN THE CHURCH: Whereby the ignorants were emboldened to cry the learned, godly, and modest out of it: PARITY, the mother of confusion, and enemy to unity which is the mother of order! For if, by the example thereof once established in the ecclesiastical government, the politic and civil estate should be drawn to the like, the great confusion that thereupon would arise may easily be discerned.—Take heed therefore, my son, to such PURITANS, very pests in the Church and Common-weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths or promises bind, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and *making their own imaginations* (without any warrant of the word,) *the square of their conscience*. I protest before the great God, (and, since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in,) that ye shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves *greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these* FANATIC SPIRITS! And suffer not the principals of them to brook your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife."

The Puritans and Presbyterians treasured up this offensive character in their memories, and visited upon the son the transgressions of the father. The vanity of King James, and his ambition to be distinguished as a literary man, made him reckless of consequences; but his recorded opinions on this subject, though qualified in the preface to some subsequent editions, were highly detrimental to the interests of King Charles in the subsequent troubles.

and restraining the power of Kings.* In which, though Knight himself was censured, the doctrines solemnly condemned, and execution done upon a book of Paræus, which had misguided the unfortunate and ignorant man; yet the Calvinians most tenaciously adhered to their master's tendries, *with an intent to bring them into use and practice when occasion served.* So that King James, with all his king-craft, could find no better way to suppress their insolencies, than by turning Mountagu upon them; a man of mighty parts, and an undaunted spirit; and one who knew, as well as any, how to discriminate the doctrines of the Church of England, from those which were peculiar to the sect of Calvin. By which he galled and gagged them more than his Popish adversary; but raised thereby so many pens against himself, that he might seem to have succeeded in the state of Ismael.

" In this conjuncture of affairs, King James departs this life, and King Charles succeeds;† who, to ingratiate himself with

* See an account of this, page 208.

† The prosperous condition of England at that period is thus justly described in *Lord Clarendon's Life*, written by himself: " England enjoyed the greatest measure of felicity, that it had ever known; the two crowns of France and Spain worrying each other, by their mutual incursions and invasions; whilst they had both a civil war in their own bowels; the former, by frequent rebellions from their own factions and animosities; the latter, by the defection of Portugal; and both laboured more to ransack and burn each other's dominions, than to extinguish their own fire. All Germany weltering in its own blood; and contributing to each other's destruction, that the poor crown of Sweden might grow great out of their ruins, and at their charge; Denmark and Poland being adventurers in the same destructive enterprizes. Holland and the United Provinces, wearied and tired with their long and chargeable war, how prosperous soever they were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of France their ally, than of Spain their enemy. Italy, every year infested by the arms of Spain and France; which divided the princes thereof into the several factions.

" Of all the Princes of Europe, the King of England alone seemed to be seated upon that pleasant promontory, that might safely view the tragic sufferings of all his neighbours about him, without any other concernment, than what arose from his own princely heart, and christian compassion, to see such desolation wrought by the pride, and passion, and ambition of private persons, supported by princes who knew not what themselves would have. His three kingdoms flourishing in entire peace and universal plenty; in danger of nothing but their own surfeits; and his dominions every day enlarged, by sending out colonies upon large and fruitful plantations; his strong fleets commanding all seas; and the numerous shipping of the nation bringing the trade of the world into his ports; nor could it with unquestionable security be carried any whither else: And all these blessings enjoyed under a prince of the greatest clemency and justice, and of the greatest piety and devotion, and the most indulgent to his subjects, and most solicitous for their happiness and prosperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint!

"In this blessed conjuncture, when no other prince thought he wanted any thing, to compass what he most desired to be possessed of, but the affection and friendship of the King of England; a small, scarce discernible cloud arose in the North; which was shortly after attended with such a storm, that never gave over raging, till it had shaken and even rooted up the greatest

this powerful faction, had plunged his father in a war with the house of Austria, by which he was brought under the necessity of calling parliaments, and gave those parliaments the courage to dispute his actions. For though they promised to stand to him with their lives and fortunes, in prosecution of that war; yet when they had engaged him in it, they would not part with any money to defray that charge, till they had stripped him of the richest jewels in the regal diadem. But he was much more punished in the consequence of his own example in aiding those of Rochelle against their King, whereby he trained up his own subjects in the school of rebellion, and taught them to confederate themselves with the Scots and Dutch, to seize upon his forts and castles, invade the patrimony of the church, and to make use of his revenue against himself. To such misfortunes many Princes do reduce themselves, when either they engage themselves to maintain a party, or govern not their actions by the rules of justice; but are directed by self-ends, or swayed by the corrupt affections of untrusty ministers.*

"The Presbyterian-Scots, and the Puritan-English, were not so much discouraged by the ill successes of their brethren in France and Germany, as animated by the prosperous fortunes of their friends [the Calvinists] in Holland; who by rebellion were grown powerful; and by rapine, wealthy; and by the reputation

and tallest Cedars of the three nations; blasted all its beauty and fruitfulness; brought its strength to decay, and its glory to reproach, and almost to desolation; by such a career and deluge of wickedness and rebellion, as, by not being enough foreseen, or, in truth, suspected, could not be prevented.

* Dr. Heylin has been called, by his enemies, "a favourer of absolute power," &c. Yet what writer of that age has pointed out with equal clearness the political errors of two sovereigns for whom he entertained the highest regard? The state of the British Constitution must likewise be taken into the account, when we venture to object against some of the sentiments which are here avowed. The well-defined jurisdiction and nicely-balanced power of the several branches of the legislature, now the boast of this country and the admiration of the civilized world, had at that period no existence.

It is remarkable, that the English soldiers who had assisted the Dutch in the recovery of their liberty, and had garrisoned those fortified places in the Low Countries which this country retained as pledges for monies advanced, were almost without exception, after their return, *republican* in their political principles, and inclined on religious subjects to Presbyterianism or Independency: This partial feeling of *alienation from the institutions of their own country*, was not without its effects in the subsequent troubles. The generous interest too which had been industriously excited, and very properly cherished, in the sound part of the nation, in favour of the new republic, was one of the causes that operated in forming a taste for a more enlarged religious and civil freedom than had been previously enjoyed.—In our own days we have seen a similar instance in our neighbours of France, with this marked difference, however, that religion was one of the least considerations among both the parties into which that unhappy country was divided. The King of France had sent his soldiers to fight the battles of the new American Republic; and some of those very men lived long enough to carry arms in their native land, and assist in the establishment of their own Republic.

of their wealth and power, were able to avenge themselves on [the Arminians] the opposite party. To whose felicities, if those in England did aspire, they were to entertain those counsels and pursue those courses by which the others had attained them; that is to say, they were by secret practices to diminish the King's power and greatness, to draw the people to depend upon their directions, to dissolve all the ligaments of the former government; and either call in foreign forces, or form an army of their own to maintain their doings.† And this had been the business of the Puritan faction, since the death of Bancroft; when by the retirements of King James from all cares of Government, and the connivance or remissness of Archbishop Abbot, the reins were put into their hands. Which gave them time and opportunity to grow strong in parliaments, under pretence of standing for the subjects' property against the encroachments of the court, and for the preservation of the true religion against the practices of the Papists. By which two artifices, they first weakened the prerogative royal, to advance their own; and, by the diminution of the King's authority, endeavoured to erect the people's, whom they represented. And then they practised to asperse with the name of PAPIST all those who either join not with them in their Sabbath-doctrines, or would not captivate their judgments unto Calvin's dictates. [See pages 209, 266, 294.]

"The party in both kingdoms being grown so strong that they were able to proceed from counsel unto execution, there wanted nothing but a fair occasion for putting themselves into a posture of defence; and from that posture, breaking out into open war. But finding no occasion, they resolve to make one; and to begin their first embroilments upon the sending of the new Liturgy and book of Canons to the Kirk of Scotland. At Perth, in 1618 they had past five articles for introducing private Baptism, communicating of the sick, kneeling at the Communion, Episcopal Confirmation, and the observing of such ancient festivals as belonged immediately unto Christ: Yet when those articles were incorporated in the Common-prayer Book, they were beheld as innovations in the worship of God, and therefore not to be admitted in so pure and reformed a Church as that of Scotland. These were the hooks by which they drew the people to them, who never look on their superiors with a greater reverence, than when they see them active in the cause of religion; and willing, in appearance, to lose all which was dear unto them, whereby they might preserve the Gospel in its native purity. But it was rather gain than godliness, which

† These were exactly the steps taken by the Calvinists in the United Provinces, under the guidance of that ambitious warrior Prince Maurice, the year prior to the meeting of the Synod of Dort; the most suitable preparation for which seemed to be a deep wound on the constitution then established.

brought the great men of the realm to espouse this quarrel; who, by the commission of surrenderies, (of which more elsewhere,) began to fear the losing of their tithes and superiorities, to which they could pretend no other title than plain usurpation. And on the other side, it was ambition, and not zeal, which inflamed the Presbyters; who had no other way to invade that power which was conferred upon the Bishops by Divine institution, and countenanced by many acts of Parliament in the reign of King James, than by embracing that occasion to incense the people, to put the whole nation into tumult, and thereby to compel the Bishops and the regular Clergy to forsake the Kingdom. So the Genevians dealt before with their Bishop and Clergy, when the reforming-humour came first upon them: And what could they do less in Scotland, than follow the example of their mother-city?

"These breakings-out in Scotland smoothed the way to the like in England, from which they had received encouragement, and presumed on succours. The English Puritans had begun with libelling against the Bishops, as the Scots did against the King: For which, the authors and abettors had received some punishment; but such, as did rather reserve them for ensuing mischiefs, than make them sensible of their crimes, or reclaim them from it. So that upon the coming of the Liturgy and Book of Canons, the Scots were put into such heat that they disturbed the execution of the one by an open tumult, and refused obedience to the other by a wilful obstinacy.

"These insolencies might have given the King a just cause to arm, when they were utterly unprovided of all such necessaries as might enable them to make the least show of a weak resistance. But the King deals more gently with them, negotiates for some fair accord of the present differences, and, in 1638, sends the Marquess of Hamilton as his chief Commissioner for the transacting of the same. By whose solicitation he revokes the Liturgy and the Book of Canons, suspends the Articles of Perth, and then rescinds all Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same; submits the Bishops to the next General Assembly, as their competent judges; and thereupon gives intimation of a General Assembly to be held at Glasgow, in which the point of church government was to be debated, and all his condescensions enrolled and registered. And, which made most to their advantage, he caused the Solemn League or Covenant to be imposed on all the subjects, and subscribed by them. Which in effect was to legitimate the rebellion, and countenance the combination with the face of authority.* But all this would not do his business, though it might do theirs. For they had so contrived the matter, that none were chosen to have voices in that Assembly, but

* See a Note from Grotius, page 216.

such as were sure unto the side, such as had formerly been under the censures of the Church for their inconformity, and had refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy, or had declared their disaffections to Episcopal Government. And that the Bishops might have no encouragement to sit amongst them, they cite them to appear as criminal persons, libel against them in a scandalous and unchristian manner; and finally, make choice of Henderson, a seditious presbyter, to sit as moderator or chief president in it. And though upon the sense of their disobedience, the assembly was again dissolved by the King's proclamation; yet they continued, as before, in contempt thereof. In which session they condemned the calling of Bishops, the articles of Perth, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, as inconsistent with the scripture, and the Kirk of Scotland. They proceed next to the rejecting of the five controverted points, which they called Arminianism: And finally, decreed a general subscription to be made to these constitutions. For not conforming whereunto, the Bishops, and a great part of the regular clergy, are expelled the country, although they had been animated unto that refusal, as well by the conscience of their duty, as by his Majesty's Proclamation which required it of them.

"They could not hope that the King's lenity so abused, might not turn to fury; and therefore thought it was high time to put themselves into arms, to call back most of their old soldiers from the wars in Germany; and almost all their officers from such commands in the Netherlands;* whom to maintain, they intercept the King's revenue, and the rents of the Bishops, and lay great taxes on the people, taking up arms and ammunition from the States United,† with whom they went on

* See Note page 310.

† That a great sympathy should subsist between the Dutch and the Scotch at this crisis, will not seem wonderful to those who consider, that the ecclesiastical form of government in both countries was Presbyterian, and that the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and the subsequent severe measures of the States General, had rendered Calvinism completely triumphant in Holland. (See pages 226, 267.) The author of the *Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians*, 1713, says: "The ecclesiastical institution of Presbytery does provide such effectual remedies against the usurpations and ambition of the clergy, and lays such foundations for *the liberty of the subject* in CHURCH MATTERS, that it naturally creates in people *an aversion from all tyranny and oppression* in the STATE also: Which hath always made it odious in the eyes of such princes as have endeavoured to stretch the prerogatives above the laws of the nation and liberties of the subjects."

The decided leaning of the Dutch towards the Puritans in their ambitious undertaking to suppress Arminianism and Episcopacy, was early displayed. G. J. Vossius makes the following mention of it in a letter to Grotius, in 1642: "The Puritanic war fills many persons in this country with anxiety. It is not difficult to learn, from the prayers that are offered up in public, to which party the affections of the Dutch pastors are attracted. Some of them have no doubt, 'that God requires the work of Reformation happily to proceed, 'as it has auspiciously commenced, and the king's mind to be mollified.' Though these sentiments manifest an accommodating spirit; yet the pastors

ticket, and long days of payment, for want of ready money for their satisfaction. But all this had not served their turn, if the King could have been persuaded to have given them battle, or suffered any part of that great army which he brought against them, to lay waste their country. Whose tenderness when they once perceived, and knew withal how many friends they had about him, they thought it would be no hard matter to obtain such a pacification as might secure them for the present from an absolute conquest, and give them opportunity to provide better for themselves in the time to come, upon the reputation of being able to divert or break such a puissant army. And so it proved in the event. For the King had no sooner retired his forces both by sea and land, and given his soldiers a license to return to their several houses, but the Scots presently protest against all the Articles of the Pacification, put harder pressures on the King's party, than before they suffered, keep all their officers in pay; by their messengers and letters, apply themselves to the French King for support and succours. By whom encouraged under-hand, and openly countenanced by some agents of the Cardinal Richelieu, who then governed all affairs in France, they enter into England with a puissant army, making their way to that invasion by some printed pamphlets, which they dispersed into all parts, thereby to colour their rebellions, and bewitch the people.

"And now [1640] the English Presbyterians take the courage to appear more publickly in the defence of the Scots and their proceedings, than they had done hitherto. A Parliament had been called on the 13th of April, for granting monies to maintain the war against the Scots. But the Commons were so backward in complying with the King's desires, that he found himself under the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, which else had blasted his design, and openly declared in favour of the public enemies.* This puts the discontented rab-

make it sufficiently evident, that nothing is more desirable to them, than for the king to be content with an empty title, and for *novel doctrines* to triumph over *those which can lay claim to antiquity*." After stating this as the grand object of the Calvinistic combination, he briefly adverts to the differing ulterior views of the Independents and Presbyterians, which finally effected the overthrow of that oppression and anarchy which both parties had contributed to introduce into the new Commonwealth.

* The odium of this measure was, as usual, ascribed to Archbishop Laud; but with what degree of truth, the following statement from Lord Clarendon's LIFE will evince:

"As soon as the House was up, he went over to Lambeth, to the Archbishop, whom he found walking in his garden; having received a full account of all that had passed, from persons who had made more haste from the House. He appeared sad and full of thoughts; and calling the other to him, seemed willing to hear what he would say. He told him, 'that he 'would not trouble him with the relation of any thing that had passed, of 'which he presumed he had received a good account; that his business was 'only to inform him of his own fears and apprehensions, and the observa-'tion he had made upon the discourses of some considerable men of the

ble into such a fury, that they violently assaulted Lambeth-House, but were as valiantly repulsed; and, the next day, break open all the prisons in Southwark, and release all the prisoners whom they found committed for their inconformities.

"The Scots, in the mean time, had put by such English forces as lay on the south-side of the Tyne, at the passage of Newborn, make themselves masters of Newcastle, deface the goodly church of Durham, bring all the Countries on the north-side of the Tees under contribution, and tax the people to all payments at their only pleasure. The council of Peers, and a petition from the Scots, prepare the King to entertain a treaty with them; the managing whereof was chiefly left unto those Lords who had subscribed the petition before remembered. But the third day of November coming on a-pace, and the commissioners seeming desirous to attend in parliament, which was to begin on that day, the treaty is adjourned to London; which gave the Scots a more dangerous opportunity to infect that city, than all their emissaries had obtained in the times fore-going.

"And though a convocation were at that time [1641] sitting; yet to increase the miseries of a falling-church, it is permitted, that a private meeting should be held in the Deanery of Westminster, to which some orthodox and conformable Divines were called, as a foil to the rest, which generally were of Presbyterian or Puritan principles.* By them it was proposed, that

'court, as if the king might be wrought upon, (because there had not been 'that expedition used as he expected,) speedily to dissolve the Parliament; 'that he came only to beseech him to use all his credit to prevent such a 'desperate counsel, which would produce great mischief to the king, and to 'the church; that he was confident the House was as well-constituted and 'disposed, as ever House of Commons was, or would be; that the number of 'the disaffected to Church or State, was very small; and though they might 'obstruct for some time the quick resolving upon what was fit, they would 'never be able to pervert their good inclinations and desires to serve the 'king.' The Archbishop heard him very patiently, and said, he believed the king would be very angry at the way of their proceedings; for that, in this conjuncture, the delaying, and denying to do what he desired, was the same thing; and therefore he believed it probable that he would dissolve them; without which he could not enter upon other counsels. That for his own part, he was resolved to deliver no opinion; but as he would not persuade the dissolution, which might be attended by consequences he could not foresee, so he had not so good an opinion of their affections to the king or the church, as to persuade their longer sitting, if the king were inclined to dissolve them. As he actually did on the 4th or 5th of May, not three weeks after their first meeting."

* These were the proposals of the *sub-committee of accommodation*, one of whom was our Dr. Twisse; and the rest, with two exceptions, were inclined either to the doctrine of Calvin or to the Presbyterian regimen. From such men what could be expected, but the complete establishment of Calvinism, and the extirpation of Arminianism? Two of them had been members of the Dort Synod, and the majority of them seem to have been favourably inclined to the introduction of the canons decreed in that Dutch Assembly. (See page 269.) Archbishop Usher was one of those who had formerly supposed a greater latitude of indulgence might be allowed to men who pleaded conscience in bar of their conformity: But he lived long enough to

many passages in the Liturgy should be expunged, and others altered to the worse. That decency and reverence in officiating God's public service, should be brought within the compass of innovations. That doctrinal Calvinism should be entertained in all parts of the church; and all their Sabbath-speculations, though contrary to Calvin's Judgment, superadded to it. But before any thing could be concluded in those weighty matters, the Commons set their bill on foot against root and branch, for putting down all Bishops and Cathedral Churches; which put a period to that meeting without doing any thing."*

Dr. Heylin then gives a succinct relation of the subsequent changes in Church and State, the general truth and accuracy of which are corroborated by the statements of some of the Puritans themselves. Speaking of the Liturgy, he says, It was "not like to stand, when both the Scots and English Presbyterians did conspire against it. The fame whereof had either caused it totally to be laid aside, or performed by halfs in all the counties where the Scots were of strength and power; and not much better executed in some Churches of London, wherein that faction did as much predominate, as if it had been under the protection of a Scottish Army. But the first great interruption which was made at the officiating of the public Liturgy, was made upon a day of Humiliation, when all the Members of the House of Commons

have painful and ocular demonstration, that religious liberty, even when it had degenerated into licentiousness, was too confined, and did not satisfy many of the fanatics of that age. Evelyn says, in his Diary, "Aug. 21, 1655, In discourse with the Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, he told me,—that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Popery. In conclusion, he recommended to me the study of philology above all human studies."

† At the close of the note, page 327, Walton praises God for having prevented him "from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant and those sad confusions that have followed it."—He then adds: "I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment. The Covenanters of this nation, and their party in parliament, made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for another reformation. And though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did, in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both houses of parliament to the king then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing." WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson.*

were assembled together at St. Margaret's in Westminster. At what time, as the Priest began the second service at the Holy Table, some of the Puritans or Presbyterians began a Psalm; and were therein followed by the rest in so loud a tune, that the minister was thereby forced to desist from his duty, and leave the preacher to perform the rest of that day's solemnity. This gave encouragement enough to the rest of that party to set as little by the Liturgy in the country, as they did in the city;* especially in all such usages and rights thereof, as they were pleased to bring within the compass of innovations.

"In which conjuncture happened the impeachment and imprisonment of eleven of the Bishops: Which made that bench so thin, and the King so weak, that on the 6th of February the Lords consented to the taking away of their votes in Parliament. The news whereof was solemnized in most places of London with bells and bonfires. Nothing remained, but that the King should pass it into act by his royal assent; by some unhappy instrument extorted from him when he was at Canterbury; and signified by his message to the Houses on the fourteenth of that month.† Which condescension wrought so much unquietness to his mind and conscience, and so much unsecureness to his person, for the rest of his life, that he could scarce truly boast of one day's felicity, till God was pleased to put a final period to his griefs and sorrows. For in relation to the last, we find that the next vote which passed in Parliament, deprived him of his negative voice, and put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of the Houses. Which was the first beginning of his following miseries. And looking on him

* "And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire; but it is not consumed. At first it was sown in tears, and it is now watered with tears; yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers; and the Church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness. But it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the Church of England. Indeed the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer Book had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing: and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not in that action consult the honour of our Liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a ful. and actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession." BISHOP TAYLOR'S *Preface to his Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy.*

† "They who loved the Church, and were afraid of so great an alteration in the frame and constitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the three estates of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked, and lamented the passing that act as an introduction to the entire destruction of the government of the Church and to the alteration of the religion of the kingdom: And very many, who more considered the policy

in the first, he will not spare to let us know in one of his prayers, that the injury which he had to the Bishops of England, did as much grate upon his conscience, as either the permitting of a wrong way of worship to be set up in Scotland, or suffering innocent blood to be shed under colour of justice.†

"By the terror of that army, some of the prevailing-members in the House of Commons, forced the King to pass the bill for triennial Parliaments, and to perpetuate the present session at the will of the Houses; to give consent for murthering the Earl of Strafford with the sword of justice; and suffering the Arch-bishop of Canterbury to be banished from him; to fling away the Star-Chamber, and the High-Commission, and the co-ercive power of Bishops; to part with all his right to tonnage and poundage, to ship-money, and the Act for knighthood;

than the justice and piety of the State, did ever after believe, that, being removed *out of the Parliament*, the preserving them [the Bishops] *in the kingdom* was not worth any notable contention. Then they looked upon the king's condescension in this particular, in a subject that all men knew had a wonderful influence upon his conscience, as a manifestation *that he would not be constant in retaining, and denying any thing that should be impetuously and fiercely demanded;* which as it exceedingly confirmed those who were engaged in that party, so it abated the courage of too many who had always opposed them and heartily detested their proceedings, and made them more remiss in their attendance at the House, and less solicitous for any thing that was done there: who by degrees first became *a neutral party*, believing they should be safe in angering no body; and when they afterwards found no security in that indifferency, they adhered to those who they saw had the best success; and so went *sharers with them*, in their future attempts, according to their several tempers and inclinations."

Lord CLARENDON has here tendered a strong reason why the unfortunate monarch was "deserted at his utmost need" by many of his well-wishers, who were not afraid of avowing their persuasion, that he inherited too much of the wayward instability of his royal parent's disposition, which had very improperly been designated by himself and his courtiers, "tokens of complete king-craft."

† "It was contrived to draw petitions accusatory from many parts of the kingdom against episcopal government, and the promoters of the petitions were entertained with great respects; whereas the many petitions of the opposite part, though subscribed with many thousand hands, were slighted and disregarded. Withal, the rabble of London, after their petitions cunningly and upon other pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the Houses personally to crave justice both against the Earl of Strafford first, and then against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and lastly against the whole order of Bishops; which, coming at first unarmed, were checked by some well-willers and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords; and, so accoutred, came by thousands to the houses, filling all the outer rooms, offering foul abuses to the Bishops as they passed, crying out NO BISHOPS, NO BISHOPS! and at last, after divers days assembling, grown to that height of fury, that many of them came with resolution of some violent courses, in so much that many swords were drawn hereupon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the Bishops in pieces. Hereupon the House of Lords was moved for some order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the House of Commons to this purpose more than once. Nothing was effected; but for the present (for so much as all the danger was at the rising of the house) it was earnestly desired of the Lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some Lords with a smile. Some other Lords, as the Earl of Manchester, undertook

and by retrenching the perambulation of his forests and chases, to leave his game to the destruction of each boor or peasant. And by the terror of this army, they took upon them an authority of voting down the Church's power in making of canons, condemning all the members of the late Convocation, calumniating many of the Bishops and Clergy, in most odious manner, and vexing some of them to the grave. And they would have done the like to the Church itself, in pulling down the Bishops and Cathedral Churches, and taking to themselves all their lands and houses, *if by the constancy and courage of the* HOUSE OF PEERS, *they had not failed of their design.** But at the last, the

the protection of the Archbishop of York and his company, (whose shelter I went under,) to their lodgings; the rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages escaped home.

"On January 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower, only two of our number had the favour of the black rod by reason of their age, which, though desired by a noble Lord on my behalf, would not be yielded. The news of this our crime and imprisonment soon flew over the city, and was entertained by our well-willers with ringing of bells and bonfires; who now gave us up (not without great triumph) for lost men, railing on our perfidiousness, and adjudging us to what foul deaths they pleased. And what scurrile and malicious pamphlets were scattered abroad, throughout the kingdom, and in foreign parts, blazoning our infamy, and exaggerating our treasonable practices! what insultations of our adversaries was here! Being caged sure enough in the Tower, the faction had now fair opportunities to work their own designs. They therefore, taking the advantage of our restraint, renew that bill of theirs, (which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this session,) for taking away the votes of Bishops in parliament, and in a very thin house easily passed it: which once condescended unto, I know not by what strong importunity, his majesty's assent was drawn from him thereunto." *Bishop* HALL'S *Hard Measure.*

* This is another proof of the salutary influence of this necessary branch of the legislature, which, even in those days of ill-defined rights, operated as a check both on the *regal* and *popular* incroachments that were then in contemplation. No one therefore will be surprised at the subsequent dissolution of the HOUSE OF PEERS, which would have been a troublesome appendage to a REPUBLIC, in the fair management of which *all men* were *supposed* to have a share.

In *Lord Clarendon's Life*, it is said: "When Mr. Hyde sat in the chair, in the grand committee for the extirpation of Episcopacy, all that party [the Republicans] made great court to him; and the House keeping those disorderly hours, and *seldom rising till after four of the clock in the afternoon*, they frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. Pym's lodging, which was at Sir Richard Manly's house, in a little court behind Westminster Hall; where he, and Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and two or three more, upon a stock kept a table, where they transacted much business; and invited thither those of whose conversion they had any hope. One day after dinner, Nathaniel Fiennes, who that day likewise dined there, asked Mr. Hyde whether he would ride into the fields and take a little air, it being a fine evening; which the other consenting to, they sent for their horses, and, riding together in the fields between Westminster and Chelsea, Mr. Fiennes asked him, 'what it was that inclined 'him to adhere so passionately to the Church, which could not possibly be 'supported.'—He answered, 'that he could have no other obligation than 'that of his own conscience and his reason, that could move with him; for 'he had no relation or dependence upon any churchmen, that could dispose 'him to it; that he could not conceive how religion could be preserved 'without Bishops, nor how the Government of the State could well subsist if

King prevailed so far with the Scots Commissioners, that they were willing to retire and withdraw their forces, upon his promise to confirm the Acts of the assembly at Glasgow, and reach out such a hand of favour unto all that nation, as might estate them in a happiness above their hopes. On this assurance they march homewards, and he followeth after: Where he consents to the abolishing of Bishops, and alienating all their lands by Act of Parliament; suppresseth, by like Acts, the Liturgy, and and the Book of Canons, and the five Articles of Perth; rewards the chief actors in the late rebellion, with titles, offices, and honours; and parts with so much of his royal prerogative to content the subjects, that he left himself nothing of a King, but the empty name. And, to sum up the whole in brief, in one hour he unravelled all that excellent web, the weaving whereof had took up more than forty years; and cost his father and him self so much pains and treasure.

"His majesty was informed at his being in Scotland, that the Scots had neither taken up arms, nor invaded England, but that they were encouraged to it by some members of the Houses of Parliament, on a design to change the Government both of Church and State. In which he was confirmed by *the Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom*, presented to him by the Commons at his first coming back; the forcible attempt for breaking into the Abbey of Westminster; the concourse of seditious people to the doors of the Parliament, crying out, that they would have no Bishops nor Popish Lords; and their tumultuating in a fearful manner, even at White-Hall Gates, where they cried out with far more horror to the hearers, that

'the government of the Church were altered; and asked him *what Govern-*
'*ment they meant to introduce in its place.*'—To which he answered, 'that
'there would be time enough to think of that;' but assured him, and wished him to remember what he said, 'that if the king resolved to defend
'the Bishops, it would cost the kingdom much blood! and would be the
'occasion of as sharp a war as had ever been in England: for that there was
'a great number of good men, who resolved to lose their lives before they
'would ever submit to that Government.' Which was the first positive declaration he had ever heard from any particular man of that party; very few of them having at that time that resolution, much less avowing it; and if they had, the kingdom was in no degree at that time infected with that poison, how much soever it was spread afterwards."

In a subsequent passage he states the substance of a conversation between him and the noted Harry Martin, the latter of whom "very frankly answered, 'that he thought the men KNAVES who governed the House [of
'Commons], and that when they had done as much as they intended to do,
'they should be used as they had used others.'—The other pressed him then to say what he desired; to which, after a little pause, he very roundly answered, *I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all:* which was the first word he [Clarendon] had ever heard any man speak to that purpose; and would without doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole nation of any design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the hearts of some desperate persons: that gentleman being at that time possessed of a very great fortune, and having great credit in his country."

the King was not worthy to live; that they would have no porter's lodge between him and them; and that the Prince would govern better. Hereupon certain members of both Houses; that is to say, the Lord Kimbolton of the upper; Hollis and Haslerig, Hampden, Pym, and Stroud, of the lower House, are impeached of treason, a serjeant sent to apprehend them, and command given for sealing up their trunks and closets. But on the contrary, the Commons did pretend and declared accordingly, that no member of theirs was to be impeached, arrested, or brought unto a legal trial, but by the order of that House; and that the sealing up of their trunks or closets, was a breach of privilege.

"Now comes Calvin's doctrine for restraining the power of Kings, to be put in practice. His Majesty's going to the House of Commons on the fourth of January, is voted for so high a breach of their rights and privileges, as was not to be salved by any retraction, or disclaimer, or any thing by him alleged in excuse thereof. Though his Majesty had sent them a most gracious message of the twentieth of January, in which he promised them to equal or exceed all acts of favour which any of his predecessors had extended to the people of England;* yet nothing could secure them from their fears and jealousies, unless the trained-bands, and the royal navy, the Tower of London, and the rest of the Forts and Castles, were put into such hands as they might confide in. On this the King demurs a while; but having shipped the Queen for Holland, with the Princess Mary, and got the Prince into his power, he denies it [the preceding proposal] utterly. And this denial is reputed a sufficient reason to take the Militia to themselves, and execute the powers thereof, without his consent.

"During these counter-workings betwixt them and the King, the Lords and Commons plied him with continual messages for his return unto the Houses; and did as frequently endeavour to possess the people with their remonstrances and declarations, to his disadvantage. To each of which, his Majesty returned a significant answer, so handsomely apparelled, and comprehending in them such a strength of reason, as gave great satis-

* "The king inadvertently resigned a large portion of that power which is essential to monarchy, but which he had unhappily abused in former instances, by consenting that this parliament should never be dissolved without the concurrence of its members; and thus rendered them little less than absolute. Having also, in other respects, complied with their wishes, he became indignant at their proceedings, and expressed his resolution to maintain the royal prerogative in opposition to their further demands, which he contended were exorbitant and unconstitutional. Exposed at the same time to popular insult in the metropolis, his Majesty retired to York, and prepared for war; while the Queen pledged the jewels of the crown in Holland, and with the money thence arising furnished him with arms and ammunition. Mean time the parliament, resolved to defend what they regarded as the rights of the subject, prepared for resistance. Thus was the country involved in civil discord, and witnessed through a series of years a lamentable effusion of human blood." JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin.*

faction to all equal and unbiassed men. None of these messages more remarkable, than that which brought the nineteen propositions to his Majesty's hands. In which it was desired, that all the Lords of his Majesty's Council, all the great Officers both of Court and State, the two Chief Justices, and the Chief Barons of the Exchequer, should be from thenceforth nominated and approved by both Houses of Parliament. That all the great affairs of the Kingdom should be managed by them, even unto the naming of a Governour for his Majesty's children, and for disposing them in marriage, at the will of the Houses. That no Popish Lord (as long as he continued such) should vote in Parliament. And amongst many other things of like importance, that he would give consent to such a reformation of Church-government and Liturgy, as both the Houses should advise. But he knew well enough, that to grant all this, was plainly to divest himself of all regal power which God had put into his hands :† And therefore he returned such an answer to them, as the necessity of his affairs, compared with those impudent demands, did suggest unto him. But as for their demand about reformation, he had answered it in part, before they made it, by ordering a collection of sundry petitions presented to himself and both Houses of Parliament, in behalf of Episcopacy, and for the preservation of the Liturgy, to be printed and published. By which petitions it appeared, that there was no such general disaffection in the subjects, unto either of them, (whether they were within the power of the Houses, or beyond their reach,) as by the faction was pretended; the total number of subscribers unto seven of them only, (the rest not being calculated in the said collection,) amounting to four hundred eighty two Lords and Knights, one thousand seven hundred and forty Esquires and Gentlemen of note, six hundred thirty-one Doctors and Divines, and no fewer than forty four thousand five hundred fifty nine free-holders of good name and note.†

† "He [Clarendon] had taken more pains than such men use to do, in the examination of religion; having always conversed with those of different opinions with all freedom and affection, and had very much kindness and esteem for many who were in no degree of his own judgment; and upon all this, he did really believe the Church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of peace, of any church in the world; that the taking away any of its revenue, and applying it to secular uses, was robbery and notorious sacrilege; and that the diminishing the lustre it had, and had always had, in the Government, by removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was a violation of justice, the removing a land-mark, and the shaking the very foundation of Government: and therefore he always opposed, upon the impulsion of conscience, all mutations in the Church; and did always believe, let the season or the circumstance be what it would, that any compliance was pernicious; and that a peremptory and obstinate refusal, that might put men in despair of what they laboured for, and take away all hope of obtaining what they desired, would reconcile more persons to the Government, than the gratifying them in part; which only whetted their appetite to desire more, and their confidence in demanding it."

"It happened also, that some Members of the House of Commons, many of his domestic servants, and not a few of the nobility and great men of the realm, repaired from several places to the King at York; so far from being willing to involve themselves in other men's sins, that they declared the constancy of their adhesion to his Majesty's service. These men they branded first by the name of Malignants, and after looked upon them in the notion of evil councillors: for whose removing from the King they pretend to arm, (but now the stale device must be taken up,) as well as in their own defence: Towards the raising of which army, the Presbyterian preachers so bestir themselves, that the wealthy citizens send in their plate, the zealous sisters robbed themselves of their bodkins and thimbles, and some poor wives cast in their wedding-rings, like the widow's mite, to advance the service. Besides which, they set forth instructions, dispersed into all parts of the realm, for bringing in of horses, arms, plate, money, jewels, to be repayed again on the public faith; appoint their treasurers for the war; and nominate the Earl of Essex for their chief commander, whom some disgraces from the court had made wholly theirs. Him they commissionate to bring the King from his evil counsellors, with power to kill and slay all such as opposed them in it."

The description given by Dr. Heylin of the seditious doctrines that were promulgated at that period by the Calvinists, is exceedingly piquant, and reminds one of many of the terms of the French Revolutionists in our days:

"It was also preached and printed by the Presbyterians to the same effect, (as Buchanan and Knox, Calvin and some others of the sect had before delivered) 'that all power was originally 'in the people of a State or Nation: in Kings no otherwise 'than by delegation, or by way of trust: which trust might 'be recalled when the people pleased: That when *the undi-* 'vided Majesty (as they loved to phrase it) *of the common peo-* 'ple was by their voluntary act transferred on the supreme 'Magistrate, it rested on that Magistrate no otherwise than '*cumulative*: but *primitive* by no means, in reference unto them 'that gave it: That though the King was *Major singulis*, yet 'he was *Minor universis*; superior only unto any one, but far 'inferior to the whole body of the people: That it was lawful 'for the subjects to resist their Princes, even by force of arms, 'and to raise armies also, if need required, for the preservation 'of religion, and the common liberties.† And finally, (for what

† On no point did the Calvinists of that age render themselves so vulnerable to the attacks of the Papists, as on this of bearing arms against governors. What a paltry excuse for rebellion Richard Baxter makes, when he says, in his *Key for Catholics*: "They will tell us of our wars, and killing the kings in England. But of this I have given them their answer before." To which I add, (1.) The Protestant doctrine expressed in the confessions of all their

else can follow such dangerous premises?) that Kings being 'only the sworn officers of the commonwealth, they might be 'called to an account, and punished in case of mal-administration, even to imprisonment, deposition, and to death itself, if lawfully convicted of it.' But that which served their turns best, was a new distinction which they had coined between the *Personal* and *Political* capacity of the supreme Magistrate; alledging, that the King was present with the Houses of Parliament, in his Political capacity, though in his Personal at York; that they might fight against the King in his Personal capacity, though not in his Politic, and consequently might destroy CHARLES STUART without hurting the KING. This was good *Presbyterian* doctrine; but not so edifying at York as it was at Westminster. For his Majesty finding a necessity to defend CHARLES STUART, if he desired to save the *King*, began to entertain such forces as repaired unto him, and put himself into a posture of defence against all his adversaries."

That such doctrines should induce a consonant practice, is not at all wonderful. One instance of which Dr. Heylin gives in his account of *the Fight at Brentford:* "Out of which town he beat two of their choicest regiments, sunk many pieces of cannon, and much ammunition, put many of them to sword in the heat of the fight, and took about five hundred prisoners for a taste of his mercy. For, knowing well how miserably they had been mis-guided, he spared their lives; and gave them liberty on no other conditions, but only the taking of their oaths not to serve against him. But the Houses of Parliament,

Churches, and in the constant stream of their writers, is for obedience to the sovereign powers, and against resisting them *upon any pretences of heresy or excommunication, or such like.* (2.) The wars in England were raised between a king and parliament, that, joined together, did constitute the highest power; and upon the lamentable division, (occasioned by the Papists,) the people were many of them uncertain *which part was the higher and of greatest authority:* some thought the king, and others thought the parliament, as being the representative body of the people (in whom politicians say is the *Majestas realis,*) and the highest judicature, and having the chief part in legislation and declaration *what is just or unjust, what is law and what is against law.* Had we all been resolved in England *which side was by law the higher power*, here had been no war. So that here was no avowed resisting of the higher powers. None but a parliament could have drawn an army of Protestants here under their banner. (3.) And withal that very parliament (consisting of nobles, knights, gentlemen and lawyers, who all declared to the people, that by law they were bound to obey and assist them,) did yet profess to take up offensive arms only against delinquents, or rather, even but defensive against those men that had got an army to secure them from justice: and they still professed and avowed fidelity to the king." The sophistry of this reasoning is exposed in another part of the Appendix. But the phrase of "not resisting the sovereign powers upon any pretences of *heresy*, *excommunication*, or *such-like*," is an artifice too palpable to be overlooked: For these alleged crimes were not among the "pretences" usually adduced by the Calvinists of that age, as palliations for the murder of their lawful monarch. But it must be recollected, that Baxter wrote this paragraph about a year prior to the Restoration. Between several of his statements and arguments *before* and *after* that event, any person may easily discover a marvellous discrepancy.

being loath to lose so many good men, appointed Mr. Stephen Marshall, (a principal zealot at that time in the cause of Presbytery) to call them together, and to absolve them from that oath: Which he performed with so much confidence and authority, that the Pope himself could scarce have done it with the like."*

* What reply do the defenders of the Puritans give to this statement, which is confirmed by that of two eminent historians of that period? One of those defenders says: "This has all the appearance of forgery.—Priestly absolution was as remote as possible from the practices of the Puritans; and they rejected all claims to the power of it, with the utmost abhorrence. The Parliament's army, at the same time, stood in so little need of these prisoners, which were *only* 150 *men*, that there is good reason to suspect the whole account to be a falsehood."—What a pitiful evasion! "Because the Puritans rejected *priestly absolution*, the whole account is a falsehood:" Excellent logician! Yet this is the method adopted by BROOK, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, to extenuate the crimes of such blood-thirsty fanatics as Marshall. In the absence of all historic testimony even from the greatest admirers of his author, this famous biographer, in his sketch of Marshall's Life, affords us glaring instances of this luminous mode of ratiocination.

This is another: Lord Clarendon had said, in reference to *the ministers' petition*, presented to Parliament, "The petition itself was cut off, and a new one of *a very different nature* annexed to the long list of names: And when some of the ministers complained to Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that *they never saw the petition to which their names were annexed, but had signed another petition against the canons*, Mr. Marshall replied, 'that it was thought fit, by *those who understood the business better* 'than they, that the latter petition should be preferred, rather than the 'former.'" (Hist. i, 239.)—What is Mr. Brook's answer? "This, indeed, is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to have been well substantiated. Why did not the ministers complain to the committee appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into their regular methods of procuring hands to petitions? The learned historian answers, that *they were prevailed upon to sit still and pass it by*: For the truth of which we have *only his lordship's word*, as nothing of the kind appears in Rushworth, Whitlocke, or any other *impartial writer* of those times. The whole affair has, therefore, the appearance of a mere forgery, designed to blacken the memory of Mr. Marshall and the rest of the Puritans."

Omitting all animadversion on the expression *only his lordship's word*, (though for "unbending veracity" Lord Clarendon's name is celebrated throughout Europe,) omitting likewise any allusion to Rushworth and Whitlocke as "impartial writers," one might ask Mr. Brook, if, in our own *reforming* age, he never read or heard of such an exchange being effected between two petitions "of a very different nature." But if his recollection will not furnish him with fit precedents in *the modern history of petitioning*, I will furnish him with one of a more ancient date. It is in reference to the famous Presbyterian *Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ*, of which some mention has been made, page 305, and concerning which it is said in JACKSON'S *Life of John Goodwin*: "Very dishonourable collusion was practised in obtaining signatures to this objectionable document. In the copy that was laid before Mr. John Downame, and to which he affixed his name, no mention was made either of Dr. Hammond or of Mr. Goodwin; their reputed errors and heresies being foisted in afterwards. It happened unluckily, that Downame had licensed the Doctor's book for publication, and thus recommended it to general perusal. When he therefore found, that, by a manœuvre of his Presbyterian friends, he was made to condemn as heretical a work to which he had given his public sanction, he complained bitterly of their disingenuous conduct. Others of the subscribers, one would hope for their own credit, were imposed upon in the same manner."

On the most flimsy foundation of Mr. Brook's *assertion* or *suspicion*, rest many other of his palliations and defences of Mr. Marshall, who might

The Doctor afterwards states the varied success of each of the parties in the subsequent campaign, the failure of the Oxford treaty, and the excesses of the soldiery in defacing the cathedral churches of Winchester, Canterbury, Rochester, and Chichester. He then adds: "The King lost Reading in thespring, received the Queen triumphantly into Oxon within a few weeks after, by whom he was supplied with such a considerable stock of arms and other necessaries, as put him into a condition to pursue the war. This summer makes him master of the North and West; the North being wholly cleared of the enemy's forces, but such as seemed to be imprisoned in the Town of Hull. And having lost the cities of Bristol and Exon, no towns of consequence in the West remained firm unto them, but Pool, Lime, and Plymouth: so that the leading members were upon the point of forsaking the kingdom; and had so done, (as it was generally reported, and averred for certain,) if the King had not been diverted from his march to London, upon a confidence of bringing the strong city of Gloucester to the like submission. This gave them time to breathe a little, and to advise upon some course for their preservation; and no course was found fitter for them, than to invite the Scots to their aid and succour, whose amity they had lately purchased at so dear a rate. But that which proved the stongest temptation to engage them [the Scots] in it, was an assurance of reducing the Church of England to an exact conformity. in government and forms of worship, to the Kirk of Scotland;* and gratifying their revenge and malice, by prose-

easily be convicted on the sole unbiassed testimony of his own sermons and letters, of being, what Echard styles him, "a famous incendiary, and "assistant to the Parliamentarians; their trumpeter in their fasts, their "confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assemblies, their "chaplain in their treaties, and their champion in their disputations!"

* Hear Master Robert BAYLIE, minister at Glasgow, and one of the Scottish Commissioners to the *Assembly of Divines* at Westminster,—a man in every respect worthy of being associated with his intolerant compeer RUTHERFORD, whose *doctrines of co-ercion* have been so ably exposed in Bishop HEBER'S edifying *Life of Dr. Jeremy Taylor*.—In the First Part of his '*Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*,' published BY AUTHORITY in 1645, Baylie says: "But so long as Divine dispensation besets our habitations both spiritual and temporal, the Church no less than the State, with great numbers of daring and dangerous adversaries, we must be content, according to the call of the prophet Joel in another case, 'to prepare war, to beat our ploughshares into swords, and our pruning-hooks into spears;' in this juncture of time the faint must take courage, 'and the weak say, I am strong.'—It seems that yet for some time the servants of God must earnestly contend for many precious truths, which erroneous spirits do mightily impugn: for the help and encouragement of others in that warfare, I, though among the weakest of Christ's soldiers, do offer these my endeavours."

He then depicts the flourishing state of the Church, provided she would cordially embrace the Presbyterian discipline: "Let England once be countenanced, by her superior powers, to enjoy the just and necessary liberty of *Consistories* for congregations, of *Presbyteries* for Counties, of *Synods* for larger shires, and *National Assemblies* for the whole land,—as Scotland hath long possessed these by the unanimous consent of King and Parliament without the

cuting the Arch-bishop of Canterbury to the end of his tragedy. For compassing which ends, a solemn league and covenant is agreed between them; first taken and subscribed to, by the Scots themselves; and afterwards by all the Members in both Houses of Parliament; as also, by the principal officers of the army, all the Divines of the Assembly, almost all those which lived within the lines of communication, and in the end by all the subjects which either were within their power, or made subject to it.* Now by this covenant the party was to bind himself, amongst other things, first, 'that he would endeavour, in his place and calling, to preserve the Reformed 'religion in Scotland, in doctrine, discipline, and government: 'That he would endeavour, in like manner, the reformation of 'religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, according to 'the word of God, and the example of the best reformed 'churches; but more particularly, to bring the churches of God 'in all the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uni-'formity in religion, &c. Secondly, That without respect of 'persons they would endeavour to extirpate Popery and Pre-'lacy;† &c. And thirdly, That he would endeavour the dis-

least prejudice to the civil State, but to the evident and confessed benefit thereof; or as the very Protestants in France, by the concession of a Popish State and King, have enjoyed all these four spiritual courts the last fourscore years and above:—Put these HOLY and DIVINE INSTRUMENTS in the hand of *the Church of England:* by the blessing of God thereupon, the sore and great evil of so many heresies and schisms shall quickly be cured, which now not only troubles the peace and welfare, but hazards the very subsistence both of church and kingdom. Without this mean, the State will toil itself in vain about the cure of such spiritual diseases."

* "And to that end, the presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scoteh covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes, and in their hats with this motto, *For the Crown and Covenant of both Kingdoms!* This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the blood-shed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning! when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it." WALTON'S *Life of Sanderson.*

† The reader will by this time have become acquainted with the implied signification of these expressions. To give him a better view of this subject, I copy the following paragraph from *the Remonstrance of the Commons*, 1628: "And as our fear concerning change or subversion of religion, is grounded upon the daily increase of Papists,..... so are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being, as your Majesty well knows, a cunning way to bring in Popery, and the professors of those opinions [are] the common disturbers of the Protestant churches, and incendiaries in those states wherein they have gotten any head, being Protestants in show but Jesuits in opinion..... Who, notwithstanding, are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends even of the clergymen to your Majesty, namely, Dr. Neale, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected to be unsound in their opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment and promotion in the church, many scholars do bend the course of their studies to maintain those errors."

'covery of such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malig-'nants, and evil instruments, either in hindering the reforma-'tion of religion, or in dividing between the King and his 'people, &c.' Of which three articles, the two first tended to the setting up of their dear Presbyteries; the last, unto the prosecution of the late Arch-bishop, whom they considered as their greatest and most mortal enemy.*

"The terror of this covenant, and the severe penalty imposed on those which did refuse it,† compelled great numbers of the Clergy to forsake their benefices, and to betake themselves to such towns and garrisons as were kept under the command of his Majesty's forces; whose places were in part supplied by such Presbyterians who formerly had lived as lecturers or trencher-chaplains: or else bestowed upon such zealots as flocked from Scotland and New-England, like vultures and other birds of rapine, to seek after the prey. But finding the deserted benefices not proportionable to so great a multitude, they compelled many of the [Episcopal] clergy to forsake their houses, that so they might avoid imprisonment or some worse calamity.‡ Others they sent to several gaols, or shut

The authors of this *Remonstrance* must have been cunning men indeed to know in what single European State the Arminians, at that period, (1628) "had gotten any head." I know of none, except England; and what their condition was in this country, will be the subject of a subsequent inquiry.

* "And about this time the bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, 'professing not to open them till justice was executed.' *This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.*" ISAAC WALTON.

† "July 23, 1643. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myself; but finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, I obtained a licence of his Majesty, dated at Oxford and signed by the King, to travel again." EVELYN'S *Diary*.

‡ "For myself, addressing myself to Norwich, whither it was his majesty's pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect, than in such times I could have expected. There I preached the day after my arrival to a numerous and attentive people; neither was sparing of my pains in this kind ever since, till the times, growing every day more impatient of a bishop, threatened my silencing. There, though with some secret murmurs of disaffected persons, I enjoyed peace till the ordinance of sequestration came forth, which was in the latter end of March following. Then when I was in hope of receiving the profits of the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of my family, were all my rents stopped and diverted, and in the April following came the sequestrators, viz. Mr. Sotherton, Mr. Tooly, Mr. Rawly, Mr. Greenewood, &c. to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of parliament they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal, and accordingly sent certain men appointed by them, (whereof one had been burned in the hand for the mark of his truth,) to apprize all the goods that were in the house, which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures out of their curious inventory. Yea they would have apprized our very wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooly and Sheriff Rawley declared their opinion to the contrary. These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale.' Much enquiry there was when the goods should be brought

them up in ships whom they exposed to storms and tempests, and all the miseries which a wild sea could give to a languishing stomach.* And some again they sequestered under colour of

to the market; but in the meantime Mrs. Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators that whole sum which the goods were valued at; and was pleased to leave them in our hands for our use, till we might be able to repurchase them; which she did accordingly, and had the goods formally delivered to her by Mr. Smith, and Mr. Greenewood, two sequestrators. As for the books, several stationers looked on them, but were not forward to buy them; at last Mr. Cook, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay to them the whole sum whereat they were set, which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance that was allowed me for my maintenance.

"Yet still I remained in my palace though with but a poor retinue and means; but the house was held too good for me: many messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence. The first pretence was, that the committee, who now was at charge for an house to sit it in, might make their daily session there, being a place both more public, roomy, and chargeless. Out we must, and that in three weeks' warning, by midsummer-day then approaching, so as we might have lain in the street for ought I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us.

"*This hath been my measure, wherefore I know not; Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression.*"—Bishop HALL'S *Hard Measure.*

* "Dr. William Beal, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, being active in gathering the University plate for his Majesty, was (with the excellent Dr. Sterne, now Lord Archbishop of York) sent, surrounded in their respective colleges, carried to London in triumph, in which persecution there was this circumstance remarkable:—That though there was an express order from the Lords for their imprisonment in the tower, which met them at Tottenham high-cross, (wherein, notwithstanding, there was no crime expressed,) yet they were led captive through Bartholomew-fair, and so as far Temple-bar, and back through the city into the tower, on purpose that they might be hooted at or stoned; and so for three years together hurried from prison to prison, (after they were *plundered* and *sequestered*, two words which signify *an undoing*,) without any legal charge against them, or trial of them; it being supposed surely that they would be famished at land, and designed that they should be stifled when kept ten days under deck at sea, or, all failing, to be sent as galley-slaves to Algiers, till this worthy person was exchanged, and had liberty to go to Oxford to serve his Majesty there, as he had done here, by a good example, constant fasts and prayers, exact intelligence, convincing and comfortable sermons, as he did all the while he lived; till his heart broke to see (what he always feared, and endeavoured in vain to persuade the moderate part of the other side of) his Majesty murdered, and he died suddenly with these words in his mouth, (which the standers-by understood with reference to the state of the public, as well as the condition of his own private person,) I BELIEVE THE RESURRECTION. When Dr. Edward Martin was Master of Queen's College, he was as much persecuted by the faction for six or seven years from Cambridge to Ely-house, thence to ship-board, and thence to the Fleet, with the same disgrace and torment I mentioned before in Dr. Beal's life, for being active in sending the University plate to the King, and in undeceiving people about the proceedings of the pretended parliament, that is, in sending to the King that which should have been plundered by his enemies; and preaching as much for him as others did against him. His sufferings were both the smarter and the longer, because he would not own the usurpation so much as to petition it for favour, being unwilling to own any power they had to imprison him, by any address to them to release him.

"And when in a throng of other prisoners he had his liberty, he chose to be an exile beyond sea at Paris, rather than submit to the tumult at home at

scandal, imputing to them such notorious and enormous crimes, as would have rendered them uncapable of life, as well as livings, if they had been proved. But that which added the most weight to these oppressions, was the publishing of a malicious and unchristian pamphlet, entitled, *The first century of scandalous and malignant Priests:** which whether it were

London or Cambridge. If he was too severe against the Presbyteries of the Reformed Churches [abroad], which they set up *out of necessity*, it was out of just indignation against the Presbytery of England which set up itself *out of schism*. And when he thought it unlawful for a gentleman of the Church of England to marry a French Presbyterian, it was because he was transported by the oppression and outrage of the English. But being many years beyond sea, he neither joined with the Calvinists, nor kept any communion with the Papists; but confined himself to a congregation of old English and primitive Protestants; where, by his regular life and good doctrine, he reduced some recusants to, and confirmed more doubters in, the Protestant religion, so defeating the jealousies of his foes, and exceeding the expectation of his friends. Returning with his Majesty, in 1660, he was restored to his own preferments." LLOYD'S *Worthies*.

* In no part of their mystification of plain matters-of-fact have the Calvinists failed so completely, as in this concerning *scandalous ministers*. Allusion has been made to it in a preceding page, 302; and it may be satisfactorily proved, even at this distance of time, that, in many of the instances adduced, no foundation whatever existed for the crimes alleged. When parishioners were invited to bring accusations before a partial Committee, many of them, preferring gain to godliness, viewed the minister of their parish in the sole light of *the receiver of their tythes*, and often invented false statements concerning men of the greatest talents and piety. But several of these sanguine farmers shared the common fate of ignorant reformers; for, the Presbyterian and other sectarian ministers that were inducted into the sequestered livings, soon manifested a greater fondness for their tythes and other rights of the church than their ejected predecessors, and were guilty of as grievous exactions as those of which they had complained in the conduct of others.—In the following extract from BAXTER'S *Key for Catholics*, written while he enjoyed the benefice of an episcopal divine, whom Richard *with great disinterestedness* considered to have been justly ejected for his alleged incompetency, it will be seen, the pious incumbent could talk very learnedly about tythes and maintenance, and accounted himself and his Calvinistic brethren entitled to these perquisites on account of "having DONE SO MUCH to take down the lordliness and riches of the clergy." But he gives *a modest hint* to the ruling powers respecting the alienation of church-lands of which they had been guilty.—See page 268.

"Another reproach that the Papists cast on the ministry, is *greediness, covetousnes*, and *being hirelings*. And therefore they put these into the mouths of Quakers and other sectaries. And what is their ground? forsooth, because we take tythes, or other set maintenance; because we have food and raiment, and our daily bread. I have said enough of the cause itself in my several writings against the Quakers. If any doubt whether the Papists be their teachers, or of the same mind, besides many greater evidences, the manuscript from Wolverhampton before mentioned may be full satisfaction. This tells men that 'for filthy lucre sake we scratch itching 'ears with doctrines of liberty;' and thus it learnedly versifieth:

'With pleasing words they scratch all ears that itch.
'That Mammon (whom they serve) may make them rich.
'For they are mercenaries, that will be hir'd
'To preach what doctrines are by men desir'd.'

"It is a well-known case that the ministers of this land, and of all the reformed churches, commonly do many of them want necessaries, and some want food and raiment, and the rest of them for the most part have little more. Or if one of an hundred have two hundred pounds a year, it is ten

more odious in the sight of God, or more disgraceful to the church, or offensive to all sober and religious men, it is hard to say. And as it seems, the scandal of it was so great, that the publisher thereof, though otherwise of a fiery and implacable nature, desisted from the putting forth of a second century, though he had promised it in the first, and was inclinable enough to have kept his word. Instructions had been sent before to all counties in England, for bringing in such informations against their ministers as might subject them to the danger of a deprivation.* But the times were not then so apt for mischief, as to serve their turns ; which made them fall upon these wretched and unchristian courses to effect their purpose. By means whereof, they purged the church of almost all canonical and orthodox men. The greatness of which desolation in all the parts of the Kingdom, may be computed by the havock which they made in London, and the parishes thereunto adjoining, according as it is presented in the bill of mortality hereunto subjoined."

to one but taxes and other payments bring it so low, that he hath no superfluities. And some, that have not wives or children, do give all that they can gather to the poor; and some, upon my knowledge, give more to charitable uses, than they receive for the work of their ministry, living on their own means. And they have themselves been the means of taking down the lordly prelacy and riches of the clergy: and though *they would not have had the lands devoted to the church to have been alienated*, yet they would have had it so distributed as might but have reached to have made the maintenance of ministers to be an hundred pounds a year. This was the height of their covetousness and ambition, as you call it."

There is much craft in this statement. Baxter couples "the pastors of the Reformed Churches" abroad with the dominant ecclesiastics at home, in order to make out his case. "A hundred pounds a year for maintenance," however, was no bad stipend in those days; and if the excellent men who were wrongfully ejected had received half of that sum annually, they would have accounted themselves in comparatively felicitous circumstances.

* "It may be easily imagined, with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these scruple-mongers.—In London all the bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the Covenant or forbear reading the Common Prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted, that about this time the parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all lay-men that had occasion to complain of their ministers, for being troublesome or scandalous, or *that conformed not to orders of parliament*, to make their complaint to a select committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; (and, you may be sure, no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant:) by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.—The common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not preach true doctrine: and by this and the like means several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not." ISAAC WALTON.

The SUMMARY *of this Bill is as follows:*

"The total of the Ministers of London, within this bill of mortality, besides Pauls and Westminster, turned out of their livings. 115

Whereof Doctors in Divinity (most of them plundered of their goods, and their wives and children turned out of doors) above . . 40

Imprisoned in London, and in the ships, and in several gaols and castles in the country 20

Fled, to prevent imprisonment 25

Dead, in remote parts and prisons, with grief . . . 22

And, at the same time, about forty churches void, having no constant Minister in them.

"By this sad bill confined *within the lines* of communication, [in London] and some villages adjoining, we may conjecture at the greatness of that mortality which fell amongst the regular clergy in all parts of the kingdom, by plundering, sequestering, and ejecting;† or finally, by vexing them into their graves, by so many miseries as were inflicted on them in the ships, or their several prisons. In all which ways, more men were outed of their livings by the Presbyterians in the space of

† Isaac Walton gives the following relation of the manner in which Dr. Sanderson preserved his small living of Boothby Pannel, after he had been ejected from the Divinity chair at Oxford:—"There was one Mr. Clarke, the minister of Adlington, who was an active man for the parliament and covenant; and one that, when Belvoir Castle (then a garrison for the parliament) was taken by a party of the king's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark: they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, 'He must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the king's garrison of Newark.' In time done it was, upon the following conditions: That Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke, being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe, nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burthen by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet by HIS providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that, whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife and children, till the happy restoration of our king and church."

This is a fair specimen of the sufferings of those conscientious clergymen who evinced their attachment to Episcopacy, and were at the same time permitted to retain their benefices. What then must have been the sufferings of those poor divines who were plundered, sequestered and ejected!

three years, than were deprived by the Papists in the reign of Queen Mary; or had been silenced, suspended, or deprived, by all the Bishops, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth, to these very times. [1642.] And that it might be done with some colour of justice, they instituted a committee for plundered ministers,* under pretence of making some provision for such godly preachers as had either suffered loss of goods by his Majesty's soldiers, or loss of livings for adhering to the Houses of Parliament. Under which stiles they brought in a confused rabble of their own persuasions, or such at least as were most likely to be serviceable to their ends and purposes;† some of which had no goods, and most of them no livings at all to lose. But the truth was, they durst not trust the pulpits to the regular Clergy; *who, if they had offended against the laws, by the same laws they ought to have been tried, condemned, and deprived accordingly;* that so the patrons might present more deserving persons to the vacant churches.‡ But then this could not stand

* "The persons invested with this authority, were called THE COMMITTEE FOR PLUNDERED MINISTERS. By the royalists, however, they were denominated *The Committee for Plundering Ministers:* a designation which was highly appropriate. In the month of July, 1643, they were empowered to receive information against Scandalous Ministers, and to deprive them of their livings, though no *Malignancy* in regard to the Parliament were proved against them. From this time the Committee for Scandalous Ministers, and that for Plundered Ministers, were united, and continued so to the end of the Long Parliament.

"This Committee made terrible havock of the regular Clergy. It excluded from the Church many comparatively worthless ministers, whose faults it was careful to emblazon before the world, to the scandal of religion and public morals; but it treated not a few upright, learned, and pious men with great severity, because of their conscientious attachment to episcopacy and to their king. Who can repress the feeling of indignation, on finding that such men as the Ever-Memorable Hales of Eton, and Dr. Brian Walton, the immortal Editor of London Polyglot Bible, were by this Committee deprived of their ecclesiastical preferments, and left to starve, or subsist by the kindness of their friends?" JACKSON'S *Life of Goodwin.*

† "Dec. 4, 1653. Going this day to our church [Deptford] I was surprized to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up: I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Sam. xxvi, 20: 'And *Benaiah went down also, and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow.*' The purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood; inferring, that now the SAINTS were called to destroy temporal governments—with such feculent stuff. So dangerous a crisis were things grown to!" EVELYN'S *Diary.*

‡ "Now not only my rents present, but the arrearages of the former years, which I had in favour forborne to some tenants, *being treacherously confessed to the sequestrators,* were by them called for, and taken from me; neither was there any course at all taken for my maintenance. I therefore addressed myself to the committee sitting here at Norwich, and desired them to give order for some means, out of that large patrimony of the church, to be allowed me. They all thought it very just, and there being present Sir Thomas Woodhouse, and Sir John Potts, parliament men, it was moved and held fit by them and the rest, that the proportion which the votes of the parliament had pitched upon, viz. £400 per annum, should be allowed to me. My lord of Manchester, who was then conceived to have great power in matter of these sequestrations, was moved herewith. He apprehended it very just and reasonable, and wrote to the committee here to set out so

with the main design: For possibly the patrons might present such clerks as would go on in the old way, and could not be admitted but by taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to our Lord the King; and by subscribing to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England, which they were then resolved to alter. Or, could they have prevailed so far with the several patrons, as to present those very men whom they had designed unto the profits of the sequestered benefices; yet then they were to have enjoyed them for term of life, and might pretend a legal right and title to them, which would have cut off that dependance on the Houses of Parliament, which this design did chiefly aim at. So that the best of this new Clergy were but *Tenants at will;* and therefore must be servile and obsequious to their mighty landlords, upon whose pleasure they depended for their present livelihood.†

many of the manors belonging to this bishopric as should amount to the said sum of £400 annually; which was answerably done under the hands of the whole table. And now I well hoped, I should yet have a good competency of maintenance out of that plentiful estate which I might have had; but those hopes were no sooner conceived than dashed; for before I could gather up one quarter's rent, there comes down an order from the committee for sequestrations above, under the hand of serjeant Wild the chairman, procured by Mr. Miles Corbet, to inhibit any such allowance; and telling our committee here, that neither they, nor any other had power to allow me any thing at all: but if my wife found herself to need a maintenance, upon her suit to the committee of Lords and Commons, it might be granted that she should have a fifth part, according to the ordinance, allowed for the sustentation of herself and her family. Hereupon she sends a petition up to that committee, which after a long delay was admitted to be read, and an order granted for the fifth part. But still the rents and revenues both of my spiritual and temporal lands were taken up by the sequestrators, both in Norfolk, and Suffolk, and Essex, and we kept off from either allowance or account. At last, upon much pressing, Beadle the solicitor, and Rust the collector, brought in an account to the committee, such as it was; but so confused and perplexed, and so utterly imperfect, that we could never come to know what a fifth part meant: but they were content that I should eat my books by setting off the sum, engaged for them out of the fifth part.—Whiles I received nothing, yet something was required of me. They were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments, and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken, and took distresses from me upon my most just denial, and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing." *Bishop* HALL's *Hard Measure.*

† At the close of this paragraph Dr. Heylin has given us the true reason of the servility so conspicuous in the chief divines who accepted preferment during the continuance of the Commonwealth. To insure ministerial faithfulness, it is necessary that every pastor should be independent of the people of his charge, both with regard to stipend and continuance in office. Such a system, like every thing earthly, is capable of being abused; and, on this account, it would be absurd to contend, that none of the episcopal divines who were ejected had formerly abused this liberty: That would be in effect to say, that they were not human beings, but in a condition so stable and angelical as rendered them incapable of being perverted. But it may be confidently averred, that, in all cases in which it is possible to institute a comparison between the effects of the two systems, for one pastor that errs through neglect of duty, two may be found in the opposite system whose error consists in men-pleasing, servility, and sometimes in the most disgusting hypocrisy.

"The Scots having raised an army of eighteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, taking the dragoons into the reckoning, break into England in the depth of winter, Anno 1643, and marched almost as far as the banks of the river Tyne, without opposition. There they received a stop by the coming of the Marquis of Newcastle, with his northern army, and entertained the time with some petit skirmishes, till the sad news of the surprise of Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax compelled him to return towards York with all his forces, for the preserving of that place, on which the safety of the north did depend especially. The Scots march after him amain, and besiege that city, in which they were assisted by the forces of the Lord Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester, who by the Houses were commanded to attend that service. The issue whereof was briefly this; that having worsted the great army of Prince Ru-

A few eminent royalists, through providential circumstances, retained their livings: This was the case with Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Pierce, Mr. Bull, and some others, who had been deprived of the offices which they held in the University. They contrived to make some slight variation "from the strict rules of Rubric," and adhered, as far as they lawfully could, to the excellent forms of the Common Prayer in the celebration of public worship. While ignorance and fanaticism were continuing their march of devastation through the land, these great and good men devoted their leisure to important occupations for the benefit of future ages. Beside the numerous books of devotion that were then composed and published by the episcopal clergy, several of them were engaged with Dr. Brian Walton, in the completion of that most erudite and valuable work, the LONDON POLYGLOTT BIBLE. Short biographical notices of the good Bishop's accomplished co-adjutors have lately been given in his LIFE, by the learned editor of "Dr. Johnson's Dictionary," the Rev. John Todd, A. M. F. R. S. &c. To that great undertaking allusion is made at the close of the following quotation by Dr. Pierce, who was one of the ever-honoured labourers:

"Nor can I guess at the reason, why he takes an occasion to tell the world, that he hath very few hearers of all his good preaching; as if it were a fine thing to be insufferable in a pulpit, and to preach men out of their patience. But if he is, in good earnest, so much more painful and more wholesome in his preaching than I am, why do the chiefest and most intelligent of his parishioners take the pains to go from him no less than two miles, as well in the Winter, as in the Summer? If he is not already, I do wish with all my heart he were, as much beyond me in every thing that is good, as he can imagine, or desire: Upon condition I might not be worse than I am, I would be glad if every creature might be abundantly better. Though a pastor's pains should not be measured by his preaching, (there being many other duties incumbent on him,) yet he knows I am a weekly preacher. And if he is more, I cannot think the better of him, or that he takes the more, but (perhaps) the less, pains. For many have found it by experience, (excepting *the labour of lips and lungs*,) a much easier thing to preach twice every week *in one manner*, than once a fortnight *in another*. Must all those glories and ornaments, those venerable supports of our English Church, (the very latchets of whose shoes, *we weekly preachers* are hardly worthy to untie,) be either hinted or held forth to be 'lazy lubbers,' because their lips do not labour *twice a week* in a pulpit? Let *those learned, industrious, and righteous men* (not to be named or thought on without a preface of highest reverence and honour,) be once restored to those places from which they were thrown by none other than Presbyterians, and they will *preach more in one day*, than any correptory corrector can do *in twenty years!* And, whilst they are not preaching, they are doing things of greater moment."

pert* at Marston-moor, on the second of July, York yielded on composition upon that day fortnight; the Marquis of Newcastle, with many gentlemen of great note and quality, shipped themselves for France; and the strong town of Newcastle took in by the Scots on the 19th of October then next following. More fortunate was his Majesty with his Southern army, though at the first he was necessitated to retire from Oxon at such time as the forces under Essex and Waller did appear before it. The news whereof being brought unto them, it was agreed that Waller should pursue the King, and that the Earl's army should march westward to reduce those countries. And here the mystery of iniquity began to shew itself in its proper colours. For whereas they pretended to have raised their army for no other end, but only to remove the King from his evil counsellors, those evil counsellors, as they call them, were left at Oxon, and the King only hunted by his insolent enemies. But the King, having totally broken Waller in the end of June, marched after Essex into Devonshire, and having shut him up in Cornwall, where he had neither room for forage, nor hope of succours, he forced him to fly ingloriously in a skiff or cockboat, and leave his army in a manner to the conqueror's mercy. But his horse having the good fortune to save themselves, the King gave

* This young Prince was the son of the ex-king of Bohemia and of King Charles's sister; and his employment in the English army at that eventful juncture must present, to a reflecting mind, one of those remarkable mutations to which families as well as individuals are subject in this world, and which are over-ruled by the good providence of God to the accomplishment of his own wise purposes. Prince Rupert had to fight against those very Calvinists by whose aid his father had once hoped to become Emperor of Germany as well as King of Bohemia; and his principal associates in arms were persons, who, if they made any profession of religion at all, called themselves "Arminians," and whose principles his nearest relatives had contributed to vilify and condemn, at the Synod of Dort and on subsequent occasions. See pages 242, 255.

But the Lady Elizabeth, the Elector Palatine, and their royal offspring, had learnt wisdom by their sufferings; and, long before the commencement of the Civil Wars, had begun to cultivate the friendship of the Arminians both in Holland and England. They professed the greatest regard for Grotius: And his friend Johnson, to whom reference has been made in page 216, was chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia. Respecting this accomplished clergyman, Vossius thus writes to Grotius in 1642, at a period when the latter wished, as a peace-maker, that some one would reply to the slanders of Rivet, and had recommended that service to Vossius and Johnson; and this extract may be considered as their answer to his application: "And Doctor Johnson, chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, has just been here. When I told him, that the time was nearly expired for delivering my letter to the French messenger, and after I had said that I was transmitting it to you, he requested me to present his best compliments to your excellency. He desired me also to add, that an accusation has been preferred against him, in the English Parliament, for heterodoxy; and not merely against him, but against the Queen also, for bestowing her patronage upon such a heretic.—But by the prudence of certain individuals, this affair was dismissed without further discussion."—At such a juncture, it would have been impolitic to interfere with the project of Grotius, however highly it might be approved. But Johnson and Vossius had other more powerful reasons why they declined this enterprize in a manner the least calculated to give offence.

quarter to the foot, reserving to himself their cannons, arms, and ammunition, as a sign of his victory. And here again the war might possibly have been ended, if the King had followed his good fortune, and marched to London, before the Earl of Essex had united his scattered forces and Manchester was returned from the northern service. But setting down before Plymouth now, as he did before Gloucester the last year, he lost the opportunity of effecting his purpose, and was fought withal at Newbury, in his coming back, where neither side could boast of obtaining the victory.

"But howsoever, having gained some reputation by his western action, the houses seem inclinable to accept his offer of entering into treaty with him for an accommodation. This he had offered by his message from Evesham on the 4th of July, immediately after the defeat of Waller; and pressed it by another from Tavistock on the 8th of September, as soon as he had broken the great army of the Earl of Essex. To these they hearkened not at first. But being sensible of the out-cries of the common people, they condescend at last, appointing Uxbridge for the place, and the thirtieth day of January for the time thereof. For a preparative whereunto, and to satisfy the the importunity and expectation of their brethren of Scotland, they attaint the Arch-bishop of High Treason,* in the House of

*"In his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples) *pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used him.* And not only pardoned those enemies, but dispassionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them; and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, that they would pardon and pray for him. But though he did all this, yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, *that the parliament would hasten his execution.* And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery, (for that was one of the accusations for which he died,) he declared with sadness, 'That the several sects and divisions then in England (which 'he had laboured to prevent) were now like to bring the Pope a far greater 'harvest, than he could ever have expected without them;' and said, 'these sects and divisions introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an ima-'ginary religion,' and 'that we have lost the substance of religion by 'changing it into opinion;' and, 'that by these means the Church of Eng-'land, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into 'apparent danger by those [covenanters] which were his accusers.' To this purpose he spoke at his death; for which, and more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold." WALTON'S *Life of Bishop Sanderson.*

The conduct of Archbishop Laud in the whole of his misfortunes was consistent, dignified, and pious. "He was brought to the scaffold, Jan. 10, 1645, after he had endured some affronts in his anti-chamber in the Tower, by some sons of schism and sedition, who unseasonably, that morning he was preparing himself to appear before the Great Bishop of our souls, would have him give some satisfaction to *the godly*, (for so they called themselves,) for his persecutions, which he called DISCIPLINE. To whom he answered, *That he was now, shortly to give an account of all his actions at an higher*

Commons, and pass their bill by ordinance in the House of Peers, in which no more than seven Lords did concur to the sentence; but being sentenced howsoever, by the malice of the

and more equal tribunal, and desired he might not be disturbed in his preparations for it. Others asked him (to ruffle his soul into a passion, now he was fairly folding it up, to deliver it into the hands of his Redeemer,) 'What were the most comfortable words a man should die with in his mouth?' And he mildly answered, 'I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ:' adding meekly, (when asked *How a man at that time might express his assurance*,) 'That such assurance was to be found within, grounded on the word of God concerning Christ's dying for us, and that no words were able to express it rightly.'

"Having stripped him of all the honours of an archbishop, they would have denied him the privilege of a malefactor, to have his own worthy confessor Dr. Sterne, since Archbishop of York, about him; taking it so ill, that he would not admit of Marshall, (that was fitter to be the executioner, than a chaplain,) that because he would not die according to the humour of the Presbyterians, he should not die in the honourable way of an Archbishop. Being brought out of the tower to the scaffold, he ascended it with an extraordinarily cheerful and ruddy countenance, as if he had mounted rather to have beheld a triumph, than to be made a sacrifice; and came not there to die but to be translated, and exchange his mitre for the crown of martyrdom.

"The clearness of his conscience being legible in the cheerfulness of his dying looks, as the serenity of the weather is understood by the glory and ruddiness of the setting sun; there desiring to have room to die, and declaring that he was more willing to go out of the world, than any man to send him; he first took care to stop the chinks near the block, and remove the people he spied under it, expressing himself that it was no part of his desire that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people; in which desire it pleased God he was so far gratified, that there remaining a small hole from a knot in the midst of a board, the fore-finger of his right hand at his death happened to stop that also: and then at once pardoning and overcoming his enemies, many of whom coming thither to insult, went away to weep for him, who had this peculiar happiness with his master, that he gained that reverence by his adversity, that neither he nor any gained in prosperity."

His prayer on the scaffold is peculiarly affecting. After commending himself to "the riches and fulness of God's mercies," he thus most devoutly poured out his soul before the mercy-seat of Heaven: "Look upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ, but not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ; that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I most humbly beseech thee, give me now, in this great instance, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the king's happiness, and this church's preservation. And my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken!) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I come now to suffer: I say, in this particular of treason. But otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord, pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me. And when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes. Amen.

"And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood, in this more than miserable kingdom, O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O Lord, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of religion, the establishment of the King and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor church in her truth, peace and patrimony, and the

Presbyterians both Scots and English, he was brought to act the last part of his tragedy on the 10th of January, as shall be told at large in another place. This could presage no good success to the following treaty. For though covenants sometimes may be written in blood, yet I find no such way for commencing treaties. And to say truth, the King's commissioners soon found what they were to trust to: For, having condescended to accompany the commissioners from the Houses of Parliament, and to be present at a sermon preached by one of their chaplains, on the first day of the meeting, they found what little hopes they had of a good conclusion. The preacher's name was Love, a Welshman, and one of the most fiery Presbyters in all the pack: In whose sermon there were many passages very scandalous to his Majesty's person, and derogatory to his honour; stirring up the people against the treaty, and incensing them against the King's commissioners; telling them, 'that they came 'with hearts full of blood; and that there was as great a dis-'tance betwixt the treaty and peace, as there was between hea-'ven and hell.' Of this the Oxon Lords complained, but could obtain no reparation for the King or themselves; though afterwards Cromwell paid the debt, and brought him to the scaffold when he least looked for it."*

settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws and in their native liberties. And when thou hast done all this in mere mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious dutiful obedience to thee and thy commandments all their days. So, Amen Lord Jesu, Amen!"

* The contrast between Mr. Love and Archbishop Laud is very striking. It is stated "as a circumstance contributing to make the death of the former appear the more judicial, that, when Archbishop Laud was beheaded, this Mr. Love, in a most inhuman triumph, flourished his handkerchief dipt in the blood of that great and venerable prelate."

Finding that the Parliament did not act according to his wishes, Love and some other Presbyterians entered into a conspiracy for the overthrow of their formerly much-esteemed Republican government. After a trial of six days, he was convicted of treason (June 27, 1651) and the court pronounced sentence of death upon him as a traitor. In his defence he said: "I have been called a malignant and apostate; but God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest: I still retain my covenanting principles, from which, by the grace of God, I will never depart. Neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland; but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I would count it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the Parliament's quarrel, against the forces raised against the late King; not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty: and I am so far from repenting, that, were it to do again upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever, though I wish from my soul that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished."—What hold could any government have on a man who avowed sentiments like these? His "covenanting principles" were so accommodating as to be turned with equal facility in favour of a Commonwealth or a Monarchy. In one of Sir Henry Vane's letters to Cromwell, a little before that period, he writes thus concerning Mr. Love: "I am daily confirmed in my opinion, that he and his brethren do still retain their old leaven, and are

He afterwards thus alludes to the great schism among the Puritans and the treaty that was proposed between the King and Parliament:

[not] ingenuous at all towards us, whatever they pretend; but have dexterity enough to take us on our weak side, thinking thereby to save themselves entire in their principles, and gain some, while this decisive work in Scotland be over. For it is plain unto me, that they do not judge us A LAWFUL MAGISTRACY, or esteem any thing TREASON that is acted by them to destroy us, in order to bring the King of Scots as *head of the Covenant*. Yet whilst such, they help up their party in the face of us, and for their better encouragement meet with clemency and favour from us; unto which you are much depended upon to cast in also your influence, to balance your brother Heron who is taken for a back-friend to *the Black Coats*."

The reader will perceive from this extract, that Love and his friends were concerned in that enterprize of Charles the Second, which terminated fatally to his cause in the defeat at Worcester. Great intercession was made to the men in power in behalf of Mr. Love. The republican Colonel Hammond, brother to the loyal Doctor, (see page 297,) writes thus to Cromwell, July 22: "When I had the honour to know you well, it was your lordship's way in your affairs, (and sure it was the good way, the way of God,) to give a full summons before blood was shed. I cannot say but this poor man [Love] might have avoided his offence from what was to be known; but such an eminent warning as this, if not received, will leave like offenders for ever altogether inexcusable. But, most of all, the hearts of *many*, if not *the most*, of good men here, of all parties, are exceedingly set to save his life from this ground—that it may be a means to unite the hearts of all good men the bent of whose spirits is set to walk *in the ways of the Lord*. For certainly though some of them are under severe bondage, and do not only want themselves spiritual liberty, but are at enmity with those that have it, from their own dark forms and principles, yet they [the Presbyterians] are to be preferred far before a generation *that does much increase*, who are turned aside out of the good way, and turn the grace of God into wantonness, and pursue iniquity with greediness, following the lusts of their own corrupted hearts, till they are carried to that excess of wickedness that is hardly to be named among christians. Such as these, and the irreconcileable generation of Cavaliers, do especially boast and please themselves in their hopes of the destruction of this poor man."

But all intercession was unavailing: He was brought to the scaffold on the 22d of August. In his address to the people, he said, among other things: "I am this day made a spectacle unto God, to angels, and to men. I am made a grief to the godly, a laughing-stock to the wicked, and a gazing-stock to all: yet, blessed be God, I am not a terror to myself: though there is but a little between me and death, there is but a little between me and heaven.—I am for a regulated mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed, in my place, the forces of the late king; because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down to anarchy. I was always against putting the King to death, whose person I promised in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, to cut off the political head. I die with my judgment against the *engagement*: I pray God to forgive them who impose, and them who take it, and preserve them who refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning the present government: I die with my judgment against it. And I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants and protestations, which were imposed by the two houses of Parliament. I have abundant peace in my own mind, that I have set myself against the sins and apostacies of the time. Although my faithfulness hath procured me the ill-will of men, it hath secured me peace with God: I have lived in peace, and I shall die in peace." How far his rancour personally against the king could consist with these protestations of his love for "a mixed monarchy," the reader may easily determine. The whole of his address and of his prayer, however, was highly confirmatory of the reasoning contained in Vane's letter to Cromwell. The account of Love's

"These proposals did not satisfy the Puritan English, much less the Presbyterian Scots, who were joined in that treaty. They were resolved upon the abolition of Episcopacy, both root and branch; of having the militia for seven years absolutely, and afterwards to be disposed of as the King and the Houses could agree; and finally, of excercising such an unlimited power in the war of Ireland, that the King should neither be able to grant a cessation, to make a peace, nor to show mercy unto any of that people on their due submission. And from the rigour of these terms, they were not to be drawn by the King's commissioners; which rendered the whole treaty fruitless, and frustrated the expectation of all loyal subjects, who languished under the calamity of this woful war. For as the treaty cooled, so the war grew hotter; managed for the most part by the same hands, but by different heads: concerning which, we are to know, that, not long after the beginning of this everlasting parliament, the Puritan faction became subdivided into Presbyterians and Independents.* And at the

trial and execution states: "He then prayed *with a loud voice*, saying [among other things]: "Father, my hour is come. Thy poor creature can say, without vanity and falsehood, he hath desired to glorify thee on earth; glorify thou him now in heaven. He hath desired to bring the souls of other men to heaven; let now his soul be brought to heaven. Lord, heal the breaches of these nations: Make England and Scotland as one staff in the Lord's hand; that Ephraim may not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; but that both may fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines. O that men of the Protestant religion, engaged in the same cause and covenant, may not delight to spill each other's blood, but engage against the common adversary of religion and liberty! God shew mercy to all who fear him. Lord, think upon our covenant-keeping brethren of the kingdom of Scotland. Keep them faithful to thee; and let not those who have invaded them overspread their land. Prevent the shedding of more christian blood, if it seem good in thine eyes. God shew mercy to thy poor servant, who is now giving up the ghost. O blessed Jesus, apply thy blood, not only for my justification unto life, but also for my comfort, for the quieting of my soul, that so I may be in the joys of heaven before I come to the possession of heaven."

The behaviour of these two men in the awful article of death was exceedingly dissimilar. It is not difficult to say, which of them witnessed the best and most christian confession before men, and behaved in a manner befitting such a solemn occasion. Love had stated to the court on his trial: "The Act of August 2, 1650, makes it TREASON to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither. Here my counsel acquaints me with my danger, because, being present when letters were read at my house, *I am guilty of concealment:* and therefore I lay myself at your feet for mercy." Yet, though thus self-convicted of treason against the government under which he lived, in the settlement of which he had greatly interested himself, he could say boldly on the scaffold: "I see men thirst after my blood, which will only hasten my happiness and their ruin. For though I am of a mean parentage, my blood is the blood of a christian, of a minister, of AN INNOCENT MAN, and of A MARTYR, and this I speak *without vanity!*"

These and other circumstances, when impartially considered, will produce this conclusion—Archbishop Laud manifested in his dying moments much of the contrite and humble spirit of the publican, while Love displayed many traits of the boasting Pharisee.

* In the letter of Vossius, already quoted, page 314, he proceeds to say:—"But those who are opposed to the Bishops, are of different judgments on one topic. Many of them wish all the power of church-government to be

first, the Presbyterians carried all before them both in camp and council: But growing jealous at the last of the Earl of Essex, whose late miscarriage in the West was looked on as a plot to betray his army, they suffered him to be wormed out of his commission; and gave the chief command of all to Sir Thomas Fairfax, with whose good services and affections they were well acquainted: To him they joined Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell, who from a private Captain had obtained to be Lieutenant to the Earl of Manchester in the associated Counties, as they commonly called them; and having done good service in the battle of Marston-moor, was thought the fittest man to conduct their forces. And on the other side, the Earl of Brentford, (but better known by the name of General Ruthven,) who had commanded the King's army since the fight at Edge-hill, was outed of his place by a Court-contrivement, and that command conferred upon Prince Rupert, the King's sister's son, not long before made Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness.

"By these new Generals, the fortune of the war, and consequently the fate of the kingdom which depended on it, came to be decided. And at the first, the King seemed to have much the better by the taking of Leicester; though afterwards it turned to his disadvantage: for many of the soldiers, being loaded with the spoil of the place, withdrew themselves for the disposing of their booty, and came not back unto the army,

vested in a Presbyterian Assembly. But the rest of them declare, that such a yoke is more grievous than that of the Bishops: They contend, therefore, that such power must be committed to each pastor separately, that he may teach the people and govern them according to the word of God. The latter are called INDEPENDENTS, to distinguish them from the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, as they style themselves. Pym, whose influence in Parliament is very great, is said to be of the same sentiments as the Presbyterians. But many persons who seem to agree with him on other points, oppose him in this: And it is the opinion of multitudes, that, though these two parties may effect a double triumph, in the destruction of the whole of the king's authority and in the abolition of Episcopacy, yet in a short time they will be completely at variance with each other; because multitudes entertain no less antipathy to the power of the Presbytery than to that of the Bishops."

The Independents displayed this very hatred of Presbyterianism, before the *Act of Uniformity* was passed at the Restoration, as Clarendon informs us in his *Life*: "It is very true, from the time of his majesty's coming into England, he had not been reserved in the admission of those who had been his greatest enemies, to his presence.—The PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS he received with grace, and did believe that he should work upon them by persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common arguments by the conversation he had had in Scotland, and was very able to confute them. —The INDEPENDENTS had as free access, both that he might hinder any conjunction between the other factions, and because they seemed wholly to depend upon his majesty's will and pleasure without resorting to the Parliament, in which they had no confidence; and had rather that EPISCOPACY *should flourish again, than that the* PRESBYTERIANS *should govern.*—The King had always admitted the QUAKERS for his divertisement and mirth; because he thought, that of all the factions they were the most innocent, and had least of malice in their natures against his person and his government."

till it was too late. News also came, that Fairfax with his army had laid siege to Oxon, which moved the King to return back as far as Daventry, there to expect the re-assembling of his scattered companies. Which happening as Fairfax had desired, he marched hastily after him, with an intent to give him battle on the first opportunity: In which he was confirmed by two great advantages; first, by the seasonable coming of Cromwell with a fresh body of horse, which reached him not until the evening before the fight: and secondly, by the intercepting of some letters sent from General Goring, in which his Majesty was advised to decline all occasion of battle, till he could come up to him with his Western forces. This hastened the design of fighting in the adverse party, who fall upon the King's army in the fields near Naisby, (till that time an obscure village,) in Northamptonshire: on Saturday, the 19th of June, the battles joined; and at first his Majesty had the better of it, and might have had so at the last, if Prince Rupert, having routed one wing of the enemy's horse, had not been so intent upon the chase of the flying enemy, that he left his foot open to the other wing; who, pressing hotly on them, put them to an absolute rout, and made themselves masters of his camp, carriage, and cannon; and, amongst other things, of his Majesty's cabinet: In which they found many of his letters, most of them written to the Queen: which afterwards were published by command of the Houses, to their great dishonour. For whereas the Athenians, on the like success, had intercepted a packet of letters from Philip King of Macedon, their most bitter enemy, unto several friends, they met with one amongst the rest to the Queen Olympias; the rest being all broken open before the council, that they might be advertised of the enemy's purposes, the letter to the Queen was returned untouched; the whole Senate thinking it a shameful and dishonest act to pry into the conjugal secrets betwixt man and wife.*

* The following quotation from CLARENDON's *Life*, though highly honourable to the character of the King as a good husband, is derogatory to him as the Supreme Governour of a free nation, and affords a good clue to many of the misfortunes which befel his cause under this system of favouritism and consequent mismanagement. From such disclosures as these, we must form a high opinion of the loyalty and devotedness of those excellent men who, while they frequently were themselves sufferers from this unrighteous system of government, adhered with invincible integrity to their liege Lord and his forlorn hopes to the very close of his unsuccessful enterprizes.

"The King's affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height: insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment. And did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her: which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections; so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs, (from which she had been

"This miserable blow was followed by the surrendry of Bristol, the storming of Bridgwater, the surprise of Hereford, and, at the end of winter, with the loss of Chester. During which time the King moved up and down with a running army, but with such ill fortune as most commonly attends a declining side. Tired with repulse upon repulse, and having lost the small remainder of his forces near Stow-on-the-Wold, he puts himself, in the beginning of May, into the hands of the Scots commissioners, residing then at Southwell in the County of Nottingham, a manor-house belonging to the See of York. For the Scots having mastered the northern parts, in the year 1644, spent the next year in harrassing the country, even as far as Hereford; which they besieged for a time, and perhaps had carried it, if they had not been called back by the letters of some special friends, to take care of Scotland, then almost reduced to the King's obedience, by the noble Marquis of Montrose. On which advertisement they depart from Hereford, face Worcester, and so marched northward: from whence they presently dispatch Col. David Lesly, with six thousand horse; and with their foot employed themselves in the siege of Newark; which brought down their commissioners to Southwell,

carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham, whilst he lived,) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them; in which her passions were always strong.

"She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing and meddling with nothing, during the time of that great favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things, and disposing all things; and thought it but just, that she should dispose of all favours and preferments, as he had done; at least, that nothing of that kind might be done, without her privity: Not considering, that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone, was not with reference to his person but his power; and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint, if it resided in any other person than the King himself. And she so far concurred with the King's inclination, that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power, than that all the world should take notice that[she was the entire mistress of it: Which in truth (what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in the mischief) was the foundation upon which the first and the utmost prejudices to the king and his government were raised and prosecuted. And it was her Majesty's and the kingdom's misfortune, that she had not any person about her who had either ability or affection to inform and advise her of the temper of the kingdom, or humour of the people, or who thought either worth the caring for.

"When the disturbances grew so rude, as to interrupt this harmony, and the Queen's fears, and indisposition which proceeded from those fears, disposed her to leave the kingdom, which the King, to comply with her, consented to, (and if that fear had not been predominant in her, her jealousy and apprehension that the King would, at some time, be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable conditions, would have dissuaded her from that voyage); to make all things therefore as sure as might be, that her absence should not be attended with any such inconvenience, his Majesty made a solemn promise to her at parting, that he would receive no person into any favour or trust, who had disserved him without her privity and consent; and that, as she had undergone so many reproaches and calumnies at the entrance into the war, so he would never make any peace, but by her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her."

before remembered. From thence the King is hurried in post-haste to the town of Newcastle, which they looked on as their strongest hold. And being now desirous to make even with their masters, to receive the wages of their iniquity, and being desirous to get home in safety with that spoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt the Tweed and Hereford, they prest the King to fling up all the towns and castles which remained in his power, or else they durst not promise to continue him under their protection.

" This turn seemed strange unto the King; who had not put himself into the power of the Scots, had he not been assured before-hand by the French Ambassador, of more courteous usage; to whom the Scots commissioners had engaged themselves, not only to receive his person into their protection, but all those also which repaired unto him, as the King signified by his letters to the Marquis of Ormond. But having got him into their power, they forget those promises, and bring him under the necessity of writing to the Marquisses of Montrose and Ormond to discharge their soldiers; and to his governours of towns in England, to give up their garrisons. But then, to make him some amends, they give him some faint hopes of suffering him to bestow a visit on his realm of Scotland, (his ancient and native kingdom, as he commonly called it,) there to expect the bettering of his condition in the changes of time. But the Scots hearing of his purpose, and having long ago cast off the yoke of subjection, voted against his coming, in a full assembly; so that we may affirm of him, as the Scripture doth of our Saviour Christ, viz. *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* (John i. 2.) The like resolution was taken also by the commissioners of that nation, and the chief leaders of their army, who had contracted with the two houses of Parliament, and for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds in ready money, sold and betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, as certainly they would have done the Lord Christ himself for half the money, if he had *bowed the Heavens, and come down to visit them.* Being delivered over unto such commissioners as were sent by the Houses to receive him, he was by them conducted on the third of February, to his house of Holdenby, not far from the good town of Northampton; where

After applying these remarks to the king's conduct respecting the conclusion of the Oxford treaty, which failed as much through this weakness in his Majesty, as through the indirect management of some of the Parliamentary Commissioners, the noble historian proceeds to state: "About the time that the treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And she resolved, with a good quantity of ammunition and arms, to make what haste she could to the King; having at her first landing expressed by a letter to his Majesty, her apprehension of an ill peace by that treaty; and declared, that she would never live in England, if she might not have a guard for the security of her person. Which letter came accidentally afterwards into the hands of the Parliament, of which they made use to the Queen's disadvantage."

he was kept so close, that none of his domestick servants, no not so much as his own Chaplains were suffered to have any access unto him."*

Having stated the various indignities to which King Charles was subjected by his relentless persecutors, Dr. Heylin closes his account thus: "In which conjuncture, 1646, it was thought expedient by the Houses of Parliament, to send commissioners to Newcastle, and by them to present such propositions to his sacred Majesty, as they conceived to be agreeable to his present condition. His Majesty had spent the greatest part of his time since he came to Newcastle, in managing a dispute about Church-government with Mr. Alexander Henderson, the most considerable champion for Presbytery in the Kirk of Scotland. Henderson was possest of all advantages of books and helps, which might enable him to carry on such a disputation. But his Majesty had the better cause, and the stronger arguments. Furnished with which, (though destitute of all other helps than what he had within himself,) he prest his adversary so hard, and gave such satisfactory answers unto all his cavils, that he remained master of the field, as may sufficiently appear by the printed papers. And it was credibly reported, that Henderson was so

* "And whereas the then usual law of expulsion was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum, enjoining to quit the own within twenty-four hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the disposal either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils; the Rev. Dr. Sheldon, now Lord Bishop of London, and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, and Dr. Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an order from a Committee of Parliament, were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the Canonry of Christ Church, though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, acting as public orator in flattering there the then-pretending Chancellor, yet he had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that infamous robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer who was commanded to take Dr. Sheldon and him into custody upon their designed removal, Colonel Evelin, then governor of Wallingford Castle, (though a man of as opposite principles to church and churchmen as any of the adverse party,) wholly declined the employment, solemnly protesting, that if they came to him they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

"But these remorses proved but of little effect; the Prebend of Christ Church being suddenly supplied by a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement: where accordingly the good doctor remained, though he were demanded by his Majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight at the treaty there, which then was again re-inforced. The pretence upon which both he and the reverend doctor Sheldon were refused, was, that they were prisoners; and probably the gaining that, was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the excellent prince required that assistance which might consist with absence, and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place. The which sermon his Majesty and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions."—Dr. Fell's *Life of Dr. Hammond.*

confounded with grief and shame, that he fell into a desperate sickness, which in fine brought him to his grave; professing, as some say, that he died a convert; and frequently extolling those great abilities which, when it was too late, he had found in his Majesty. Of the particular passages of this disputation, the English commissioners had received a full information; and therefore purposely declined all discourse with his Majesty, by which the merit of their propositions might be called in question. All that they did, was to insist upon the craving of a positive answer, that so they might return unto those that sent them; and such an answer they shall have, as will little please them. For though his fortunes were brought so low, that it was not thought safe for him to deny them any thing; yet he demurred upon the granting of such points as neither in honour nor in conscience could be yielded to them. Amongst which, those demands which concerned religion, and the abolishing of the ancient government of the church by Arch-bishops and Bishops, may very justly be supposed to be none of the least. But this delay being taken by the Houses for a plain denial, and wanting money to corrupt the unfaithful Scots, who could not otherwise be tempted to betray their Sovereign; they past an ordinance for abolishing the episcopal government, and setling their lands upon trustees for the use of the state.

"Amongst which uses, none appeared so visible, even to vulgar eyes, as the raising of huge sums of money to content the Scots, who from a REMEDY were looked on as the SICKNESS of the common-wealth. The Scots' demands amounted to five hundred thousand pounds of English money, which they offered to make good on a just account; but were content for quietness sake to take two hundred thousand pounds in full satisfaction. And yet they could not have that neither, unless they would betray the King to the power of his enemies. At first they stood on terms of honour; and the Lord Chancellor Loudon ranted to some tune (as may be seen in divers of his printed speeches,) concerning the indelible character of disgrace and infamy which must be for ever imprinted on them, if they yielded to it. But in the end, Presbyterians on both sides did so play their parts, that the sinful contract was concluded,† by which the King was to be put into the hands of such commissioners as the two Houses should appoint to receive his person.

† In a succeeding part of this narrative it will be seen that the King remained only four months in the hands of his Presbyterian adversaries, before the Independents in the army seized upon his person. This frustration of their hopes and ultimate designs offended the Scotch Parliament, who deputed the Duke of Hamilton, in 1648, to invade England with a powerful army, and to fight for the King under the disguise of a fresh oath called THE ENGAGEMENT. This expedition and its ostensible purpose were disliked by the General Assembly of Scotland. The *Sample of True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty* says, "This Declaration of the Assembly was made to the estates who had by an Act of Parliament raised an army to go into England, to rescue the King out

The Scots to have one hundred thousand pounds in ready money, and the public faith (which the Houses very prodigally pawned upon all occasions) to secure the other. According

of the hands of the sectaries; which expedition the Assembly of the Kirk opposed, and declaimed against, and afterwards did excommunicate the Duke of Hamilton and the whole army for engaging in that expedition against the consent of the Assembly." In Baylie's recommendation of the Presbyterian government (by authority) he states its *mildness*, and the *infrequent occurrence* of excommunication, as circumstances which ought to induce the English nation cordially to adopt it. He says: "It is a singular rarity among them to see any heart so hard as not to be mollified and yield before that stroke be given. Excommunications are so strange in all the Reformed Churches, that in a whole Province a man in all his life will scarce be witness to one; and, among them who are cut off by that dreadful sword, very few do fall in the States' hand to be troubled with any civil inconvenience." In the particular instance now adduced, it is true, "very few did fall into the States' hands," because it was a case in which the *civil* power and the *ecclesiastical* were at variance. But these "mild ecclesiastics" proceeded against the delinquents to the extent of their power. "The Commissioners of the General Assembly did, by their acts of Oct. 6, and Dec. 4, 1648, appoint church-censures to be inflicted on those who had been concerned in that Engagement, in order to bring them to repentance. And the following Assembly of July 26, 1649, approved what these Commissioners had done, and farther appointed such of the Engagers as remained obstinate and impenitent, after due process in the Ecclesiastical Judicatories, to be excommunicated." Those who know what a fearful thing a Presbyterian excommunication was in those days, will find no difficulty in forming a due estimate of the intolerance of the Presbytery.

But a perusal of the correspondence between "the Commissioners of the General Assembly" and "the Committee of Estates of Parliament," on that occasion, will serve to elucidate the mercenary and cruel spirit which then predominated. The former declared: "We call to record the Searcher of all hearts, the Judge of the world, that our not concurring with your Lordships' proceedings hitherto hath not flowed from want of zeal against sectaries, for the suppression of whom and for the advancement of a work of reformation we are ready to hazard all *in a lawful way;* nor from any remissness in that which concerns his Majesty's true honour and happiness, and the preservation of monarchical government in him and his posterity; nor from any want of tenderness of the privileges of Parliament; nor from want of sympathy with our afflicted and oppressed brethren in England: nor from partial or sinistrous respect to any party or person whatsoever within the kingdom; but from mere tenderness in the point of security of religion and the union between the kingdoms, and from the unsatisfactoriness of the grounds of your Lordships' Declaration.—The wars of God's people are called 'the wars of the Lord. (Num. xxi, 14; 2 Chron. xx, 15.) And if our eating and drinking, much more our engaging in war, must be for God and his glory; (1 Cor. x, 31.) 'Whatsoever we do in word or deed, we are commanded to do all in the name of the Lord Jesus,' and so for his glory. (Col. iii, 17.) The kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof is to be sought in the first place and before all other things. (Matt. vi, 33.) It was the best flower and garland in the former expeditions of this nation, that they were for God and for religion *principally and mainly*. But if the principal end of this present engagement were for the glory of God, how comes it to pass that not so much as one of the desires of the Kirk, for the safety and security of religion in the said engagement, is to this day satisfied or granted; but on the contrary, such courses are taken as are destructive to religion? And if God's glory be intended, what meaneth the employing and protecting in this army so many blasphemers, persecutors of piety, disturbers of divine worship, and others guilty of notorious and crying sins? Again, how can it be pretended, that the good of religion is principally aimed at, when it is proposed and declared, that the King's Majesty shall be brought to some of his houses in or near London, with honour, freedom and safety, before eve

unto which agreement his Majesty is sold by his own subjects, and betrayed by his servants; by so much wiser (as they thought) than the traitor Judas, by how much they had made a better market, and raised the price of the commodity which they were to sell. And being thus sold, he is delivered, for the use of those that bought him, into the custody of the Earl of Pembroke, (who must be one in all their errands,) the Earl of Denbigh, and the Lord Mountague of Boughton, with twice as many members of the lower House; with whom he takes his journey towards Holdenby, before remembered, on the third

there be any security had from him, or so much as any application made to him, for the good of religion? What is this, but to postpone the honour of God, the liberties of the Gospel, the safety of God's people to a human interest, and to leave religion in a condition of uncertainty, unsettledness, and hazard, while it is strongly endeavoured to settle and make sure somewhat else."

To these remarks the Committee of the Scotch Parliament opposed the following: "We answer by acknowledging and believing, that all the wars of the people of God should be the wars of God, undertaken at the command of those who have lawful authority under God, as were the wars by the command of Moses, Joshua, the judges and kings of Judah, and as undertaken by warrant from God's vicegerents, so for an honest cause, for the glory of God. But whereas it is assumed that *this engagement is not such*, we deny it; because it hath the warrant of lawful authority—the estates of Parliament: and the cause being honest to do a duty commanded of God to our prince, God is glorified by doing that duty. The relieving of our King out of prison is a duty: 'If my kingdom,' says our Lord, 'were of this world, 'then *would my servants fight*, that I should not be delivered to the Jews.' (John xviii, 36.) Our Lord suppones it was a common duty, that subjects should fight to prevent the captivity of their King: And if a war be lawful to prevent captivity, is it not lawful to deliver him from that base captivity? Are we less obliged in duty to our native prince than Abraham to his kinsman Lot? who engaged in a war for rescuing him, notwithstanding Lot had associated himself in war with wicked men, the Sodomites. (Gen. xiv.) Are we less obliged than David and his associates to their captive wives, who engaged in war for their freedom? (1 Sam. xxx.) As for the duty of honour, for performance whereof we have engaged ourselves, we believe it is a duty commanded by God himself in the fifth commandment. (Prov. xxiv, 22; 1 Pet. ii, 16, 17.) We are forbidden to use our christian liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, for withholding or withdrawing duty. Yea Pagans by the light of nature, reading the law of nature, which is from the God of nature, do use all honour to their kings. Yea holy Samuel, undoubtedly zealous of God's honour, notwithstanding he knew certainly by Divine revelation that God had rejected Saul, yet honoured him before the people. (1 Sam. xv, 30.)"

But the most consummate piece of hypocrisy was displayed, when the reverend divines of the General Assembly, who had inculcated the necessity of imposing their covenant on others, could deliberately avow the following sentiments: "The engagement is carried on by such means and ways, as tend to the destroying of religion, by *ensnaring and forcing the consciences of the people of God*, with unlawful bands and oaths, and oppressing the persons and estates of such as have been most active and zealous for religion and the Covenant. All which is strengthened and authorized by acts of Parliament, appointing that 'all that do not obey or [that] persuade others not to obey 'the resolutions of Parliament and Committee anent this engagement, or 'who shall not subscribe the act and declaration of the 10th of June, 1648, 'imposed upon all the subjects, shall be holden as enemies to the cause and 'to religion.'"—How abhorrent to every christian principle and humane feeling is this attempt, in which the ministers of the gospel of peace and the Scottish legislature vie with each other, to legitimate rebellion by quoting the holy scriptures for their seditious proceedings!

of February:* And there so closely watched and guarded, that none of his own servants are permitted to repair unto him. Marshal and Caryl, two great sticklers in behalf of Presbytery, (but such as after warped to the Independents,) are by the Houses nominated to attend as Chaplains.* But he refused to hear them in their prayers or preachings, unless they would officiate by the public Liturgy, and bind themselves unto the rules of the church of England: Which not being able to obtain, he moves the houses by his message of the 17th of that Month, to have two Chaplains of his own. Which most unchristianly and most barbarously they denied to grant him.†

* "These two Presbyterian chaplains [Caryl and Marshall] regularly performed divine worship at Holmby-house in Northamptonshire. His Majesty however never attended, but spent his Sabbaths in private; and though they waited at table, he would not allow them to ask a blessing. The Oxford historian, who mentions this circumstance, relates the following curious anecdote: 'It is said, that Marshall did, on a time, put himself more forward than was meet to say grace; and, while he was long in forming his chaps, as the manner was among the saints, and making ugly faces, his Majesty said grace himself, and was fallen to his meat, and had eaten up some part of his dinner, before Marshall had ended the blessing: but Caryl was not so impudent.'"

In the life of Marshall, with relation to the early part of his career, it is observed, "He was as conformable as could be desired, reading divine service, wearing the surplice, receiving and administering the sacrament kneeling: approving, commending and extolling episcopacy and the liturgy; observing all the holidays with more than ordinary diligence, preaching upon most of them. This he did so long as he had any hopes of rising that way. His ambition was such, I have great reason to believe, that he was once an earnest suitor for a deanery, which is the next step to a bishopric; the loss of which made him turn schismatic. His son-in-law Nye was heard to say, 'that if they had made his father a bishop, before he had been too 'far engaged, it might have prevented all the war: and since he cannot rise 'so high as a bishop, he will pull the bishops as low as himself: yea, if he 'can, lower than he was himself when he was at Godmanchester.'" It is also related of Marshall, that he once "petitioned the King for a deanery, and at another time for a bishopric, and being refused, his Majesty told him at Holmby, that he [Marshall] would on this account overthrow all."

† In a subsequent page (351) it will be seen that his Majesty was ultimately gratified in his desire of enjoying the conversation and prayers of his chaplains. The Presbyterians pretended, that the Independents were the actual murderers of the king, and that themselves were guiltless of the great offence. But let any man reflect on the scandalous and cruel treatment which his Majesty endured at the hands of the Presbyterians, and he will exclaim, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!* Few circumstances gave them more sensible chagrine than any allusion to the courtesy and respect manifested by the Army to the captive monarch,—a course of conduct so opposite to the Puritanic severity which the royal sufferer had received from the Presbyterians. Listen to the vituperative expressions of Richard Baxter, who to the very close of life could not endure the mention of the greater apparent kindness of the Independents: "While the King was at Hampton Court the mutable hypocrites first pretended an extraordinary care of his honour, liberty, safety, and conscience. They blamed *the austerity of the Parliament, who had denied him the attendance of his own Chaplains* and of his friends in whom he took most pleasure. They gave liberty for his friends and Chaplains to come to him: they pretended that they would save him from the incivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. Whether this were while they tried what terms they could make with him for themselves, or while they acted any other part; it is certain that the King's old adherents began to extol the

"Having reduced him to this strait, they press him once again with their propositions; which being the very same which were sent to Newcastle, could not in probability receive any other answer. This made them keep a harder hand upon him, than they did before; presuming, that they might be able to extort those concessions from him by the severity and solitude of his restraint, when their persuasions were too weak, and their arguments not strong enough to induce him to it. But, great God! how fallacious are the thoughts of men! How wretchedly do we betray ourselves to those sinful hopes which never shall be answerable to our expectation! The Presbyterians had battered down Episcopacy by the force of an Ordinance; outed the greatest part of the regular Clergy of their cures and benefices; advanced their new form of government, by the votes of the Houses; and got the King into their power, to make sure work of it. But when they thought themselves secure, they were most unsafe. For being in the height of all their glories and projectments, one Joice, a cornet of the army, comes thither with a party of horse, removes his guards, and takes him with them to their head-quarters, which were then at Woburn, a town upon the North-west Road in the County of Bedford:* followed, not long after, by such Lords and others as were commanded by the Houses to attend upon him; who, not being very acceptable to the principal officers, were within very few weeks discharged of that service. By means whereof, the Presbyterians lost all those great advantages which they had

Army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more distastefully than before. When the Parliament offered the King's propositions for concord, (which Vane's faction made as high and unreasonable as they could, that they might come to nothing,) the Army forsooth offer him proposals of their own, which the King liked better: but which of them to treat with, he did not know. *At last*, on *the sudden* the judgment of the army changed, and they began to cry for justice against the King; and with vile hypocrisy, to publish their repentance, and to cry GOD MERCY for their kindness to the King, and confess *that they were under a temptation*: but in all this, Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of the Council of War appeared not: the instruments of all this work must be the common soldiers." BAXTER'S *Life and Times*.

* The flimsy pretence has been already detailed, page 346, under which the Rev. Doctors Sheldon and Hammond were purposely prevented from attending his majesty on a former occasion. Bishop Fell thus relates the subsequent concession of the army:

"In the mean time his Sacred Majesty, sold by his Scottish into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and denied that common charity which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of divines, though he with importunity desired it, he being taken from the Parliament Commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them (who were to be cruel at another rate) which was withheld by the two Houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of Dr. Hammond. Accordingly the good Doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Caversham, and Hampton Court, as also thence into the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas 1647; at which time his Majesty's attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest."

fancied to themselves, and shall be better husbanded to the use of their adversaries, though it succeeded worse to his Majesty's person, than possibly it might have done, if they had suffered him to remain at Holdenby, where the Houses fixt him.*

* Baxter says: "The king's old adherents began to extol the army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more distastefully than before." This is very true: Hear how good old Judge JENKINS expressed himself on that occasion, in his pamphlet entitled *An Apology for the Army:*

"The army, to their eternal honour, have freed the King from imprisonment at Holmby. It was high treason to imprison his Majesty: to free his Majesty from that imprisonment, was to deliver him out of traitorous hands, which was the army's bounden duty by the law of God and the land. That party refused to suffer his Majesty to have two of his Chaplains for the exercise of his conscience who had not taken the covenant; free access was not permitted. Doth the army use his Majesty so? All men see, that access to him is free; and such Chaplains as his Majesty desired are now attending on his grace. Who are the guilty persons? the army, who, in this action of delivering the king, act according to law, or the said party who acted treasonably against the law? The two Houses are no more a Parliament, than a body without a head a man. The two Houses can make no court without the King; they are no body corporate without the King; they all, head and members, make one corporate body. TWO HOUSES, and a PARLIAMENT, are several things. They are guarded by armed men, divide the public money among themselves, and that party endeavours to bring in a foreign power [the Scots] to invade this land again. If they be no Parliament, as clearly they are none without his Majesty, they have no privileges, but do exercise an arbitrary, tyrannical and treasonable power over the people. You say, *The disobedience of the army is a sad public precedent, like to conjure up a spirit of universal disobedience.* I pray object not that conjuring up to the army, whereof you and the prevailing party in the Houses are guilty, who conjured up the spirit of universal disobedience against his Majesty, your and our only supreme governour. For the covenant you mention, it is an oath against the laws of the land, against the petition of right devised in Scotland, wherein the first article is, to maintain the reformed religion in the church of Scotland: and certainly there is no subject of the English nation doth know what *the Scottish religion is.* I believe the army took not the covenant. No man by the law can give an oath in a new case without an act of Parliament; and therefore the imposers thereof are very blameable, and guilty of the highest crime.

"The kingdom hath better assurance of reformation from the army than from the Houses, for that, in their military way, they have been just, faithful and honourable, they have kept their word: That party of the Houses have been constant to nothing but in dividing the public treasure among themselves, and in laying burthens upon the people; and in breaking all the oaths, vows and promises they ever made: As the army hath power, so now, adhering to the King, all the laws of God, nature, and man, are for them; their armies are just and blessed; and the King is bound in justice to reward his deliverers with honour, profit, and mere liberty of conscience. By the deliverance of the King and kingdom from the bondage of that party in the two Houses by the army, their renown will be everlasting; they secure themselves, they content and please the kingdom, city and country, as appears by their confluence to see his Majesty and the army, and their acclamations for his Majesty's safety and restitution; all which doth evidence to every one of the army, how acceptable the intentions of the army are to the people of this land, who have been so long inthralled. Sir Thomas Fairfax, let your worthiness remember your extraction and your lady's, by the grace and favour of the prince, to be in the rank of nobility. Remember what honour and glory the present age and all posterity will justly give to the restorer of the King to his throne, of the laws to their strength, and of the afflicted people of this land to peace: Let the colonels and commanders under you, and likewise our soldiery, rest assured, that

"This great turn happened on the fourth of June, Anno 1647, before he had remained but four months in the power of the Houses: Who having brought the war to the end desired, possest themselves of the King's person, and dismissed the Scots, resolved upon disbanding a great part of the army, that they might thereby ease the people of some part of their burthens. But some great officers of the army had their projects and designs apart, and did not think it consonant to common prudence, that they should either spend their blood, or consume their strength, in raising others to that power, which being acquired by themselves, might far more easily be retained, than it had been gotten.* Upon these grounds they are resolved against disbanding, stand on their guards, and draw together towards London, contrary to the will and express commandment of their former masters, by whom they were required to keep at a greater distance. The officers thereupon impeach some members of the lower House; and knowing of what great consequence it might be unto them to get the King into their power, a plot is laid to bring him into their head-quarters without noise and trouble; which was accordingly effected, as before is said. Thus have the Presbyterians of both nations, embroiled the kingdom first in tumults, and afterwards in a calamitous and destructive war, in which the sword was suffered to range at liberty, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. More goodly houses plundered and burnt down to the ground, more churches sacrilegiously profaned and spoiled, more blood poured out like water within four years' space, than had been done in the long course of civil wars between York and Lancaster. With all which spoil and public ruin, they purchased nothing to themselves but shame and infamy;† as may be shewn by taking a

they shall not only share in the renown of this action, but also shall have such remuneration as their haughty courage and so high a virtue doth deserve. This his Majesty can and will do, the Houses neither will nor can."

* "The Presbyterians, now in the fulness of their power, with the Parliament, the city of London, and the Scots at their command, openly avowed their hostility to a general toleration; and the victorious army, composed of Independents, and of various classes of religionists, perceived that they had lavished their blood merely to substitute one tyranny for another, and had conquered only for their own ruin. In this exigence they preferred petitions and remonstrances to the Parliament, and on the failure of these legal weapons, under the impulse of resentment and despair, resorted to violence, and destroyed the Presbyterian power, the government, and themselves. They became indeed the instruments of their superior officers, and were ultimately made the engine of Cromwell, by whom they, with the nation at large, were despoiled of their great political object, constitutional liberty, but were nevertheless gratified with their favourite Toleration." JACKSON'S *Goodwin*.

† "Peruse over all books, records and histories, and you shall find a principle in law, a rule in reason, and a trial in experience, that treason doth ever produce fatal and final destruction to the offender, and never attains to the desired end: (two incidents inseparably thereunto:) and therefore let all men abandon it, as the poisonous bait of the devil, and follow the precept in holy scripture, SERVE GOD, HONOUR THE KING, AND HAVE NO COMPANY WITH THE SEDITIOUS." COKE'S *Institutes*.

brief view of their true condition before and after they put the state into these confusions.

"And first, the Scots not long before their breaking out against their King, had in the court two Lords high stewards, and two grooms of the stole, successively one after another. And at their taking up of arms, they had a master of the horse, a captain of the guard, a keeper of the privy purse, seven grooms of eight in his Majesty's bed-chamber, and an equal number at the least of gentlemen-ushers, quarter-waiters, cup-bearers, carvers, sewers, and other officers, attending daily at the table.* I speak not here of those who had places in the stables, or below the stairs; or of the servants of those lords and gentlemen who either lived about the court, or had offices in it. All which together, make up so considerable a number, that the court might well be called an academy of the Scots nation; in which so many of all sorts had their breeding, maintenance, and preferment. Abroad, they had a Lieutenant of the Tower, a fortress of most consequence in all the Kingdom; and a master-gunner of the navy, an office of as great a trust as the other: and more of those monopolies, suits, and patents, which were conceived to be most grievous to the subjects, than all the English of the court. In the church they had two Deaneries, divers prebendaries, and so many ecclesiastical benefices, as equalled all the revenues of the Kirk of Scotland. All which they had lost, like Æsop's dog, catching after a shadow. And yet by catching at that shadow, they lost all those advantages which before they had both in court and country; and that not only for the present, but in all probability for the time to come. Such losers were the Scots by this brutish bargain; but whether out of pure zeal to the holy discipline, or their great love to filthy lucre, or the perverseness of their nature, or the rebellious humour of the nation, or of all together, let them judge that can.†

* "In the Privy Chamber, besides the carvers and cup-bearers, such a disproportion of the gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full table of waiters, each of them having a servant or two to attend upon him, I and my man were the only English in all the company." HEYLIN'S *Life of Laud.*

† "The whole frame of the ancient government of Scotland had been so entirely confounded by Cromwell, and new-modelled by the laws and customs of England, that is, those laws and customs which the Commonwealth had established; that he had hardly left footsteps by which the old might be traced out again. The power of the nobility was so totally suppressed and extinguished, that their persons found no more respect or distinction from the common people, than the acceptation they found from Cromwell, and the credit he gave them by some particular trust, drew to them. Their beloved Presbytery was become a term of reproach, and ridiculous; the pride and activity of their preachers subdued and reduced to the lowest contempt; and the standard of their religion remitted to the sole order and direction of their commander-in-chief. All criminal cases (except where the General thought it more expedient to proceed by martial law,) were tried and punished before Judges sent from England and by the laws of England; and matters of civil interest before itinerant Judges, who went twice a year in circuits

"If then the Scots became such losers by the bargain, (as most sure they did,) as sure it is that their dear brethren in the cause of Presbytery, the Puritans or Presbyterians in the realm of England, got as little by it. The English Puritans laid their heads and hands together to embroil the realm, out of a confidence, that, having alienated the greatest part of the tribes from the house of David, they might advance the golden calves of their Presbyteries, in Dan and Bethel, and all other places whatsoever within the land. And for the maintenance thereof, they had devoured (in conceit) all chapter-lands, and parcelled them amongst themselves into augmentations.* But no sooner had they driven this bargain, but a vote passed for selling those lands towards the payment of the debts of the commonwealth. Nor have they lived to see their dear Presbytery settled, or their lay-elders entertained in any one parish of the kingdom. For the advancement whereof, the Scots were first encouraged to begin at home, and afterwards to pursue their work by invading England.

"Nor fared it better with those great Achitophels of the popular party, who laboured in the raising of a new commonwealth, out of the ruins of a glorious and ancient monarchy. To which end they employed the Presbyterians, as the fittest instruments for drawing the people to their side, and preaching up the piety of their intentions; which plot they had been carrying on from the first coming of this King to the crown of England, till they had got his sacred person into their possession: Which made them a fit parallel to those husband-men in St. Matthew's gospel, (Matt. xxi. 38.) who said amongst themselves, 'This is the heir, come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance.' A commonwealth which they had founded, and so modelled in their brains, that neither Sir Thomas More's Utopia, nor the Lord Verulam's new Atlantis, nor Plato's Platform, nor any of the old ideas, were equal to it:

through the kingdom, and determined all matters of right by the rules and customs which were observed in England. They had liberty to send a particular number that was assigned to them, to sit in the Parliament of England, and to vote there with all liberty; which they had done. And in recompence thereof, all such monies were levied in Scotland, as were given by the Parliament of England, by which such contributions were raised, as were proportionable to the expense, which the army and garrisons which subdued them put the kingdom of England to. Nor was there any other authority to raise money in Scotland, but what was derived from the Parliament or General of England. And all this prodigious mutation and transformation had been submitted to with the same resignation and obedience, as if the same had been transmitted by an uninterrupted succession from King Fergus: And it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old road of subjection. But the King would not build according to Cromwell's models, and had many reasons to continue Scotland within its own limits and bounds and sole dependence upon himself, rather than unite it to England with so many hazards and dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any government less tyrannical than that of Cromwell." CLARENDON'S *Life*.

* See a note from Baxter, page 331.

The honours and offices whereof, they had distributed amongst themselves, and their own dependents. But having brought the King (though, as it chanced, by other hands) to the end [to which] they aimed, and being intent on nothing more than the dividing of that rich prey amongst themselves, gratifying one another with huge sums of money, and growing fat on the revenues of the crown and the lands of the church, and guarded as they thought by invincible armies, they were upon a sudden scattered like the dust before the wind, turned out of all, and publicly exposed to contempt and scorn.* All which was done so easily, with so little noise, that the loss of that exorbitant power did not cost so much as a broken head, or a bloody nose; in pur-

* This wonderful change was indeed *the Lord's doing and it was marvellous in the eyes* of the whole nation. That great and wise man, the Earl of Clarendon, alludes to this singular interposition of Providence in the following pious strain: "The easy and glorious reception of the King, in the manner that hath been mentioned, without any other conditions than what had been frankly offered by himself in his Declaration and letters from Breda; the Parliament's casting themselves in a body at his feet, in the minute of his arrival at Whitehall, with all the professions of duty and submission imaginable; and no man having authority there, but they who had either eminently served the late King, or who were since grown up out of their nonage from such fathers, and had thoroughly manifested their fast fidelity to his present Majesty; the rest who had been enough criminal, shewing more animosity towards the severe punishment of those who having more power in the late times had exceeded them in mischief, than care for their own indemnity: This temper sufficiently evident, and the universal joy of the people, which was equally visible, for the total suppression of all those who had so many years exercised tyranny over them, made most men believe both abroad and at home, that God had not only restored the King miraculously to his throne, but that he had, as he did in the time of Hezekiah, *prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly*, (2 Chron. xxix, 36.) in such a manner, that his authority and greatness would have been more illustrious, than it had been in any of his ancestors. And it is most true, and must never be denied, that the people were admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the subjection, duty and obedience, that a just and prudent king could expect from them, and had a very sharp aversion and detestation of all those who had formerly misled and corrupted them; so that, except the General, who seemed to be possessed entirely of the affection of the army, and whose fidelity was now above any misapprehension, there appeared no man whose power and interest could in any degree shake or endanger the peace and security the King was in; the congratulations for his return being so universal from all the counties of England, as well as from the Parliament and city; from all those who had most signally disserved and disclaimed him, as well as from those of his own party and those who were descended from them: Insomuch as the King was wont merrily to say, as hath been mentioned before, 'that it could be 'nobody's fault but his own, that he had stayed so long abroad, when all 'mankind wished him so heartily at home.' "

The brief remark which he immediately subjoins, is likewise worthy of consideration: "It cannot therefore but be concluded by the standers by, and the spectators of this wonderful change and exclamation of all degrees of men, that there must be some wonderful miscarriages in the State, or some unheard of defect of understanding in those who were trusted by the King in the administration of his affairs; that there could in so short a time be a new revolution in the general affections of the people, that they grew even weary of that happiness they were possessed of and had so much valued, and fell into the same discontents and murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worst times."

chasing whereof, they had wasted so many millions of treasure, and more than one hundred thousand lives."

Dr. Heylin has stated the period when his Majesty was taken into custody by the army, in whose power he remained a year and a half before he was executed. Another old historian thus relates that sad catastrophe and some of the causes which preceded it:

"Every public action of the King or his ministers being misinterpreted, combinations were held between the factious English and discontented Scots; whose begging-time being over at Court, they bethink of coming to plunder the country. The faction gives out, *that the King had deserted the Protestants of the Palatinate and France*, when the truth is, they had deserted him. The Bishops in their visitations were every where opposed, and the troublesome taught how to elude all church-obligations by common law. By a general odium cast upon all acts of government, and a perverse spirit of discontent, fears and jealousies, raised throughout the three kingdoms, and vehemently possessing all sorts of people; by the necessities of the King and some foreign troubles; by the treachery of some that had the management of the affairs of Scotland; that which was at first but a n opinion, after that a book-controversy, (and which never durst look beyond a motion, a petition, a supplication, a conference, a disputation, and some private murmurings at best,) became now a war.

"The cause whereof, on the one side, was an old schism maintained; men's private interests promoted; rebellion, *that sin like witchcraft;* the overthrow of all laws and government; the ruin of learning, religion and order; the piecing-up of broken estates by rapine and plunder; an ambition to attain to those honours and preferments in troublesome times, that they despaired of in those more quiet, as derived on persons of more worth and deserving; a canting pretence for liberty of conscience and of the subject, that proved at last nothing but licentiousness; the umbrage of the public good, when it appeared at last but the project of private persons, who no sooner overthrew the government but they quarrelled one with another; till at last, instead of one good government, we had so many that we had none at all; and, instead of an excellent king, all the blood, treasures and pretences ended in a sordid, base, bloody, tyrannical and upstart usurper, raised out of the meanest of the people; a revenge of some particular and personal wrongs, with the ruin of the public;* the setting up of sects, schisms and heresies upon

* "Riddles! Cromwell, Whalley, Ireton, &c. and the army, weep and grieve, (but the hyæna weeps when it intends to devour,) at the hard conditions the houses put upon him; and the houses are displeased with the army's hard usage of him: And yet both ruin him, the one bringing him to the block and holding him there by the hair of the head, and the other cutting off his head. The Scots durst not trust the cavaliers with him; nor the

the subversion of the established doctrine and discipline; a perpetual disgrace and dishonour to christianity and the English nation, occasioning such burdens and mischiefs as the child unborn may rue; burdens and mischiefs conveyed from them to late posterity: The desolation of the country; the ruin of gallant churches, castles and cities; the undoing of some thousands of families; the blood of 80,000 killed on both sides and on all occasions; an unnatural division and animosity begun even among relations, that is like to last from generation to generation; abominable canting; taking of the name of God in vain; hypocrisy; perjury against the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, the protestation, yea, against the covenant which they took themselves, and all the obligations they owed to God or man; the mocking of God by fasts, prayers, and *seeking of his face* to wicked and vile purposes; the making of him the author of the abominations he abhors; the making of religion only a cloak to villainies; and all the ordinances of it, especially sermons and sacraments, the ministries of horrid undertakings; filling pulpits with such nonsense and lies as all ears that heard tingled; such encouragement to loose fancies and vile opinions, to enlarge and increase their party, as left not unshaken any foundation in the whole compass of Christian religion; a sacrilege unheard of, that was to swallow up all bishops' and deans' and chapters' lands, all tithes and ministers' maintenance, all universities and public schools, all hospitals, colleges and charitable foundations; a rapine that carried away all the crown revenue, and sent a great royal family a-begging; devoured the estates of above 12000 noblemen, gentlemen and persons of eminent quality; and indeed left no man so much propriety as to say, *This is mine*, there being no other law or judicature than that arbitrary

Houses, the Scots: nor the army, the Houses; nor the Junto, all the army; nor N. the Junto, being never safe till he put his finger into the royal neck, to see, after execution, whether the head were really severed from the body. All the quarrel was, that the Cavaliers kept the King from the Parliament; and the meaning of this, it seems, was, that they kept him from the block.

"A Prince they destroyed that they durst not despise, all the grandees in the army not daring to own the least murtherous thoughts towards him publicly, when they set agitators, that is, two active soldiers out of every regiment in the army, (now modelled into such desperate sects and villainies,) to consult about the horrid fact in private, and to draw a bloody paper, as *the Agreement of the People*, which was but a conspiracy of traitors; Cromwell assuring the King, *as he had a soul, that he should be restored;* and his son Ireton at the same time drawing up a remonstrance that he should die. The army treat him like a prince; and that they might deceive his devout soul the more securely, allow him the service of his chaplains, and the liberty of his conscience, (the greatest enjoyments left him in this world,) with a design the more successfully to use him like a traitor. Ah brave prince! that none durst have abused, had they owned what they designed; whom the Houses had saved, had they not been cajoled by the army; and the army, had it not been cajoled by the Houses. 'The King granted too much,' saith Sir Harry Vane to him at the Isle of Wight; 'and too little,' saith the same man to the Houses; and the King must die, when, whatsoever they asked, they meant his LIFE." LLOYD'S *Worthies*.

one of the sword; carrying on of *the public good* till the nation was beggared; a crying up of *the power of parliaments*, till the House of Lords was laid by, and the house of Commons, (consisting of almost five hundred gentlemen,) reduced to fifty or sixty mechanics and poor fellows, who are turned out by their own army as a pack of knaves and fools; a pretence to make the king glorious till he was murdered, and fighting for him against evil counsellors till they cut off his head,—the best counsellor he had;* the rendering of a nation, once the envy and terror of the

* "The Prefacer owns, 'That travelling has hitherto been so mischievous, 'that it is well it has been so little in fashion. Such worthy men as are employ-'ed abroad may bring home generous notions of liberty, and make admirable 'remarks on the contrary state: which being inculcated from the pulpit, 'and enforced by the learned arguments of able divines, must needs over-'throw those servile opinions, which of late have been too much backed by 'God's authority, almost to the ruin of a free people.' Here we have before us a true platform of our author's grand design: together with an exact delineation of the manner and conduct of the villainy through all its steps and gradations. This was the darling method which the *Rabbis of the Separation* used heretofore, to new-plant the gospel and to pull down *the High Places* of the church and monarchy together. The project was first set on foot by English and Scotch travellers; who, having unhappily sojourned awhile at Frankfort, and in *the strange land* of Geneva, became bewitched at length with the charms of a new discipline: Upon a return home, they made such a pother with fantastical notions of liberty, and such pert remarks upon the admirable constitutions of the English Church, that the whole nation soon rang with the jingle of reformation. Innovations, grievances and disobedience to rulers, were inculcated from the pulpit, and the multitude rendered uneasy both to their governors and themselves, by calumnies, scruples, and such like arguments of *good and able divines*. The authority of magistrates was blasted and run down by the fair and specious pretensions of a *free people*; and Christian loyalty, patience and submission were quite dashed out of countenance by the horrible outcry of *dangerous and slavish opinions*. Never was any black and infamous project so graduated along with good names; nor the power of godliness so stifled with inward suggestions of the Spirit.

"The ring-leaders of the faction drew the rabble after them with the hallowed whistle of conscience and inspiration; with prayers unmerciful, elevation of hands and voices, and eves lifted up to heaven: while their hearts were fixt on sacrilege and rapine (*that inheritance of the saints*) and other creature comforts here below. The tickling of wanton and itching ears was called 'touching the conscience;' and he was thought the fittest champion to sacrifice Antichrist to the beasts of the field and fowls of the air, that could boldly and fluently utter the most edifying nonsense. They caught the simple, even all the *sons and daughters of the separation*, with the witchcraft of rebellion at last; as once a pied piper drew children after him, with the unaccountable strains of magic and enchantments. And after they had run through the various stages of heterodoxy and schism, liberty and insurrection, prophaneness and blasphemy, plunder and devastation; they completed their reformation in the ruin of the church and state, the depression of the nobility, selling the gentry for slaves, the exaltation of sovereign mob, and the murder of the best of princes.

"I do verily believe, (and surely the black annals of those unhappy times have put it beyond all question,) that if all the religious barbarities and executions which were acted by those who are now *sainted up to everlasting rest*, and, as it were, conjured to heaven by the republican chaplains of those times; if all the consequences too, under which the whole reformation groans at this very day, could be represented at once unto the view; it would be the most sad and astonishing sight, the most tremendous object of horror and

world, now its scorn and contempt ; and Englishmen, once the glory of Europe, now its shame for doing that which Turks and Pagans and the barbarous abhorred, crying out, *You fight and judge your King !* Not to say any thing of the general horror and consternation that seized all the christian world upon that horrid conspiracy. The letting loose of all the Jesuitical principles that had troubled the world, but were never before owned by things that would be called Protestants. As,

" That success is a sign of God's blessing and presence with any people in any undertaking.

" That nothing is to be established in public that goeth against any man's opinion, humour or conscience in private.

" That if any court, judicature, form of worship or law be abused, then it must be presently laid down and not used.

" That any thing that hath been used by the Papists, or that is but pretended to be Popish, must be abrogated : A principle that the Jesuits, observing our blind zeal against Popery, have suggested, to overthrow all religion under pretence of avoiding Popery.

" That dominion is founded upon grace, and that the wicked have no right to any thing that they enjoy.

" That the law of the land was not made for the righteous but for sinners : so they abused a place of scripture that sounds that way.

compassion, that ever eyes beheld ; and would easily convince us, that our travellers and reformers did not copy the example of HIM who was meek and lowly, and who came, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." *The Commonwealth's Man Unmasked.*

In the last paragraph, the reader will perceive an allusion to Richard Baxter's SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST, which he composed " in quarters far from home," when, as a republican chaplain, " he was cast into extreme languishment by the sudden loss of about a gallon of blood." In that curious and (otherwise) very edifying treatise, he has given us several touches of his party principles, which it would, for many reasons, have been more decorous to omit in a work devoted to piety. In one passage, when speaking of heaven, he says : " I think, Christian, this will be a more honourable assembly than you ever here beheld ; and a more happy society than you were ever of before. Surely Brook, and Pym, and Hampden, and White, &c. are now members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right-aiming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant senate, than this from whence they were taken is, or ever parliament will be. It is better to be door-keeper to that assembly, whither Twisse, &c. are translated, than to have continued here the moderator of this. That is the true *Parliamentum beatum*, the blessed parliament ; and that is the only church that cannot err."—In another description of " the city of rest," he tells us : " Subscription and conformity no more urged ; silencing and suspending are there more than suspended; there are no bishops or chancellors' courts ; no visitations nor high commission judgments ; no censures to loss of members, perpetual imprisonment or banishment." In a comparison on the same subject he says : " O the sad and heart-piercing spectacles that mine eyes have seen in four years' space ! In this fight a dear friend fell down by me ; from another, a precious christian brought home wounded or dead : scarce a month, scarce a week without the sight or noise of blood. Surely there is none of this in heaven. Our eyes shall then be filled no more, nor our hearts pierced, with such fights as at Worcester, Edgehill, Newbury, &c." Other passages of a similar aspect and tendency occur in different parts of that treatise.

"That all the prophecies and revolutions forespoken of, concern England; and that they may make any stir to fulfil these prophecies: all that they did, being, as they said, *nothing but God's pouring out his vials on the beast, &c.** The whole Scripture being understood, not according to the inward sense, but according to the outward sound; and as the fool thinketh, so the bell tinketh.

"AGAINST THE KING, THE LAW, AND RELIGION, were a company of poor tradesmen, broken and decayed citizens, deluded and priest-ridden women, discontented spirits, creeping, pitiful and neglected ministers, and trencher-chaplains; enthusiastical factions, such as *Independents, Anabaptists, Seekers, Quakers, Levellers, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Libertines,* the rude rabble that knew not wherefore they were got together; Jesuited politicians, tailors, shoemakers, linkboys, &c.; guilty and notorious offenders, that had endured or feared the law; perjured and deceitful hypocrites and atheists, mercenary soldiers, hollow-hearted and ambitious courtiers, one or two poor and disobliged lords, cowardly and ignorant neuters, here and there a Protestant frighted out of his wits. These were the faction's champions.

"ON THE KING'S SIDE, there were all the Bishops of the land; all the Deans, Prebends and learned men; both the Universities; all the Princes, Dukes and Marquisses; all the Earls and Lords, except two or three that stayed at Westminster to make faces one upon another, and wait on their MASTERS *the Commons,* until they bid them go about their business, telling them they had nothing to do for them and voting them useless; all the knights and gentlemen in the three nations, except a score of sectaries and atheists that kept with their brethren and sisters for the cause; the judges and best lawyers in the land;† all the statesmen and counsellors; the officers and great men of the kingdom; and all the Princes and States of Europe.

* The following extract from Dr. Heylin is a good attack apon the Calvinistic prophets of that age; it is fighting them with their own weapons:

"Others with no unhappy curiosity observing the number of words which make up this covenant, abstracted from the preface and conclusion of it, found them amounting in the total to six hundred and sixty-six, neither more nor less, which being the number of the beast in the Revelation, pursued with such an open persecution and prosecuted to the loss of so many lives, the undoing of so many families, and the subverting of the government both of church and state, may very justly entitle it to so much of Antichrist, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of Rome. For if the Pope shewed any thing of the spirit of Antichrist by bringing Cranmer, the first protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, to the stake at Oxford; this covenant and the makers of it did express no less in bringing the last Protestant Archbishop to the block in London."

† In the long and respectable list of "the judges and best lawyers in the land," who were persecuted for righteousness' sake, was Judge Jenkins, whose very judicious and extensively circulated pamphlets gave vast umbrage to the republican usurpers. Lloyd gives as the following account of this excellent man:

"David Jenkins, upwards of 58 years a Student in Grays-Inn near London, of so much skill, when a private and young man, that my Lord

"The Earl of Strafford gave his Majesty safe counsel in the prosperity of his affairs, and resolute advice in extremity, as a true servant of his interest rather than of his power. So emi-

Bacon would make use of his collections in several cases, digesting them himself; and of so much repute in his latter years, that Attorney Noy, Herbert, and Banks, would send the several cases they were to prosecute for his Majesty, to be perused by him, before they were to be produced in court. All the preferment he arrived at, was to be Judge of South-Wales, a place he never sought after, nor paid for the patent, being sent him without his knowledge, and confirmed to him without his charge; in which capacity, if *prerogative of his dear master, or the power of his beloved church*, came in his way, *stretching themselves beyond the law*, he would retrench them; though suffering several checks for the one, and excommunication for the other: Notwithstanding that, he (heart of oak) hazarded his life for the just extent of both; for being taken prisoner at the surprise of Hereford, and for his notable vindication of the King's party and cause, by those very laws (to the undeceiving of thousands) that were pretended against them, as the violators of the law; and for increasing the feud between the Parliament and the army, and instilling successfully into the latter principles of allegiance, (by shewing them that all the parliamentary ordinances for indemnity and arrears, were but blinds for the present, amounting not to laws which they could trust to for the future, without his Majesty's concurrence; whose restoration he convinced them was their unavoidable interest, as well as their indispensable duty,) he was carried first to the Chancery, secondly, to the Kings-bench, and at last, to the bar of their House, the authority of all which places he denied; and though he and the honourable Lewis Dives were designed sacrifices for Ascham and Dorislaus, he escaped with his life in eleven years' durance, out of which he got 1656, not by creeping out of the window, by cowardly compliance, but going forth at the door, fairly set open for him by Divine providence, hazarding his life for that which was *the life of his life*, his conscience. He died at his house at Cowbridge, (his age having some years before given him a *quietus est* from public employments,) Dec. 6, 1663."

The worthy old lawyer accounted it a great honour to be a sufferer for his royal master. In the short preface to his LEX TERRÆ he relates a circumstance highly to the credit of the unfortunate monarch. After stating, that in the beginning of the long parliament he himself "lay under three excommunications, and the examination of seventy-seven articles in the High Commission Court, for opposing the excess of the bishops", &c; he adds, "In the time of the attorneyships of Mr. Noy and the Lord Banks, they were pleased to make often use of me, and many references concerning suits at court upon that occasion came to my knowledge; and, as I shall answer to God upon my last account, this is truth, that all or most of the references which I have seen in that kind (and I have seen many) were to this effect, that *his Majesty would be informed by his council if the suits preferred were* AGREEABLE TO THE LAWS, *and* NOT INCONVENIENT TO HIS PEOPLE, before he would pass them. What could a just and pious Prince do more?"

The following is the style in which he concluded one of his pamphlets, and the last paragraph (respecting an act of oblivion, &c.) was the closing burden of all his productions:

"There is no doubt but that many in both Houses are free from this great sin, and that most of the prevailing party had at first no intentions to proceed so far; but the madness of the people, (who are very unstable, and so they will find them,) and the success of their armies (having this great rich city to supply them with all accommodations,) have so elated them, that the evil is come to this height. For myself, to put me to death in this cause, is the greatest honour I can possibly receive in this world: *Dulce et decorum est mori pro patria.* And for a lawyer, and a judge of the law, to die, *Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequitur*, for obedience to the laws, will be deemed, by the good men of this time, a sweet-smelling sacrifice, and by this and future times, that *I died full of years, and had an honest and honourable end.* And posterity will take knowledge of these men, who

nent was he, and my Lord of Canterbury, that rebellion despaired of success as long as the first lived, and schism of licentiousness as long as the second stood. Take my Lord of Strafford as accused, and you will find his integrity and ability, that he managed his whole government either by the law or by the interest of his country. Take him as dying, and you will see his parts and piety, his resolution for himself, his self-resignation for the kingdom's good, and his devotion for the Church, whose patrimony he forbade his son upon his blessing.—But these qualities, which rendered him so amiable to his Majesty, represented him formidable to the Scots; so that some who were not well persuaded of the justness of his sentence, thought he suffered, not so much *for what he had done already, as for what he was like to have done,* had he lived, *to the dis-service of that nation;* and that he was not sacrificed so much to the Scots' revenge as to their fear. And certainly his fall was, as the first, so the most fatal wound the King's interest ever received; his three kingdoms hardly affording another Strafford, that is, one man his peer in parts and fidelity to his Majesty. He had a singular passion for the government and patrimony of the church: both which he was studious to preserve safe and sound either opining them to be of sacred extraction or at least of prudent constitution relating to holy performances. The first institution of the president's place in the North, was to *suppress* rebellions; and my Lord's first care in that place was to *prevent* them. How carefully did he look out honest and wise clergymen, that might instruct and guide,—how prudently did he choose knowing and noble gentlemen, that might govern and awe that rude corner of the kingdom, equally obnoxious to the insinuations of the old superstition that crept thither from beyond the seas, and of the late innovations that stole in thither from beyond the Tweed, both dangerous to the people and troublesome to government!

put some to death for subverting of the laws, and others for supporting of them, &c. Yet mercy is above all the works of God; the King is God's Vicar on earth. In Bracton, who was a judge in Henry the third's time, you shall find the King's oath: To SHEW MERCY, is part of it. You are all his children; say and do what you will, you are all his subjects, and he is your King and parent: *Pro magno peccato paululum supplicii satis est patri:* [A father is satisfied with a very slight degree of punishment for a great offence:] and therefore let not the prevailing party be obdurate, out of a desperation of safety. That which is past is not revocable: Take to your thoughts your parents, your wives, your children, your friends, your fortunes, your country; wherein foreigners [the Scots] write, there is *Mira aeris suavitas, et rerum omnium abundantia:* [a wonderful mildness in the atmosphere, and an abundance of every thing.] Invite them not hither; the only way to be free of their company will be, to restore his Majesty, and receive from him an act of oblivion, a general pardon, assurance for the arrears of the soldiery, and meet satisfaction to tender consciences.—GOD PRESERVE THE KING AND THE LAWS: DAVID JENKINS, *Prisoner in Newgate.*"

" How clearly did he see through the mutinies and pretences of the multitude, into the long-contrived conspiracies and designs of several orders of more dangerous men, whose covetousness and ambition would digest, as he foresaw, the rash tumults, into a more sober and solemn rebellion! How happily did he divine, that the affronts offered the King's authority on the score of *Superstition, Tyranny, Idolatry, Mal-administration, Liberty*, &c.* (words as little understood by the vulgar, as the design that lay under them,) were no other than essays made by certain sacrilegious and needy men, to confirm the rapines upon church and state they had made in Scotland, and to open a door to the same practices in England; to try how the King, who had already ordered a revocation of all such *Usurpations* in Scotland and had a great mind to do the like in England, would bear their rude and insolent attempts,—whether he would consult his *power* or his *goodness*, assert his Majesty or yield to their importunity! How nimbly did he meet with the faction by a protestation he gained from all the Scots in England and Ireland, against the covenant of their brethren in Scotland; at the same time, in several books which he caused to be printed, discovering that the Scottish faction, that so much abhorred Popery,

* " Pref. 'The books that are left us of the ancients are full of doctrines, 'sentences and examples, exhorting to the conservation or recovery of the 'public liberty.'-Here he would fain shelter himself again under the authority of the ancients; who, as I have shewn before, have already turned him out of their society, for his insufficiency and false accusations. The ancients never dreamed of such a liberty as he would inculcate; since it was the main design of their philosophy, to curb all irregular sallies of our nature, and bound our appetites with a prudential restraint. Public liberty, in the mouth of a flaming enthusiastic zealot, is like a naked sword in the hands of a lunatic brother, dangerous and destructive; and the one should no more be trusted alone without a limitation, than the other without a scabbard. It is a licence to kick, bite, swear, and play the libertine through all the various scenes of carnality and lust; to be covetous and, what is worse, to rebel for conscience' sake; to write treason directly or indirectly, and cheat our neighbour with a zealous twinkling of the eye or in saying of a prayer. He that is free-born, is likewise born in a state of subjection to laws; and though, by his birth-right, is entitled to certain privileges and civil rights, yet he is also entitled to some certain measures of obedience, as he is a subject: And whosoever talks so loftily of the one, and industriously conceals the other, does but abuse the multitude into dangerous sentiments, with a nonsensical jingle of words, and is so far from being a true English politician, that he is a down-right shuffling impostor. Christianity, with its dark train of passive doctrines, is a slavish and unintelligible thing in his esteem. Never was any fond man so blind an admirer of his mistress's charms and perfections, as he is a lover of his country's legal liberties, without any regard to the safety of religion: never did good St. Augustine declaim with more vehemence against the salvability of the heathens, than he has done against these 'slavish opi-'nions suckt in at the schools; and which some have been so unfortunate 'to carry to their graves, and (he might have added) to heaven.'—He would fain make the wondering world believe, that PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and LEGAL LIBERTIES are inconsistent things; and that one is fatally destructive of the other: but that is his want of judgment, and sound understanding. St. Paul, who was undoubtedly as great an assertor of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE as ever was in the world, pleaded such LIBERTIES as these under Nero, and before the Magistrates of Philippi. But he likewise knew, that civil rights can have only a civil defence; and, if that fail, there is no higher appeal or remedy to be expected, but the Divine protection." *Commonwealth's Man Unmasked.*

proceeded in this sedition upon the worst of Popish principles and practices; and that this godly league which was so much applauded by the people, was a combination of men acting over those traitorous, bloody and Jesuitical maxims of Mariana, Suarez, and Bellarmine, which all good people abhorred. When by the diligence of the King's enemies, and the security and treason of his pretended friends, who made it their business to persuade his Majesty *that there was no* DANGER, so long until there was no SAFETY, * he saw a faction formed into councils and drawn up into armies;—when he saw one kingdom acting in open rebellion, and another countenancing and inclining to it;—when he discovered a correspondence between the conclave of Rome and the Cardinal of France, between the King of France and the rebels of Scotland, between the leaders of the Scottish sedition and the agents of the English faction, (one Pickering, Laurence, Hampden, Fines, &c. being observed then to pass to and fro between the English and the Scottish Brethren,) and saw letters signed with the names (though as some of them alleged since, without the consent) of the five members [of the House of Commons,] &c.;—when the government in church and state was altered,† the King's ships, magazines, revenue,

* This is one of the crimes which were alleged, by one of our old historians, against the Duke of Hamilton: "For interceding for London, and hindering Montrose, so as to make the king believe 'that the Scots would not invade England,' till he himself writes 'that they were on the borders.' Yet, by a Providence which one calls *digitus Dei*, (after great overtures of money and of discoveries, to save his life,) he was in 1649 beheaded at Westminster, for the king, by that party whom he was thought to serve against the king." When the king heard that he led the Scots army, (see page 348,) for which he suffered, his majesty said, "Nay, if he leads them, there is no good to be done for me."

He was without doubt a very dangerous man in such a Court as that of Charles the First, whose letters he was accused of taking out of his pockets and of divulging the king's secrets to his enemies. Some of the unjust odium which was bestowed on Archbishop Laud and his royal master, is well described by Dr. Heylin in the following passage:

"Look on them [the Scotch] in the church, and we shall find many of that nation beneficed and preferred in all parts of this country; and, of all these, scarce one in ten who did not cordially espouse and promote their cause amongst the people. They had beside no less assurance of the English Puritans than they had of their own; those in court (of which there was no very small number) being headed by the Earl of Holland, those in the country by his brother, the Earl of Warwick; the first being aptly called in a letter of the Lord Conway to the Lord Archbishop, *the spiritual and invisible head*, the other, *the visible and temporal head of the Puritan faction*. And, which was more than all the rest, they had the Marquis of Hamilton for their lord and patron, of so great a power about the King, such authority in the court of England, such a powerful influence on the council of Scotland, and such a general command over all that nation, that his pleasure amongst them passed for law, and his words for oracles; all matters of GRACE and FAVOUR *ascribed to him*, matters of HARSHNESS or DISTASTE *to the King or Canterbury*. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of Scots in fact, though not of title; his Majesty being looked on by them as a cypher only, in the arithmetic of State."

† Some of the crude notions about civil government which this alteration suggested, in the minds of different conscientious individuals who wished

forts, and faithful servants were seized on ; the orders of state and the worship of God were affronted by a barbarous multitude, that, with sticks, stools, and such other instruments of fury as were present, disturbed all religious and civil conventions ; and the King's agents, Hamilton, Traquair and Roxborough, (pleased, no doubt, with the commotions they at first raised, and by new, though secret, seed of discontents improved,) increased the tumults by *a faint opposition*, which they might have allayed by *vigorous punishments*,—all the declarations that were drawn in the King's name being contrived so as to overthrow his affairs ;—in a word, when he saw that the traitors were got into the King's bed-chamber, cabinets, pockets and bosom,*and,

to discover some principle which might sanction their adherence to the usurped government, are thus summarily stated by Falkner, in his *Christian Loyalty ;*

" In our late dreadful times of civil war, the whole management of things against the King, and the undertaking to alter and order public affairs without him, was a manifest and practical disowning the King's supremacy. Some persons then who would be thought men of sense, did assert, ' that though the King was owned to be SUPREME governour, yet the ' SUPREMEST sovereign power was in the people.' Others declared, ' that ' the title of SUPREME GOVERNOUR was an honorary title given to the King, ' to please him instead of fuller power.' And in the issue, by a pretended act, it was called treason, to say, *that the Commons, assembled in Parliament, were not the supreme authority of the nation.* But there were also some who then affirmed, the whole body of the people to be superior to the Parliament, and that they might call them to an account."

* " By which the King was so observed and betrayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by words, by signs and circumstances, or the silent language of a shrug, it was posted presently into Scotland, some of his bed-chamber being grown so bold and saucy, that they used to ransack his pockets when he was in bed, to transcribe such letters as they found, and send the copies to their countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing so well known about the court, that the Archbishop of Canterbury in one of his letters, gave him this memento, that he should not trust his pockets with it." HEYLIN'S *Life of Laud.*

" And here I might justly enough take occasion to lament the fate as well as admire the glory of puissant and great princes, whom a Symnel or Jack Straw, a Prefacer or dawbing historian may expose to infinite hazards and disturbances. Though they govern their people with the mildness and clemency of guardian angels, yet they must not partake of their divine tranquillity ; their character is not always their security, nor their bravery their protection. For, suppose them adorned with all royal qualifications, with the laws of generosity, punctilios of true honour, and all the niceties of justice : grant that they ascend the royal throne with the gladsome shouts and acclamations of the people, and gain a diadem by inheritance or desert. Yet they can only hold intelligence with the faces of men, but cannot spell out intrigues, and converse with inclinations. Due allegiance and honour is all the tribute that subjects can defray, or they themselves can exact; and how shall they know but the most seemingly regular and plausible forms of speech may be nothing but a neat well-acted hypocrisy and a mere studied disguise ? Unnecessary offers and over-hasty officiousness smell strong of interest and dark design ; how then can they tell, whether the most grave and submissive application be the free result of a good intention, or mere solemn flattery and artificial address ? Nay, how can they be assured, but their greatest enemies may be those of their own household ? Whether they that are adopted into the secrecy of their bosoms, that depend on their smiles, and sport themselves for a while in their warm beams, will help to guard the throne, or to shake it?" *Commonwealth's Man Unmasked.*

by false representation of things, had got time to consolidate their conspiracy, and that the King's concessions to their bold petition (about the liturgy, the high-commission, the book of Canons, and the five articles of Perth,) were but encouragements to put up bolder ;—finding that force could obtain that which modesty and submission had never compassed, and imputing all kindness to the King's *weakness* rather than *goodness* ;—his apprehensions in that affair were at Council-board, (Dec. 5, 1639,) against the King's indulgence to them : He voted, 'that 'they were to be reduced by force, (being a people, as his Majes-'ty observed of them, *lost by favours and won by punishments,*) in 'an offensive war that would put a period to all the troubles in 'five months, whereas a defensive war will linger many years.'—Neither was he less careful of the church's *doctrine* than *discipline*, forbidding the Primate's [Archbishop Usher] obtruding the Calvinists' school-points for Articles of faith ; and, instead of the polemic Articles of the Church of Ireland, to receive the positive, plain and orthodox Articles of the Church of England ; neither admitting high questions nor countenancing the men that promoted them, aiming at a religion that should make men *serious* rather than *curious*, honest rather than subtile ; and that men *lived high*, but did *not talk so :* Equally disliking THE TRENT FAITH, consisting of canons, councils, fathers, &c. that would become a library rather than a catechism, and THE SCOTS CONFESSIONS, consisting of such school-niceties as would fill a man's large table-book and common-place, rather than his heart. Julius Cæsar said, other men's wives should not be loose, but his should not be suspected. And this great Lord advised the primate of Ireland, 'that as no clergyman should be in reality 'guilty of compliance with a schism, so should not he in ap-'pearance,' adding, (when the Primate urged the dangers on all sides,) as Cæsar once said, 'You are too old to fear, and I too 'sickly'—A true saying, since, upon the opening of his body, it was found that he could not have lived, according to the course of nature, six months longer than he did by the malice of his enemies,—his own diseases having determined his life about the same period that the nation's distemper did. Philip the First of Spain said, he could not compass his design as long as Lerma lived ; nor the Scots theirs, as long as Strafford acts and with his own single worth bears up against the plot of three kingdoms, like Sceva, in the breach, with his single resolution duelling the whole conspiracy."

The historian then gives an account of the conduct of King Charles under his accumulated sufferings: "How tender his conscience! that was resolved to do public penance, for consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death, (a deep sense of which action went with him to his grave,) and to the injuries done the church in England and Scotland. How careful his heart! in that, when

the commissioners at the Isle of Wight urged him to allow the lesser catechism of the Assembly, 'that being (they said) but a small matter,' he said, *Though it seem to you a small matter, yet I had rather part with the choicest flower in my crown, than permit your children to be corrupted in the least point of their religion.*— That prince who, besides the great examples he gave them, began his reign with the highest act of grace that he could, or any king did in the world; I mean the granting of the petition of right, wherein he secured his people's estates from taxes that are not given in Parliament, and their lives, liberties and estates, from all proceedings not agreeable to law:* A king that permitted his chief favourite and counsellor, the Duke of Buckingham, whose greatest fault was his Majesty's favour, to satisfy the kingdom, both in Parliament and Star-chamber, in the way of a public process: And gave up Mainwaring and Sibthorpe, both (as I take it) his chaplains, to answer for themselves in Parliament, saying, 'He that will preach more than he can prove, let him 'suffer:' That a king that was and did so, as he was and did, should be first suspected and then opposed, should be rendered ridiculous abroad and odious at home, should easier persuade his foreign enemies to a peace, than his own subjects to contribute to a war, and that of their own advising and persuading: That the Scots should fight and he not dare to call them rebels; and

* "The King at all times when there is no Parliament, and in Parliament, is assisted with the advice of the judges of the law, 12 in number; for England at least hath two sergeants when fewest, an attorney and solicitor, twelve masters of the chancery; his council of state consisting of some great prelates, and other great personages, versed in state affairs, when they are fewest, to the number of twelve. All these persons are always of great substance, which is not preserved but by the keeping of the law; the prelates versed in divine law, the other grandees in affairs of state and managery of government; the judges, king's sergeants, attorney, solicitor, and masters of the chancery, versed in law and customs of the realm; all sworn to serve the King and his people justly and truly. The King is also sworn to observe the laws; and the judges have in their oath a clause, 'that they 'shall do common right to the King's people, according to the established 'laws, notwithstanding any command of the King to the contrary under the 'great seal, or otherwise.' The people are safe by the laws in force, without any new. The law finding the Kings of this realm assisted with so many great men of conscience, honour, and skill in the rule of commonwealth, knowledge of the laws, and bound by the high and holy bond of an oath upon the evangelists, settles among other powers upon the King, a power to refuse any bill agreed upon by both Houses, and power to pardon all offences, to pass any grants in his minority, not to be bound to any law to his prejudice whereby he doth not bind himself, power of war and peace, coining of money, making all officers, &c. The law, for the reasons aforesaid, hath approved these powers to be unquestionable in the King, and all Kings have enjoyed them till the third of Nov. 1640.

"It will be said, 'Notwithstanding all this fence about the laws, the laws 'have been violated, and therefore the said powers must not hold: the two 'Houses will remedy this.' The answer to this is evident: There is no time past, nor time present, nor will there be time to come, so long as MEN manage the law, but the laws will be broken more or less, as appears by the story of every age. All the pretended violations of this time were remedied by acts to which the King consented before his departure, 10 Jan. 1641. JENKINS'S *Law of the Land.*

his faithful counsellors should assist him, and he not dare to own them as friends: That such a king should be abused to Parliaments by his servants, and to his people by Parliaments; should be first intreated out of his magazines, castles and whole militia, and then fought against with them;* should be forced out of one town and shut out of another: That such a prince should see his whole court voted and dealt with as traitors; his estate sequestered for delinquency; his clergy and church (which he was by oath obliged to defend and maintain in its due rights) ruined for keeping the fifth commandment, and [the doctrine contained in] Rom. xiii; his churches turned to stables; his loyal subjects murthered, plundered, banished, and he not able to help them, his laws and edicts overruled by I-know-not-what orders and ordinances; his seals and great offices of state counterfeited; all the costly ornaments of religion ruined and defaced; learning, that was his honour and his care, trampled on by its and his old enemies, the ignorant.†—These are things that the world could

* "For the considerations aforesaid the King's party adhered to him. The law of the land is their birth-right, their guide; no offence is committed where that is not violated. They found the commission of array warranted by the law; they found the King in this Parliament to have quitted the ship-money, knighthood-money, seven courts of justice, consented to a triennial Parliament, settled the forest bounds, took away the clerk of the market of the household, trusted the house with the navy, passed an act not to dissolve this Parliament without the Houses' assent. No people in the world so free, if they could have been content with LAWS, OATHS, and REASONS; and nothing more could or can be devised to secure us, neither hath been in any time. Notwithstanding all this, we found the King driven from London by frequent tumults, that two thirds and more of the Lords had deserted that House for the same cause, and the greater part of the House of Commons left that House also for the same reason; new men chosen in their places against law by the pretended warrant of a counterfeit seal, and in the King's name against his consent, levying war against him, and seizing his ports, forts, magazines and revenue, and converting them to his destruction, and the subversion of the law and land, laying taxes on the people, never heard of before in this land, devised new oaths to oppose forces raised by the King, nor to adhere to him but to them in this war; which they call the *negative oath*, and the *vow and covenant*.

"By several ways never used in this kingdom, they have raised monies to foment this war, and especially to enrich some among them: namely, first, excise; secondly, contributions, thirdly, sequestrations; fourthly, fifth parts; fifthly, twentieth parts; sixthly, meal-money; seventhly, sale of plundered goods; eighthly, loans; ninthly, benevolences; tenthly, collections upon their fast-days; eleventhly, new impositions upon merchandizes; twelfthly, guard, maintained upon the charge of private men; thirteenthly, fifty subsidies at one time; fourteenthly, compositions with such as they call delinquents; fifteenthly, sale of Bishops' lands, &c.

"From the King's party means of subsistence are taken; before any indictment, their lands are seized, their goods taken: the law allows a traitor or felon attainted *necessaria sibi et familiæ suæ in victu et vestitu:* where is the covenant? where is the petition of right? where is the liberty of the subject?" *Ibid.*

† "Another way to advance the darling anti-monarchical design is, by bringing the public schools and universities into disgrace: 'These are the dangerous 'strong-holds of Antichrist, where principles of loyalty and passive doctrines 'are sucked in with greediness:' and therefore it is held convenient to throw

never believe till it felt them, and will not believe when the impressions of them are worn off. This wise and good King, the same in all fortunes, was he that must pardon his enemies,

some dust in these eyes of the nation, that the free-born projectors may more commodiously come at the head. And this was the great pride and luxury of the brotherhood in the former days of tyranny and civil combustion ; when the sweating teachers, after a few winks and groans, began to thunder against a vain philosophy, and wet their handkerchiefs in running down the necessity of human learning. This was not only inculcated from the tub, but from the press also in solemn formidable manner ; as may be seen in the authors of *Light out of Darkness* and *The White Stone*. But here we find the republican doctors differed among themselves : For some were not absolutely for *pulling down* but only *regulating* the constitution of our academies, and proposing expedients for reforming of schools and promoting of all kinds of science. Thus speaks the author of *Academiarum Examen*, dedicated to Major general Lambert: 'Seeing Divine Providence hath made you (with the 'rest of those faithful and gallant men of the army) signally instrumental, 'both in redeeming the English liberty, almost drowned in the deluge of ty-'ranny and self-interest, &c. I hope the same providence will also direct 'you to be assistant to continue the same, &c. And moreover, guide you to 'set your hand and endeavour for the purging and reformation of academies 'and the advancement of learning which hitherto hath been little promoted 'or looked into.'

"The author of the Examen did not merely find fault, censure and talk magisterially ; but, with a seeming modesty (a quality unknown to our new regulator,) he confesses it is far more easy to demolish, than to erect a complete structure ; especially for a single person of a mean talent : And after he had offered some plausible expedients for a rectification of Logic, Metaphysics, Grammar, Mathematics and natural Philosophy ; he owns himself obnoxious to many errors ; and hopes that better and more able pens will help to supply his defects.—With his new models, foreign experiments and ideals of government, and other chimerical bawbles, what a woful and sorry wight must he appear amongst a learned and venerable assembly ? Nay, how would each junior sophister (lately dismist from school) give him cause to sneak, beg pardon, and repent, in the strength of Hesiod and Homer ? The former of these (as Borrichius notes) has written with so much wisdom and acumen, that he may, even now, be read with singular advantage by those that apply themselves to politics and moral philosophy. The latter (as Rapin thinks) had the vastest, sublimest, and most universal genius that ever was : it was by his poems that all the worthies of antiquity were formed : From hence the lawgivers took the first plat-form of the laws they gave to mankind : The founders of monarchies and common-wealths from hence took the models of their polities : Hence the philosophers found the first principles of morality, which they have taught the people : Hence Kings and Princes have learnt the art to govern, and captains to form a battle, to encamp an army, to besiege towns, to fight and to gain victories, &c.

"The compilers of those statutes, which he ignorantly explodes, knew very well what they did ; and though they had a different taste or notion of learning from what he entertains, yet it follows not, but they may have been in the right. As they could not then understand (as he over-wisely intimates) the present state of learning in the world ; so they never designed, that Students should be limited and tied all their lives to a particular system, when the empire of knowledge or philosophy should be enlarged. I know no greater assertors of philosophical liberty, than the gentlemen that have had their education in our universities : And if some are particularly (tho' not exclusively) directed to study Aristotle and his works, it is no more than what is proper, just, nay necessary, upon the account of extrinsical motives and inducements. For the Peripatetic terms, and modes of expression, are now interwoven throughout a great part of the Roman-Catholic Theology, which is better defended by arguments drawn from a metaphysical system, than by reasons, texts, and deductions from holy writ ; and if we cannot confront our enemies with their own weapons, and

but must except his friends out of pardon; he that, when all his subjects had sworn oaths of allegiance to him, must swear an oath devised by his subjects (called Covenant) against himself: He, without whom no oath could be imposed upon the subjects, hath an oath imposed upon him by his subjects, and in that oath must swear that [Episcopal] government in the church *Anti-christian*, which was the only christian government for fifteen

define, divide, distinguish artificially, unravel cryptical syllogisms and subtile arguments, with equal facility and readiness, we may betray the cause which we would willingly maintain, and give them occasion to triumph.

"The Greek and Latin Fathers encountered the Pagans, Jews, and Heretics, with such philosophical weapons, as the necessity of those times required; and it may look at this time like a kind of defection, a betraying the Protestant cause, to slight the logical and metaphysical learning taught in the universities: But this is no part of the prefacer's main care, nor does it (I believe) in the least concern his conscience. No: A KING OR NO KING, is now the grand question and important controversy among us; and a few generous republican notions about liberty out-weigh, with him, all the learning and divinity of Europe. What profound notion of learning our prefacer has found out, for the instruction of mankind, I am not worthy to know; for I am no interpreter of dreams. He may value, for aught I know, the languages of Gypsies above Greek and Hebrew. He may extol, if he pleases, the inspection of urine above all parts of physical knowledge: He may fancy, perhaps, that the dissection of a flea or the tail of a fish, or such like curious employment, is a most admirable and useful part of natural philosophy; that calculating the nativity of a common-wealth, and the fall of a monarchy, is an excellent and profitable part of modern astrology: This he may call speaking pertinently, and acting like a man; and the extinguishing all remorse, compassion and good nature, may pass for a subduing the passions in his philosophy.—One great reason, I suppose, that induced the Prefacer to undervalue the old philosophy, and Aristotelian doctrines, is this: Aristotle, it seems, both in his ethics and politics, affirms in plain terms, that *of all forms of government the monarchical is the best:* He asserts, 'that wise men are fitted by nature to command, and that others 'of strong bodies but weak intellectuals, are chiefly designed for subjection 'and obedience;' than which nothing can be more grating and disobliging to men of a republican temper and inclination.

"Here let the generous reader give me leave to make a stand a while, and complain a little of the hard fate of learning in this age: Suppose a man has entertained and polished his mind and rational faculties with the works of those ancients, that rescued and preserved their natural reason and religion amidst all the wildnesses of pagan darkness and confusion, (such as Orpheus, Homer, Euripides, Æschylus, Menander, Xenophon, Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Hierocles and others,) together with all the divine and perfective discourses of Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, and the rest of the Grecian and Roman Poets and philosophers: Let him add to all these the pious and seraphical discourses of the Fathers; be able to recite and confute all heresies from Nicholas and Cerinthus, Carpocrates and Valentinus, successively down to the times of John a Leyden, and all the rest of our modern innovators. Nay, though he comprehend all the rarities and treasures of the Vatican, the Escurial, the Ambrosian, Florentine, and Bodleian libraries; yet that very wretch, whose politics and reading never raised him higher than *The Door of Hope*, *Poor Man's Cup*, *God's loud Call*, *A Token for Children*, *The Morning Seeker*, *Nonsuch Charles*, *The Assembly's Works*, *Scotch Psalms*, and *The Account of Denmark*, shall start up as grand a resolver of cases, expounder of dark texts, confounder of heresies, and modeller of States, as the most celebrated oracle of divinity or law. Nay, a confident traveller, by virtue of a hard forehead, a set of stories and legerdemain of the pen, shall on a sudden transform the most excellent body of men into a loose pack of worldlings and silly graceless professors." *Commonwealth's Man Unmasked.*

hundred years: And when divines dispute that and other points *probably*, the poor King and his people must swear them *peremptorily*.

"These aforesaid assassinates [the members of the High Court of Justice] meet in the painted chamber, become now the Jesuits' chamber of meditation,* to consult about the slaughter; and being heated by one or two of their demagogues, that persuaded them that the saints should bind the kings in chains and the nobles with fetters of iron, beseeching them, with bended knees and lift-up eyes and hands, in the people's name, who yet were ready to have stoned them, *not to let Benhadad go*,—they dare (but guarded strongly by a set of executioners like themselves) to convene before them, Jan. 19, 1649, Charles, King of England, &c., now to be deprived of his life, as he had been before of his kingdoms. Here the conspiracy might be seen in a body, a poor pettifogger Bradshaw,† that had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy but three weeks before, leading the herd as President, and the whole plot in his draught. The charge being read, his most excellent Majesty, (looking upon it as below him to interrupt the impudent libel and vie tongue with the Billingsgate court,) with a calmness, prudence and resolution peculiar to his royal breast, asked the assassinates, by what authority they brought a king, their most rightful sovereign, against the public faith, so lately given him at a treaty between him and his two Houses? And upon the prating foreman's bold suggestion, that they were satisfied in their own authority, replying rationally, 'That it was not his own apprehension, nor theirs 'neither, that ought to decide the controversy.'—Monday, Jan. 22, after three bloody harangues at their fast Jan. 21, on Gen. ix, 6; Matt. vii, 1; Psalm cxlix, 6, 7, (three texts as miserably tormented that day as his Majesty was the next,—these men always first being a torment to scripture, the great rule of right, and

* "Those that had been eight years endeavouring to murder the King in a war, are made his judges now that war is over. A pretty sight! to have seen Clement, Ravillac, Faux, Catesby, and Garnet, one day endeavouring to despatch a King, and the next advanced to be his judges; after prayers and fasts, the great fore-runners of mischief, whereby they endeavoured as impudently to engage God in the villainy he forbid, as they had done the people in a treason which they all abhorred,—for the remonstrance framed by Ireton for questioning the King, was called *the Agreement of the People*. When all the ministry of England, and indeed of the world, cried down the bloody design, contrary to oaths and laws and common reason, as the shame and disgrace of religion, these assassinates were satisfied with the preachments of one pulpit-buffoon Peters, a wretched fellow, that, since he was whipt by the governors of Cambridge when a youth, could not endure government ever after; and the revelations of a mad Hertfordshire woman concurring with the proceedings of the army, for which she was thanked by the House; her revelations being seasonable, and proceeding from an humble spirit."

† "Jan. 17, 1649. I heard the rebel Peters incite the rebel powers met in the painted chamber, to destroy his majesty; and saw that arch-traitor Bradshaw, who not long after condemned him." EVELYN'S *Diary*.

then to all that lived according to it,)* they being perplexed with the King's demurrer to their unheard-of jurisdiction, resolved among themselves, after some debate, to maintain it as boldly.

"Long were they troubled how they might assert their power, longer how they might execute it; some would have Majesty suffer like the basest of malefactors, and that in his robes of habiliments of state, that at once they might dispatch a king and monarchy together: Others' malice proposed other horrid violences to be offered to him, but not to be named among men; till at last they thought they should gratify their ambition to triumph over monarchy sufficiently if they beheaded him; and so, waving all his pleas for himself and the allegations of mankind for him;—after several unworthy harangues, consisting of nothing else but bold affirmations of that power whereof they had no one ground but those affirmations and reflections on the King's demurrer, as a delay to their proceedings; when indeed he hastened them, by offering that towards the peace of the kingdom in one hour that was not thought of in several years; notwithstanding his seasonable caution to them, 'That an hasty sen-'tence once past, might be sooner repented of than recalled; 'conjuring them, as they loved the liberty of the people and the 'peace of the kingdom they so much pretended for, they would 'receive what he had to offer to both;'—the club of assassinates proceed to this horrid sentence: 'Whereas the Commons of 'England in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of 'Justice for the trying of Charles Stuart, King of England, be-'fore whom he had been three times convented, and at first time 'a charge of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours 'was read in the behalf of the kingdom of England,' &c. Here the clerk read the charge; which charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he, the said Charles Stuart, was required to give his answer, but he refused so to do, and so exprest the several passages at his trial in refusing to answer. 'For all which treasons 'and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart

* In the long catalogue of crimes alleged against Hugh Peters, (who was executed at Charing Cross, Oct. 16, 1660,) the following are enumerated: "On Sunday, the 21st of January 1649, he preached at Whitehall, from Psalm clix, 8, 'To bind their kings with chains,' &c., applying his text and sermon to the late King, and highly applauding the proceedings of the army, saying, 'This is a joyful day, and I hope to see such another day to-morrow.' That the Sunday after his Majesty was sentenced to die, he preached again upon the same text at St. James's, saying, 'He intended to have preached 'upon another text before the poor wretch, but that the poor wretch refused 'to hear him.'—That in the afternoon of the same day he preached at Sepulchre's, and repeated all his parallel between his late Majesty and Barabbas, crying out, that none but Jews would let Barabbas go.—That, in this sermon, he said, 'Those soldiers who assisted in this great work, had Emmanuel written on their bridles.'—That after the King was murdered, Peters said, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen 'thy salvation.'—That a while after the execution, he said, 'I rejoice to 'think of that day; for to me it seemed like the great and last day of judg-'ment, when the saints shall judge the world.'"

'as a tyrant, traitor, murtherer and a public enemy, shall be put 'to death by the severing his head from his body.' To which horrid sentence the whole pack stood up, by agreement among themselves before made; and, (though they agreed in nothing else, either before or since,) unanimously voted the bloody words, words of so loud a guilt, that they drowned all the earnest proposals of reason and religion, offered by a prince who was a great master of both. All the great throng that pitied but could not help afflicted majesty, (with whom they saw themselves drawn to the slaughter,) groaned upon the sentence, but with the peril of their lives; it being as fatal then for any persons to own respect or kindness to Majesty, as it was for the King to carry it; and as dangerous for others to be good subjects, as for him to be a good king.* They that were to force him out of his life, forced others out of their loyalty; endeavouring fondly to depose him from his subjects' hearts, as they had done from his throne. Much ado had the best of princes to gain the privilege of the worst malefactor: (1.) To see his children and relations for the satisfaction of his mind. Or (2.) his chaplain, Bishop Juxon, to settle his conscience: the latter of whom being permitted to come not till eight of the clock on Saturday night; the incomparable prince enjoying in the midst of tumults a calm serenity, being full of his own majesty, and having a greater power over his temper than his enemies had over his person, bespeaks him thus: 'My Lord, that you came no sooner, I believe, 'was not your fault; but now you are come, because these rogues 'pursue my blood, you and I must consult how I may best part 'with it.' Indeed, all the while, he did all things becoming a christian obliged by his calling to suffer, not reflecting that he was a prince, (to whom such usages were unusual,) born to command. Since they could not keep the bishop from coming to him, they disturbed him both the next day, Jan. 28, in reading divine service, and preaching on Rom. ii, 29, and at other times at St. James's, with scoffs and unnecessary and petulant disputes, which he either answered irrefragably or neglected patiently; and at Whitehall with the noise of the workmen that prepared the scaffold; he being brought thither on purpose, Jan. 28, at night, to die often by every stroke of the axe upon the wood, before he should die, once for all, by one stroke of it upon himself. Neither do they only disturb, but, either out of fear or design, tempt him too with unworthy articles and conditions, which

* "Remarkable here the difference between his Majesty's temper and the Parliament's: For that very liberty of opinion which they themselves asserted under the notion of *Liberty of Conscience*, they punished five of the Judges, that voted against their sentiments, severely: The King entertained with respect those two that voted against his judgment and interest too, the one dying with a character from his master of *an upright man*; and the other being dismissed upon his own earnest petition, with the honour of having been *a good servant*." LLOYD'S *Worthies*.

being levelled at his honour and conscience, as their other malices were at his life, after hearing one or two of them read to him, he resolved not to sully the splendour of his former virtues with too impotent a desire of life. His soul applied itself to such duties of religion, as reading, praying, confession of sins, supplication for enemies, holy communions and conferences, and such offices of humanity as sending legacies to his wife and exile children, and exhorting those at home admitted to him Jan. 29 to this purpose, his last words to them being taken in writing, and communicated to the world by the Lady Elizabeth his daughter, a lady of most eminent endowments,* who, though born to the supremest fortune, yet lived in continual tears, and died confined at Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight. Till at last, (all endeavours for preventing so great a guilt failing,) even Col. Downes, one of their own members, attempting a mutiny in the army, and the Lord Fairfax being resolved with his own regiment to hinder the murther, until the conspirators in vain urging, 'That the Lord had rejected him,' took him aside *to seek the Lord*, while their instruments hasten the execution by private order, and then they call that *a return of their prayers*. On the fatal day, Jan. 30, 1649, having desired five preachers, sent to pray WITH him by the junto, to pray FOR him if they pleased, telling them, *he was resolved, that they who had so often and so causelessly prayed AGAINST him, should not, in his agony, pray WITH him;* and preparing himself with his own devotion in the offices of the church, he was strengthened in his sufferings by the sufferings of his Saviour, whose body and blood he received that morning, and the history of whose passion fell to be the chapter of the day of his. So that he came cheerfully from St. James's to Whitehall, often calling on his slow guards that kept not pace with him, to move faster, with these words, 'I now go before 'you to strive for an heavenly crown, with less solicitude than I 'formerly have led my soldiers for an earthly diadem;' with extraordinary alacrity ascending the stairs leading to the long gallery, and so to the cabinet chamber; whence, his supplications being ended, he went through the banquetting-house to the adjoining scaffold, with the same spirit he used to ascend his throne, shewing no fear of death but a solicitude for those that were to live after. He thought it to as little purpose to harangue the army as to compliment a mastiff or a tyger, and others were kept at such distance, that they might see but not hear; and therefore he expressed himself to those that stood near him."

* "He wished me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of this land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews's sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy, and Bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters, to forgive them &c."

After stating the intrepid conduct of his Majesty on the scaffold, the historian concludes his narrative thus: "Then the King, making some pious and private ejaculations before the block, as before a desk of prayer, he submitted without that violence they intended for him, if he refused his sacred head to one stroke of an executioner, (that was disguised then, as the actors wereall along,) which severed it from his body.—So fell CHARLES the First, and so expired with him the liberty and glory of three nations;* being made in that very place an instance of human frailty, where he used to shew the greatness and glory of majesty."

* This is a true expression on the part of the venerable historian, as will be seen by a subsequent part of this Appendix: For, how enormous soever might have been some acts of administration during the reign of king Charles, the usurper who subsequently exercised the functions of royalty appears in several of his public measures to have adopted the sentiments of Rehoboam when he said to the people: "Whereas my predecessor did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: He hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."

In these notes I have produced many things in favour of King Charles the First and Archbishop Laud—two rather unpopular personages in the present age. But though unpopular on account of many transactions in which they were implicated, both of them were possessed of eminent virtues, which they displayed to the greatest advantage in the course of their unmerited misfortunes. In the exercise of strict impartiality, it becomes me to record their virtues as well as their failings; and when my readers have perused all that I have written, I hope it will be made as apparent to them as it has long been to myself, that their personal virtues far transcended the sum of their imputed failings. Another opportunity will occur for demonstrating that the British Constitution, even at the particular juncture of its deepest depression in the reign of King Charles, contained within itself copious materials for self-restoration; and that the violent course pursued by the Calvinistic mal-contents, was not that which the laws suggested for the redress of grievances. This has already been briefly proved in the extracts from Judge Jenkins.

I refer the reader to the *Works of Arminius*, (vol. 1. p. 456.) for my recorded opinions of King James and his unfortunate successor; and I now subjoin the concluding paragraph of that article, in proof of my exemption from criminal party bias in the narration of facts: "Such petty enterprizes as these, in which James was artfully enlisted, were degrading to the royal character; and the impetuosity with which he prosecuted them, tended greatly, in that new age of thought, to alienate men's minds from the regal dignity and the established institutions, which have their best security in the manifestations of affection and respect on the part of those for whose benefit they are sustained and administered. Flattered as the great pacificator of nations by those that needed his aid, and boasting in private of his successful cunning and policy, which he was pleased to call 'king-craft,' his majesty imbibed very false ideas both of his own capabilities and of his royal power and prerogatives, and infused, into the minds of his children, the same unmanageable notions, which seemed to descend as by generation to the last of his unfortunate race. In forming a judgment concerning his immediate successor, we are too apt to contemplate Charles as an insulated personage; but if we consider the high veneration in which he held his royal father's published sentiments both on religion and politics, instead of viewing him as the self-tutored despot, we shall rather pity him as an obedient son, who, from mistaken yet conscientious motives, endeavoured to carry into practical effect those tyrannical principles about the truth of which neither his royal parent, nor any of those around his person, would ever suffer him to hesitate. But the decisive national crisis was far advanced at the very commencement of his reign, and had assumed a most

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